

SIBERIA AS A MULTIETHNIC REGION

Sociological Analysis of the Attitude of the Krasnoyarsk Krai's Adult Population to Representatives of Other Nationalities and Migrant Workers

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Abstract. This article analyses the attitude of the adult population of the Krasnoyarsk Krai to other nationalities and migrant workers on the basis of the results of research carried out in the Krasnoyarsk Krai in 2015-2016. We performed five surveys in accordance with the criteria of age, gender, and territorial distribution within which we interviewed 6,000 respondents who represented the adult population of the Krasnoyarsk Krai. To the data obtained, we applied the methods of descriptive statistics, quantitative content analysis and factor analysis. The results of the analysis indicate mixed trends in the attitude of the Krasnoyarsk Krai's adult population to other nationalities and migrant workers. On the one hand, there is an increase in the level of the population's tolerance towards representatives of other nationalities, and a tendency towards improving interethnic relations; on the other hand, we register an increase in xenophobia towards migrants. Thus, most of the adult population of the Krasnoyarsk Krai show few signs of hostility towards representatives of other nationalities, and generally have a tolerant attitude to them. The answers of the respondents indicate a decrease in ethnic tension and a reduction in the likelihood of conflicts on ethnic grounds in the Krasnoyarsk Krai. At the same time, there is a tendency towards negative perception of migrant workers, mainly from Central Asia and the Caucasus, in the collective consciousness of the population. The opinion that migrant workers are more harmful than beneficial for the Krasnoyarsk Krai is becoming widespread. However, we do not observe a connection between this negative attitude to migrants and the perception of them as competitors on the job market. The second part of the article characterises the activities of the institutions of government, science, education, and civil society aimed at bringing about and developing conditions for the integration and adaptation of different nationalities and migrant workers within the Krasnoyarsk Krai community. The final part of the article describes an integrated approach to solving the problems of strengthening the unity of Siberian society, and harmonising interethnic and migration relations.

Keywords: Krasnoyarsk Krai, attitude to the representatives of other nationalities, attitude to migrant workers.

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INTRODUCTION

Over the past decade, the society of the Krasnoyarsk Krai in its various aspects (including the attitude of guests and temporary residents) has frequently been the subject of sociological studies [12; 13: 120–121; 22; 24]. Particular attention has been paid to interethnic relations and issues of migration [2; 15–18; 21; 25; 26]. Increased attention to these issues is quite natural: interethnic relations and migration have a significant impact on the existence and development of any multiethnic region. The state of society, the conflict level, and building a comfortable social environment all depend on these issues, their current state and the degree of harmonization of the current situation.

The Krasnoyarsk Krai is a multiethnic region characterised by increasing international migration rates. In the National Population Census of 2010, the residents of the Krasnoyarsk Krai for their national self-identification mentioned about 190 ethnic terms (classified on the basis of an alphabetical list of nationalities developed by the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences) [6: 15–16]. Among the variety of ethnic groups represented in the region, four main ones can be distinguished: Russian people, autochthonous (aboriginal) people, ethnic minorities and immigrants [22: 152–153]. The dominant ethnic group is the Russian population (89.5% in 2010) [18; 19]. The nature of the interethnic and migration situation in the Krasnoyarsk Krai depends on this group's social well-being. The percentage of the non-Russian population amounts to 10.5%. The indigenous population of the Krasnoyarsk Krai is represented by the autochthonous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East. These groups include Dolgans, Nganasans, Nenets, Kets, Selkups, Chulymy, Evenks, Enets (16,600 people in total) [19]. Another group of the non-Russian population of the region consists of national minorities, i.e. ethnic groups with specific national, linguistic, religious and cultural qualities, who seek to preserve their national identity [5: 37; 14]. In the Krasnoyarsk Krai, national minorities comprise more than 110 ethnic groups (230,000 people amounting to 8% of the total population) [19].

In the region, there are approximately 120 000 immigrants who represent more than 30 ethnic groups [19]. The most intense migration exchange can be observed at present with such neighbouring countries as Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Azerbaijan, Armenia, as well as with such non-CIS countries as China and North Korea [8]. The main reasons for migrants arriving in the Krasnoyarsk Krai are work, education, and work-related relocation of a spouse. Most of the migrants fall into the category of commuting migrants. This category includes people of working age, 68% of whom are 15–34 y/o, and 61% of whom are males (as of December 2016) [7]. Typically, a large number of migrants travel to the major cities of the Krasnoyarsk Krai, primarily to the regional centre. At the same time, migrants tend to create diasporas or enclaves, i.e. migrant residence areas where contacts with representatives of other social and ethnic communities are restricted [22: 154].

The complex multiethnic structure of Krasnoyarsk society, and the existing results of studies of demographic and migration processes, make the issues of sociological monitoring of interethnic relations and migration in the region topical [20]. The studies devoted to the level of ethnic tolerance and the attitude of the local population to migrant workers are of primary importance. Every year, sociologists from the Krasnoyarsk Krai carry out such studies with the support of the Public Relations Department of the Governorship of the Krasnoyarsk Krai, with the participation of specialists from the Institute of Pedagogy, Psychology and Sociology from Siberian Federal University, and from the regional branch of the *Knowledge* society, as well as from regional sociological centres.

METHODOLOGY

In 2015–2016, under the supervision of D. O. Trufanov, a group of sociologists performed five studies of the attitude of the adult population of the Krasnoyarsk Krai to representatives of other nationalities and migrant workers. The object of the research was the population of the Krasnoyarsk Krai 18 y/o and above. The selection of the respondents was done by means of a propor-

tional quota sample by gender, age, and territorial distribution of the Krasnoyarsk Krai population [21: 140–165]. The method of empirical data collection was a quantitative survey in the form of formal interviews. In the Krasnoyarsk agglomeration, the respondents took part in face-to-face interviews; in the districts of the Krasnoyarsk Krai, face-to-face contacts were combined with telephone interviews. The questionnaires contained 18–25 questions depending on the quantity and content of the research objectives [16: 113–121; 21: 140–165]. We divided the questions into preliminary questions, revealing the sociodemographic characteristics of the respondents, and key questions aimed at obtaining specific empirical indicators. In the survey, we employed open, closed and semi-closed questions. To the data obtained we applied descriptive statistics, quantitative content analysis and factor analysis.

In April-May 2015, we carried out two studies: “The attitude of the adult population of the Krasnoyarsk Krai to representatives of other nationalities and to ethnic extremism” and “The ratio of the adult population of the Krasnoyarsk Krai to migrant workers.” The sample comprised 1,000 respondents in each case. In each sample, men and women aged 18-29, 30-54 (women)/59 (men), 55 and above (women)/60 and above (men), from all cities and districts of the Krasnoyarsk Krai, were proportionally represented.

In December 2015, we studied the harmonisation of interethnic relations, risks of conflicts in the sphere of interethnic relations and migration in the Krasnoyarsk Krai. The sample comprised 1,600 respondents proportionally representing men and women 18-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54 and 55-64 y/o, from all cities and districts of the Krasnoyarsk Krai.

In October and November of 2016, we performed another study aimed at revealing the attitude of the adult population of the Krasnoyarsk Krai to foreign migrant workers. The sample comprised 1,200 respondents proportionally representing men and women aged 18-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54 (women)/59 (men), 55 and above (women)/60 and above (men), from all cities and districts of the Krasnoyarsk Krai.

In November and December of 2016, we performed another study of the degree of harmonisation of interethnic relations, and of the conflict risk in the sphere of interethnic relations and migration in the Krasnoyarsk Krai. The sampling characteristics are identical to the previous study.

Thus, in 2015-2016 we interviewed 6,000 respondents representative of the adult population of the Krasnoyarsk Krai. The research methodology contained an invariant set of questions that enabled us to compare the data and to draw conclusions about the dynamics of the relevant indicators. Furthermore, on the basis of the data obtained, we presented the main conclusions characterising the attitude of the Krasnoyarsk Krai’s adult population to other nationalities and migrant workers.

RESULTS

Most of the adult population in the Krasnoyarsk Krai (81% in 2015) did not feel hostile to people of other nationalities: they could not name any nationalities or groups towards whom they initially had unfriendly feelings. Up to 40% of the respondents indicated that they did not have any negative feelings towards any nationalities or groups; 41% of the respondents claimed that they generally did not have negative feelings towards any nations in general, but that some representatives of ethnic groups could evoke a feeling of hostility. 19% of the population of the Krasnoyarsk Krai named certain ethnic groups which evoked negative feelings. In 2015 we registered a positive trend in the aforementioned figures, compared to 2014. Thus, in 2014 the percentage of the residents of the region who did not have negative feelings towards any nationalities or groups amounted to 79.5%. The number of residents who indicated that such nationalities did not exist was 32.5%; and the number of residents who did not have negative feelings towards any ethnic community in general, but sometimes felt hostile to certain representatives of ethnic groups, amounted to 47% (Table 1).

In 2014, up to 20.5% of the respondents indicated the existence of nationalities or groups which evoked unfriendly feelings. Thus, in 2015 one can trace an increase in the proportion of Krasnoyarsk Krai residents

Table 1. “Can you name a nationality or an ethnic group which evokes unfriendly feelings?” (%)

Answers	2014	2015
Yes, there are such nationalities	20.5	19
No, I cannot name such nationalities, but some representatives evoke unfriendly feelings	47	41
No, I cannot name such nationalities	32.5	40

who were not prejudiced against any ethnic group or nationality. This corresponds to a decrease in the proportion of residents who experience hostility towards individual representatives of nationalities. The number of those who initially did not feel friendly feelings towards any nationality remained stable (19-20%).

In the studies aimed at revealing the attitude of the adult population of the Krasnoyarsk Krai to representatives of other nationalities, we used a Likert scale which measures respondents' reactions to a series of positive and negative statements, expressing tolerant and intolerant attitudes towards representatives of other nationalities [21: 140–165]. Positive statements included the following:

- all nations (big or small) should have equal opportunities in Russia to preserve their language, religion and traditions;
- the coexistence of different nationalities enriches the culture of the region; radical nationalism should be condemned;
- inciting ethnic hatred is a crime which should be severely punished;
- it is impossible to divide ethnic communities into good and bad, as any ethnic community has good and bad people.

Negative statements were presented in the following examples:

- it is necessary to limit strictly the inflow of certain nationalities' representatives to the region;
- people from outside of Russia should return to their homeland;
- a multicultural environment is a breeding ground for crime;
- only those who know the Russian language and respect Russian culture should be allowed to live in Russia.

To the data obtained, we applied the methods of descriptive statistics and factor analysis. Factor analy-

sis of the responses received in 2016 did not reveal any mental constructs among Krasnoyarsk Krai residents with regard to representatives of other nationalities. Such mindsets were identified in 2011 in the study of ethnic and religious tolerance of the population of socially significant cities of the Krasnoyarsk Krai [15]. We identified three factors that accounted for 58% of the variance. The study revealed a set of intolerant opinions in which negative statements had a high correlation coefficient. The sets had a descriptive force of 17.4%. Furthermore, in April 2015, another study registered two sets of opinions expressing tolerant and intolerant attitudes towards representatives of other nationalities [16]. The study identified a factor that linked all the negative statements of the series, and its descriptive force amounted to 18%. In December 2015, in the study devoted to the degree of harmonisation of interethnic relations and the risk of conflicts in interethnic relations and migration in the Krasnoyarsk Krai, factor analysis did not reveal any mental constructs characterising the attitude of the inhabitants to the representatives of other nationalities. The results of the research carried out in November-December 2016 did not reveal such constructs either. These data point to a decrease in the polarisation of the attitude of the inhabitants of the Krasnoyarsk Krai to representatives of other nationalities, and the building of a common, mostly tolerant, attitude towards them.

The results of the statistical analysis of the responses obtained in December 2016, as in 2015, showed a high level of agreement of the adult population of the Krasnoyarsk Krai with statements expressing a predominantly tolerant attitude to representatives of other ethnic groups. The statements most widely-supported by the respondents were the following: it is impossible to divide ethnic communities into good and bad ones, as any ethnic community has good and bad people (85.5%); inciting ethnic hatred is a crime which should be severely punished (81.8%); all ethnic communities (big or small) should have equal opportunities in Russia to preserve their language, religion and traditions (68.8%); radical nationalism deserves condemnation (68.6%) and the coexistence of different nationalities in the region enriches the culture of the region (56.3%).

Less common were responses connected with negative attitudes towards representatives of other nationalities. Thus, 64.6% of the respondents in one way or another shared the view that only those who know the Russian language and respect Russian culture should be allowed to live in Russia; 41.3% of the respondents think that people from outside Russia should return to their homeland; and 56.4% think that it is necessary to strictly limit the inflow of representatives of certain nationalities to the region. Similar data were obtained by the Public Opinion Centre in the survey carried out in 2014 on the basis of a nationwide sample: 58% of Russians were in favour of restricting the entry of representatives of certain ethnic groups to the region where they lived [4].

According to the data obtained in 2015, up to 19% of the adult population of the Krasnoyarsk Krai in one way or another feel interethnic tension in their place of residence, and 72% indicate that they do not feel such tension (Table 2). These data correlate with the research results in all Russian regions received by the polling and sociological research organisation Levada Centre: 22% and 73% respectively [9].

It is noteworthy that residents of the Krasnoyarsk Krai experience interethnic tension to a lesser degree in comparison with Russians in general. Thus, Russian people are more cautious in denying interethnic tension in the places of their residence, often choosing “probably not” in answer to the question “Do you feel interethnic tension in the city/ the area where you live?” Krasnoyarsk Krai residents, however, tend to choose “definitely not” in answer to this question. The fact that the Krasnoyarsk Krai residents had difficulty giving a definite response indicates a less critical situation regarding interethnic tension there than in Russia in general. In August 2016, on the

Table 2. “Do you feel interethnic tension in the city or the area where you live?” (%)

Answers	Krasnoyarsk Krai, May 2015	Russian Federation, August 2015
I definitely do	5	6
I probably do	14	16
I probably do not	37	45
I definitely do not	35	28
I do not know	9	6

basis of their nationwide sample studies, Levada Centre specialists noted a reduction in interethnic tension: the number of Russians who reported feeling a partial or complete absence of interethnic tension amounted to 79%, and those who reported the contrary comprised 18% [9]. In 2016, however, sociologists did not carry out a similar survey in the Krasnoyarsk Krai.

Opinions on the likelihood of interethnic conflicts in the near future in the cities or areas of residence of the respondents was another indicator used to assess the opinions of the Krasnoyarsk Krai’s adult population concerning the interethnic situation. The results of three studies performed in 2015-2016 show that 10-13% of the respondents described the probability of such conflicts in the region as high (Table 3). At the same time, in December 2016, the studies revealed a trend towards a decrease in the percentage of the respondents pointing to the likelihood of interethnic conflicts in the region in the near future.

Thus, the number of Krasnoyarsk Krai residents reporting a certain degree of probability of such conflicts decreased from 58% in 2015 to 49% in December 2016, while in the same year, the proportion of residents who were confident in the absence of this probability increased significantly from 22% to 29%.

Thus, the overall level of negative scenarios for the development of interethnic conflicts in the Krasnoyarsk Krai on the basis of its residents’ opinions currently comprises 19%. About 19% of the adult population of the region pointed at the existence of nationalities which evoke unfriendly feelings, 19% reported a feeling of interethnic tension in their cities and regions of residence. In 2016, the perception of risk increased by 10%. This is a proportion indicating a high probability of interethnic conflicts in the region

Table 3. “In your opinion, what is the probability of interethnic conflicts in the near future in your city or region?” (%)

Answers	May 2015	December 2015	December 2016
High probability	11	13	10
Low probability	47	45	39
No probability	22	22	29
I do not know	20	20	22

in the near future. In addition, the findings indicate a positive trend: an increase in the level of ethnic tolerance among the population of the region and a decrease in the polarisation of positive and negative attitudes to people of other nationalities.

Migrant workers are perceived by the residents of the Krasnoyarsk Krai as people representing other ethnic groups who come from other countries and regions to work (37% of the total number of the responses received). This is evidenced by the content analysis of the respondents' answers to the open-ended question "In your opinion, migrant workers are...". According to the respondents' opinions, migrants usually come from China as well as from neighboring countries, such as Tajikistan, Kirghizstan, Uzbekistan, Armenia, Azerbaijan and other "Asian" and "Caucasian" countries. The Krasnoyarsk Krai residents usually designate such migrants as *gastarbayer* (from German *Gastarbeiter*, 'guest workers'). Moreover, the respondents usually describe them as low-skilled workers or "cheap labour", as migrants work for low wages in the service sector, trade, and construction (28% of the responses). However, they do not abstain from hard work and are ready to work in difficult conditions. Thirdly, migrant workers are described as forced migrants who do not have the necessary conditions for a normal life in their native countries: their rights are infringed, they are deprived of work which can ensure a normal life for their families (11%). They are portrayed as "hostages of fate", who are forced to go to another country in search of a better life. They suffer deprivation, and require social and financial support. Fourth place among the responses is occupied by the opinion that migrant workers are "ordinary people" (9%). These opinions describe migrants not in terms of their social status, but from the perspective of human values, establishing the importance of human beings as such. The next set of opinions adds negative traits to the image of migrant workers: migrants are described as representatives of various forms of deviant behavior (7%). In the view of the inhabitants of the Yenisei region, these people are a source of threat, danger and diseases. Thus, in the collective consciousness of the Krasnoyarsk Krai's population, migrants are represented as low-skilled workers, immigrants from

the CIS countries and China, people who have left their countries in search of a better life.

The attitude of the adult population of the Krasnoyarsk Krai to migrant workers is largely indifferent, with elements of negative perception. During the survey, the respondents were asked the following question: "What do you feel towards migrant workers arriving in your town or district?" (Table 4). The most common answer points to absence of any particular emotional attitude apart from indifference to migrants. At the same time, the respondents most often chose negative answers out of a variety of options. Thus, in 2015, 25% of the population felt anger and hostility towards migrant workers, and 31% in 2016; 18% of the population felt respect and sympathy in 2015, and 14% in 2016. The number of the respondents who chose "fear" as their answer also doubled in 2016. The data indicate an increase in the level of negative perception of migrant workers among the adult population of the Krasnoyarsk Krai in 2016.

It is noteworthy that a significant number of the respondents (18%) chose the answer "Sympathy", added to the survey in 2016, mainly due to the decrease in the number of the answers "No particular feelings". This indicates the presence of such feelings as sympathy and empathy in the attitude of the population towards migrants, who are regarded as victims placed in adverse circumstances.

Analysis of the region's residents' associations with the image of migrant workers also revealed a number of negative responses. In order to identify the associations, we used the open question "What three adjectives would you associate migrant workers with?" The responses were processed by quantitative content analysis. Negative associations com-

Table 4. "What do you feel towards migrant workers arriving in your town or district?" (multiple answers, in %)

Answers	May 2015	December 2016
Respect	10	8
Friendliness	8	6
Sympathy	–	18
Irritation	10	14
Antipathy	15	17
Fear	4	8
No particular feelings	63	49
I do not know	4	5



prised the most numerous cluster, whose percentage grew over the last year, amounting to 42% in 2015 and 48% in 2016 (Table 5, the percentage of the total number of responses containing positive, negative and neutral associations). The most common associations in this cluster were “arrogant”, “dirty”, “cunning”, “rude”, “uneducated”.

The proportion of positive associations, in contrast, tends to decrease. In 2016, it comprised 32%. Among positive associations, the most common were associations characterising migrant workers as “hardworking”, “honest”, “responsible”. The proportion of neutral associations did not change in the course of the year, amounting to 20-21%. This cluster contained associations which did not disclose any specific explicit emotional attitude on the part of the respondents to migrant workers, such as “non-Russian”, “reserved”, “worker”, “dark-haired”, “new-comer”, etc.

Thus, along with a stable level of neutral words associated with the image of migrant workers, the level of negative associations is growing against a background of a reduction in positive associations. This result can be regarded as a sign of xenophobia among the adult population of the Krasnoyarsk Krai. This was to be expected, considering the growth of social tension due to the reduction in the prosperity level in the country, as well as a negative image of migrants in domestic and international media caused by the European migration crisis.

This trend is reflected in the research results concerning the attitude of the adult population of the Yenisei region to migrants in terms of their benefit or harm. The data in Table 6 show a marked increase over the last year in the percentage of residents who think that migrant workers bring harm to the Krasnoyarsk Krai, and a corresponding decrease in the proportion of those who view migrants’ presence in the region as beneficial. However, the prevailing

Table 5. “Give three adjectives with which you associate the image of a migrant worker” (%)

Associations	May 2015	December 2016
Positive	37	32
Negative	42	48
Neutral	21	20

opinion is that migrants are equally beneficial and harmful to the region.

Table 6. Total distribution of the respondents’ answers to the question: “In your opinion, are migrant workers beneficial or harmful to the Krasnoyarsk Krai?” (%)

Answers	May 2014	May 2015	December 2016
More beneficial than harmful	15	23	13
Equally beneficial and harmful	44	32	36
More harmful than beneficial	25	25	32
Neither harmful, nor beneficial	16	16	18
No answer	0	5	1

This table shows an increase in opinions about migrants’ negative influence on host regions in recent years due to mass media’s negative presentation of the image of migrants.

The following comparison of the results of the study is interesting. In December 2016, 59% of the residents of the Krasnoyarsk Krai were of the opinion that in the previous year, the number of migrant workers had increased in the region. 6% of the respondents were of the opinion that there had been a decrease in the number of migrant workers, 15% thought that the situation had remained stable, and 20% found it difficult to define clearly their position. In fact, the number of migrant workers in the circles of personal contacts of citizens of the Krasnoyarsk Krai remained the same and amounted to 36% over the year in question (Table 7).

This fact points to a subjective perception of the increase in the number of migrants among the inhabitants of the region rather than a real growth in their prevalence in Siberian society.

The attitude of most of the residents of the Krasnoyarsk Krai to migrant workers is largely independent of the countries from which migrants come

Table 7. “Is there anyone among your friends, acquaintances, colleagues who came to the Krasnoyarsk Krai from other countries to work here?” (%)

Answers	May 2015	November 2016
Yes	36	36
No	60	56
I do not know	2	7
No answer	2	1

(Table 8). Only 17% in 2015 and 20% in 2016 indicated that their attitude to migrants depended on the country of migrants' initial residence.

In order to assess people's attitude to migrants depending on the latter's country of initial residence, we asked the following question: "Migrants from which regions or countries evoke positive or negative feeling?" According to the results of content analysis of the responses received in 2015 and 2016, negative feelings among the region's residents concern migrant workers arriving from Central Asia: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan; and from the Caucasus: Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. Thus, in December 2016 the percentage distribution of positive and negative feeling towards immigrants from the countries of Central Asia was 27% (positive feeling) and 73% (negative feeling), towards natives of the Caucasus countries 42% and 58% respectively (the percentage is calculated on the basis of the sum of the responses expressing positive and negative feeling). On the contrary, the attitude of the region's residents to migrants from Eastern European countries (e.g. Belarus, Ukraine and Moldova) was predominantly positive. In 2016, 75% of the respondents expressed positive feeling towards them, and only 25% negative ones. These results correlate with other studies, according to which Russians have positive or neutral feeling towards migrants from Eastern European countries, and predominantly negative feeling towards natives of the countries of Central Asia and the Caucasus [3; 11: 140].

The results obtained in these studies do not reveal any interdependence between the growth of a negative attitude to migrant workers and their perception as competitors on the job market. Thus, in 2015 and in 2016, 24% of Krasnoyarsk Krai residents reported that they regarded migrants as their competitors

Table 8. "Does your attitude to migrants depend on the country/region where they come from?" (%)

Answers	May 2015	December 2016
Yes, it does	17	20
No, it does not	79	75
I do not know	3	4
No answer	1	1

(Table 9). The respondents who held this point of view were predominantly male residents of working age with secondary school certificates and vocational degrees. 2/3 (66% in December 2016) of the adult population of the region did not regard migrants as their competitors on the job market.

A quarter of the residents of the Krasnoyarsk Krai expressed their willingness to take jobs that are currently occupied by migrant workers: 23% in 2015, and 25% in 2016. 62% and 59% of the population respectively were not willing to do so. Thus, about 2/3 of the adult population of the Krasnoyarsk Krai do not regard migrants as their competitors on the job market and express unwillingness to occupy such jobs.

These findings reveal an increase in migrant phobia in the Krasnoyarsk Krai. It is expressed in the Krasnoyarsk Krai residents' negative perception of migrant workers, in the increase in the proportion of residents who experience irritation and hostility towards them. Negative attitudes are mostly directed towards migrants from Central Asia and the Caucasus. The opinion that migrant workers are harmful to the Krasnoyarsk Krai, is becoming more widespread. However, there is no connection between the negative attitude to migrants and their perception by the inhabitants of the region as competitors on the job market. In the majority of situations, the host population does not consider migrants as their competitors, and the residents of the region are not willing to take jobs held by immigrants.

EXISTING SOLUTIONS

In the Krasnoyarsk Krai there are different forms of social self-organisation of ethnic groups. By the end of 2016, more than 90 national and cultural organisations, including 8 regional and 25 local national and

Table 9. "Do you perceive migrant workers as your competitors on the job market?" (%)

Answers	May 2015	December 2016
Yes, I do	24	24
No, I do not	68	66
I do not know	7	10
No answer	1	0

cultural associations (NCA) as well as 336 religious organisations had been registered in the region [10].

To interact with public institutions, the Krasnoyarsk Krai established a network of negotiation platforms. Some examples of such platforms include the Public Department of Nationalities of the Civil Assembly of the Krasnoyarsk Krai, the Youth Council of national associations of the region, which received the status of a legal entity in 2016, the Council of the Governor for cooperation with religious organisations of the Krasnoyarsk Krai, the Palace of Labour and Unity's centre of national cultures, and public and advisory councils in governmental ministries and departments at regional and federal levels.

Another platform of this type was opened in January 2016. It is the regional state autonomous institution *The House of Friendship of the Peoples of the Krasnoyarsk Krai* (established by decree of the Governor of the Krasnoyarsk Krai on 24 September 2015, no 859-p). By the end of that year, it had organised 13 ethnic creative groups, opened 3 ethnic clubs, 9 ethnic language schools and 33 associations representing ethnic cultures [1]. Currently, the House of Friendship is the main resource centre for the implementation of projects of socially-oriented non-profit organisations working in the sphere of interethnic and interreligious relations, adaptation and integration of migrants.

The sociocultural adaptation and integration of migrants arriving in the Krasnoyarsk Krai as well as cooperation between state and local authorities are carried out on the basis of two key documents: 1) the plan to implement the RF's 2025 national state policy strategy (approved by order of the Governor of the region on 29 March 2016, no 143-p) in the Krasnoyarsk Krai in 2016–2018; and 2) the Krasnoyarsk Krai's state programme "Strengthening the unity of the Russian nation and the ethnocultural development of the peoples of the Krasnoyarsk Krai in 2015-2017" (approved by the region's Government on 30 September 2014, no 442-p). This programme was submitted to the state programmes competition for RF subjects, organised by the Federal Agency for Nationalities, and was recognised as the best pro-

gramme in the Siberian Federal District. This programme became the 3rd among all the RF subjects in terms of subsidies received from the federal budget (29 mln rubles), which increased the number of cultural events, their scale and effectiveness.

The regional authorities carry out a number of interethnic activities of a cultural and educational nature, involving migrants who arrived in the region for the purpose of employment and training. Thus, in the second half of 2016, the authorities of the Krasnoyarsk Krai organised the following festivals: Armenian Culture Day (attended by 1,200 people), the interregional Tajik Holiday *Sairi lola* ("tulip festival", over 7,000), the Uzbek holiday *Kovun sayli* ("melon festival", over 4,000), the Kyrgyz cultural and sporting event *Manas* (400), the Kazakh holiday *Toi Duman* (250), the Azerbaijani national festival *Pomegranate Day* (400), the regional Kyrgyz beauty pageant and talent show *Ak-Iynek* (300), the regional festival *The day of the peoples of Central Asia* with the participation of representatives of the Kyrgyz Embassy in Moscow (600), the international event *We are different, but not strangers* (400), the youth festival of national sports and culture *In the name of peace and friendship among the peoples of Russia* (350), the regional festival *the Day of culture of the peoples of the Caucasus* (900), *Days of Uzbek culture* (350), and a summer interethnic and interreligious youth meeting, *International camp* (50) [10].

As part of the regional educational event *The ethnic world of the Krasnoyarsk Krai*, organised for the past two years, lecturers from the Krasnoyarsk regional branch of the *Knowledge* association and other regional cities and towns delivered 20 lectures on various aspects of interethnic, migration and interreligious relations. In 2016, a series of children's lectures, *Ethnoworld*, was piloted. University staff (5 lectures) and national and cultural associations (Tajik and Kyrgyz nationals, 2 lectures) gave lectures to urban and rural schoolchildren. The pilot project proved successful, and was recommended for further implementation in a larger number of cities and towns of the region in 2017.

In January 2016, the Krasnoyarsk branch of the Federal State Unitary Enterprise *Passport and visa*

service of the Federal Migration Service of Russia opened the *Centre for social adaptation and integration of migrants*, occupying a total surface of 4,000 m² (the only Centre of this size in the country at present). The Centre provides a wide range of services on the single-window principle, and houses a number of facilities such as a hotel, a medical centre with authorisation to issue certificates, a local testing centre, a training centre for immigration and documents registration, an employment service, and a centre for legal, social and psychological assistance.

The national and cultural association of the peoples of Central Asia and the Caucasus has been successfully working on the adaptation and integration of migrants. Representatives of the former CIS countries help their compatriots by providing information and legal assistance (Armenian, Azerbaijani, Kyrgyz, Tajik, Uzbek representatives), by helping them to find employment (Uzbek and Kyrgyz representatives), and by providing accommodation (Uzbek representatives).

In August 2016, social non-governmental organisations (NGO) representing the peoples of Central Asia published the *Krasnoyarsk Krai migrant directory and guide* in different languages (Russian, Russian and Kyrgyz, Russian and Tajik, Russian and Uzbek). Alongside purely informational material, the guide contained moral, ethical and behavioural information. The guide proved popular with the expert committee and migrants. Therefore, it was reprinted in large quantities and distributed free of charge to visitors.

Social non-governmental organisations representing peoples of Central Asia and the Caucasus actively participate in different events organised by the public authorities in order to discuss issues of migration. In the second half of 2016, the following events took place: the 12th Krasnoyarsk City Forum, the seminar “Interaction between the regions and NGOs of Siberia in implementation of state national policy. Ethnic and social processes in the Siberian Federal District”, the 6th international conference “The specificity of ethnic migration in Central Siberia in the 20th-21st centuries: experience and prospects”. Issues of migration relations were also discussed at two workshops for the leaders of NGOs,

at the regional discussion platform and at the regional youth club National Dialogue.

In October 2016, a delegation from Krasnoyarsk participated in the Forum of National Unity in Perm, where they discussed the experience of the Krasnoyarsk Krai concerning the adaptation and integration of foreign workers. N. J. Bataeva, the chairman of the Krasnoyarsk regional Kyrgyz national and cultural association (NCA), positively assessed the work of the Forum.

The Centre for National Cultures, which has initiated 16 national creative teams, functions within the Regional State Budget Institution of Culture *The Palace of Labour and Unity*. It is supported by the Krasnoyarsk Krai Ministry of Culture, in order to strengthen work with NGOs and provide practical assistance in the preservation of traditional cultures.

The State Research Library is a centre of ethnic and cultural dialogue which aims to preserve and promote the cultures of peoples living in the Krasnoyarsk Krai. In 2016, the centre organised more than 100 events attended by more than 8,000 people.

One of the main activities of the Krasnoyarsk Krai authorities and local independent bodies in the sphere of sociocultural adaptation is the organisation of training for migrants and their children, whose main difficulty is the language barrier. With the aim of teaching the Russian language and the RF’s history and laws, 16 out of 17 local testing centres for immigrants organised preparatory courses in these subjects.

In addition, the Krasnoyarsk Krai’s Ministry of Education organised a system of adaptation courses for migrant children to help them integrate in the pre-school institutions, as well as primary and secondary schools of the Krai. Migrant children are provided with psychological and educational support, they are invited to attend classes aimed at helping them to adapt to a new language environment. On the basis of psychological, medical and pedagogical commissions, local committees are founded to work with children whose native language is not Russian.

In order to develop an effective system for the social, cultural and linguistic adaptation and inte-

gration of schoolchildren from migrant families in Russian society, and in order to improve the work of teachers working with migrant children, a variety of programmes and projects have been actively implemented in the Krasnoyarsk Krai. Thus, in Krasnoyarsk, secondary school No 16 provides a centre for extracurricular education whose objective is the adaptation of migrant children. Over the last seven years, staff from Krasnoyarsk State Pedagogical University have been implementing a project “Social and cultural adaptation of migrant youth in the multicultural educational space of the Siberian region”.

For the past twelve years, schools in the Leninsky district of Krasnoyarsk have been implementing a programme “Adaptation of migrant schoolchildren to Russian schools”, hosting a variety of events aimed to provide equal educational opportunities for migrant schoolchildren within the school curriculum. In Norilsk, the Rainbow centre has organised special programmes since 2009, aimed at ensuring optimal Russian language skills and social adjustment for students from migrant families.

A number of schools in Krasnoyarsk (schools No 16 and No 47), Lesosibirsk (schools No 1 and No 9) and Norilsk (schools No 7, No 8, No 13, No 36 and No 17) have launched pilot projects for teaching migrants Russian. These pilot projects have also introduced and tested new methods of integration and adaptation of migrant children in educational institutions.

Siberian Federal University set up a platform of continuing education which puts into practice the concept of multicultural education. This concept is instrumental in developing intercultural dialogue strategies, and social equality strategies for representatives of other nationalities. Such strategies promote self-sufficiency as a means to mobilise sociocultural competencies and successfully integrate into Russian society [23].

Thus, the Krasnoyarsk Krai systematically implements programmes to create and develop propitious

conditions for the integration and adaptation of representatives of other nations into Russian society. Government institutions, ministries of science, education and civil society actively help such organisations, allowing the implementation of a comprehensive approach to solve the problems of strengthening the unity of the Siberian community, and to ensure the harmonisation of interethnic relations.

CONCLUSION

Ethnic identity traditionally has an impact on the attitude to migrants. However, in recent years the attitude of the population of the Krasnoyarsk Krai to representatives of other nationalities and to migrant workers has been rather mixed. On the one hand, the research results show an increase in tolerance of other nationalities and an improvement in international relations; on the other hand, the results indicate an increase in xenophobia. In order to harmonise interethnic relations in the Krasnoyarsk Krai, governmental, research, educational and civic institutions have taken combined measures to create conditions for the successful adaptation and integration of migrant workers of different nationalities in Siberian society.

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