

**REGIONAL FEATURES OF MIGRATION PROCESSES
IN THE STAVROPOL REGION¹*****G.D. Gritsenko***

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Specificity of the Stavropol region in the context of dispersal movements discovers in the article. The Stavropol territory has always been a region where migration flows historically form a particular environment of “medley of races” attaching to a local community polyethnicity, polyreligionism and polyculture. At the turn of XX-XXI centuries dispersal movements in the Stavropol region differ with its diversity: refugees, forced migrants, labor (internal and external) migrants, labor settlers and student migration. But independent from type of migration it intensifies a number of region social problems and, first of all, in the sphere of communication: tensivity between long-standing inhabitants and migrants especially representatives of other and in particular the North Caucasian ethnoses is growing. The reasons of regional instability from socioeconomic sphere move to sociocultural sphere complicating social-psychological, sensationally-emotional situation. The processes of sociocultural adaptation and integration of migrants also intensify. At the same time migration flows increase regional population that contributes to filling of vacant niches at the labor market and, consequently, positively influences on region economic potential development. Though, diversity of migration strategies complicates sociocultural situation in the region, increases a number of ethnopolitical threats that requires flexible political and administrative decisions from regulatory bodies of the region as on the boundary, so on the municipal levels.

Key words: the Stavropol territory, forced migrants, interethnic relations, labor migration.

Boundary of XX – XXI centuries will figure in history as a period of major migrations having at the bottom, mostly, war events, independent from causes of their emersion and goal of action. Migrators from economically underdeveloped regions (countries) to relatively stable countries join population flows of forced migrants. And Russia is also not an exception. According to estimations of UN Population Division as of 2013 Russian Federation relinquished only United States in terms of migrators volume [1]. Nowadays about 45,8 million of migrators live in the USA [18], and about 12,4 million of migrators are in Russia at the present time there [9].

It is important to mention that migration – is a discriminant mark of society life not only of metropolises, but of the whole regions, for instance, such as the Stavropol region. One of the peculiarities of migration situation in the Stavropol region consists in “application” of migration waves. From 1989 till 1992 refugees, forced migrants and other relocates began to arrive from “conflict zones” and “disorder zones” to which at that period such countries as Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan were referred to. Russian-language migrants and also the Armenians escaped from Azerbaijan, the Azerbaijani – from Armenia and Meskhetian Turks from Uzbekistan were among them. Since 1992 the basic mass of forced migration compiled Russians who left the republic because of armed conflict in Chechnia. Besides, there was admission to the Russian population region from Dagestan, the Karachayevo-Circassian Republic, Kalmykia, Kabardino-Balkaria and Ingoo-shetia. At that date the Stavropol Territory took one of the high-end places on acceptance of migrants. According to expert judgments about 700 thous. of migrators passed through Stavropol. About 260 thous. of migrants arrived there for permanent place of residence [12, 208].

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On account of NCFD formation interest of neighbor republic inhabitants increased to Stavropol as a territory of investment, enterprise development, business, a territory where social processes were organized on a relatively high level. One can observe inflow of North-Caucasian republics representatives to the region for business and enterprise. The number of students from these republics rises. Pyatigorsk and Stavropol gradually become collegial centres for education of youth from the North-Caucasus. Inhabitants of NCFD republics actively figure at real estate market and, primarily, in Caucasian minerals. In the latest decade labor migration from the North-Caucasian republics, where the problem of labor forces surplus suddenly became strained, increased. As experts note, for positive decision annual amount of labor migration from the North-Caucasian republics should compile 30 – 40 thous. of people [23].

To some extent these tendencies can be illustrated by data presented in the “Socioeconomic development strategy of the North-Caucasian federal district up to 2025”: in 2008 generally on the North-Caucasian federal district migration decrease compiled 11,9 thous. of people, including Republic of Dagestan – 9,8 thous. of people, the Kabardino-Balkarian Republic – 2,9 thous. of people, Republic of North Ossetia-Alania – 2,7 thous. of people, the Karachayevo-Circassian Republic – 1,9 thous. of people and the Chechen Republic – 1 thous. of people. Migration gain marked only in the Stavropol region (5,5 thous. of people) and the Republic of Ingushetia (0,9 thous. of people) [21].

In 2014 the situation with stream refugees and forced migrants emersion repeated, but in the other degree. This is an entrance of refugees from Ukraine to the territory of SFD and NCFD in connexion with change of power and armed conflict in the republic. Thus, 2,3 thous. of inhabitants of the Ukraine south-east districts are in the Stavropol Territory, including, those who have come to the Stavropol Territory by themselves and live at friends or relatives. About 45 refugees came from Donetsk and Lugansk regions to Dagestan, to Kabardino-Balkaria – 79 inhabitants, generally – they are women and children [17].

Thus, the first peculiarity of modern dispersal movements in the Stavropol region becomes increment of uncontrolled migration streams who are characterized by **wide variety** at the place of outcome, causes, goals, migration circumstances, strategies of adaptation and/or integration, and also polyethnicity, variety of religious traditions, diversity of sociocultural targets, variation of historical memory. As the result, **ethnic map** of the Stavropol region was **seriously** changed, polyethnicity of the region increased. Presently, more than 120 ethnical groups live in the region [19]. Such situation sets in front of Stavropol region authorities the most complicated challenge – under the present recessionary conditions solve various social problems not only of regional residents, but also consider diversity of migration strategies which basis has been formed by migrators' problems.

Sharp estrangement between population of “big” Russia and representatives of Caucasian ethnoses became a negative tendency connected with migration of the last several years. Dispersion of such phenomenon called as **Caucasiaphobia** is marked in society. Thus, according to quiz data “Migration and international tension” conducted in November 2013 by sociological agency “Levada-centre” more than 60% of respondents undergo negative feelings (such as: anger, dislike, fear, antipathy) towards immigrants from the south republics; 62% of respondents separate conviction about possibility of conflicts on national ground [16, 83]. In its turn, as it was determined in our research Russian identity was also negatively estimated by Caucasian people (approximately 40 % of respondents). Russian is perceived as a bearer of destroyed culture, devoid of tough regulative prescriptions, normative standards of behavior, intended roles [2, 20-21].

Marked estrangement has its own specific and intensity taking into account regional characteristics, including history of the region, its geopolitical location, economic status, traditions and culture of social relations. All this influences on adaptive processes, entering of business cooperation, social interaction, international communication of migration actors and cross-cultural communications. According to the famous politologists (for instance, M. Astvatsurova V. Avksentyev) estrangement between Russian population and Caucasian representatives grows in the region, the high level of institutionalization and politicization of interethnic conflicts is preserved, axiological and

cultural distinctions often appear to be “subject for conflicts between Russians and Caucasians” [20]. One can observe negative dynamics in estimation of locals and migrants cooperation [7, 98-103]. A part of respondents considering that cooperation of long-standing inhabitants and new residents often appears to be a source of troubles increases: if in 2006 44,4 % kept to such assertion, in 2009 - 41,4%, in 2012 – 57,5 %, then in 2014 this opinion was shared by 60,2% of respondents. Though, a part of those who deny such connection, practically, does not change: over a period of eight years it varies within 34,8 % and 32,5 %. The growth occurs due to swing respondents, those who were at loss to answer.

As far as, population flows converging to the territory of the Stavropol region have ethnical coloration then assertion of Stavropol people about character of interethnic relations is significant. According to research results [7, 112-118], significance of interethnic relations as a threat of regional safety increases: if in 2006 11,6 % of respondents thought in this way then in 2014 – already 39,6 %. In 2006 international questions took 14 place of 15 in the hierarchy of topical regional problems then in 2014 these questions entered into triple of the most critical for the Stavropol Territory problems. There emerges a question, why for Stavropol on the territory of which non-slavic ethnoses have traditionally lived, in recent years interethnic relations become an acute problem. According to respondents, national traditions, religions, and even speech can negatively influence on interaction of people belonging to different ethnocultural communities. In such a way, a fact that over a period of latest years a part of those native persons who undergo tension when hear foreigner speech increased almost in two times, was brought to light. As experts note, in Soviet time practically all who came to the region for study or work from the North Caucasus republics spoke Russian well. Nowadays, using of non-Russian language in public places becomes widespread, and indigenous population forms perception of the own territory as “non-Russian” region. Mainly such feelings led to emergence of motto “The Stavropol Territory – is not Caucasus” which now is not active, but can become such tomorrow.

Parts of people who see a factor of international tension in national traditions grow. For instance, repeated performing of “lezginka” dance in the streets of Stavropol which is accompanied by claps and firing from traumatic weapon [13], unfortunately, leads to negative perception of North-Caucasian republics representatives, but also to more tragic events – “shooting” of dancers from traumatic weapon [3]. In experts opinion, this occurs, as a rule, on the ground of low level of youth accomplishment, aspiration to position their ethnic background by asocial act [5].

According to a quarter of quiz participants [5], religion can separate people. A spectacular example became appearance of young girls in headscarves in public places (schools, universities, streets and etc). Therewith, adult women-Muslims who come from republics for time or live in the region, as a rule, do not wear this attribute of religious clothes. Illegal building of mosques in Pyatigorsk and Kislovodsk which were dismantled under the court decision, also produced ethnic tension in the region. However, negative attitude of indigenous population to migration, mainly “ethnic” was changed from autumn of 2014. Events on the south-east of Ukraine involuntarily provided inflow of Slavic population to the region. Cossacks and some political forces are confirmed that refugees from Donetsk and Lugansk regions will “dilute” Caucasian migrants and will increase a part of Russians in the region. “For our region which a lot of Russians leave, arrival of Ukraine refugees – is a positive phenomenon which allows to compensate Slavic population decrease”, — thus, vice-chairman of local section “New force” A. Dudinov commented out his attitude to this phenomenon [10].

But there are already a lot of posts in social networks about arrogance of Ukraine refugees and how it is expensive for Russian budget to support them. “They are impudent. “They do nothing, wait for somebody to give them everything”, – one of the interlocutors of “Caucasian politics” responded about refugees, asking not to mention his name. Besides, indigenous population beware that provocateurs and criminals, who will aggravate relations between local and entrant people, will penetrate in a number of refugees [22]. However, for fairness' sake, it should be noted that population flow from south-east Ukraine – is insignificant and one should not reckon on serious enlargement of Russians in the region, also as on aggravation of any social problems.

Consequently, the next peculiarity of migration situation becomes displacement of causes of “migration”, including, interethnic opposition from objective socioeconomic sphere to **sociocultural, sensationally-emotional**. One should speak not about opposition of different cultures, but about opposition of accomplishment and lack of education, politeness and discourtesy as of one so of another side of interaction. This is accompanied with ineffective, educating, agitational work of mass media, regulatory bodies, miscalculations and mistakes in political and administrative, organizational and imperious activity of the government and institutes of civil society. Though, in the “Basic realization directions of state national politics in the Stavropol Territory on 2011-2015” juridical and social prerequisites of ethnic tension are specified. The idea that work on tension de-escalation should become routine and should include, along with public authorities and local government, institutions and organizations of education and culture, non-governmental organizations and all those who have connection with social and humanitarian sphere is taken as a basis of document [15]. But regardless of causes one has to acknowledge deterioration of social-psychological situation in the sphere of international relations and growth of regional safety threats.

Migrators of the last period come to the territory of the region – are labor (working) migrators. They compile third part of all migrators categories; represent diversity of cultures and governments. Almost all working-migrators are referred to people of active working age. The most part of migrators are concentrated in age groups from 18 to 49 that is in the most active ages. The territory of Stavropol region can be divided into two zones according to the character of dispersal movements behavior: west for which high migration gain and rather stretching situation at the labor market appears to be peculiar, and east where narrow specialization of labor market “expels” population out of the region area. Under the modern conditions both zones are subjected to labor migration in some or other degree.

In the Stavropol Territory working migrators carry out, first of all, hard work requiring predominantly manual labor. Recently the basic mass of labor migrators is used in building. A part of migration labor power occupied in this sphere composes more than 75%. Such employment is characterized for the north-west part of the region. There are no brightly expressed ethnical cohorts: there are immigrants from Ukraine, Moldova, Uzbekistan and some other countries of CIS and also from various regions of the south of Russia among builders. In addition to building, agriculture appears to be a sphere of economics attracting a significant part of workers-migrators. The basic part of such category of migrators is concentrated on the east territories of the Stavropol region, Izobilnensk and Novoalexandrovsk regions. Therewith, animal breeding and mainly cattle breeding became the basic agricultural branch of migrators activity. In addition, immigrants from the North Caucasian republics, originally performing this type of agricultural labor, compose a significant part of migration community. The next employment sector of working-migrators appears to be business activity on market supplying that is in a greater degree peculiar for south-west, kavminvody zone. Labour power from Armenia and also foreign citizens from far-abroad countries (Turkey, Yugoslavia and other countries) play a big role on the regional labor market. Guest workers from CIS and Baltic countries are also busy in industry and connection [11, 11-14]. It is necessary to mention that because of relatively small scales labor immigration in whole does not noticeably influence on employment sector of region population, however, in big cities, under-populated regions with insufficiency of labor, it intensifies its labor potential of territories, contributes to improvement of situation on the regional labor markets.

Consideration of receiving region in the context of labor migration connects, first of all, with its attractive for migrators peculiarities appearing to be significant and determinant causes of entrance. Despite on the fact that priorities of different groups of migrators are various, one can emphasize the most unified from them. In the research [6, 134-138] causes of arrival and labor activity on the territory of the Stavropol region broke up on the following groups: economical, geopolitical, sociocultural, psychological. Possibility of better earnings (48,6 % of respondents mentioned this circumstance) and presence of relatives in the region (48,0 %) are considered to be decisive facts in the choice of place for labor migration. According to opinion poll, 27,0% of labor migrators pay for

their children' education by means of receiving earnings in the region, 18,1 % – regularly spend their rest abroad, 17,3 % of working migrators can buy flat or house in the Stavropol region.

The third place was taken by geopolitical circumstances such as nearness of the Stavropol region to boundaries of state exit. This attracted to the region almost the fifth part of arrived people (19,1%). Among the reasons of migrators arriving, one mentions that it is easier to find job in the Stavropol region than in other regions of Russia (15,0 %). An important requirement is considered to be knowledge of local culture (13,0 %), and also presence of national expat community in the Stavropol region (11,0 %). Reasons of psychological character are also mentioned – “all left and I left”, that became a basis for departure of 1,2% of respondents.

Realization of labor migration – is a process which connects with conditions of migrators arriving where an important place take sociocultural conditions. An important place in the given plane takes a question about knowledge of communication language in society. According to the researches data [6, 101-105], a lot of labor migrators know Russian language (41,6%) on a good level and use these knowledge in practice. The rest part – know Russian language within the frame of professional and everyday communication. Judging by diversity of migrators national group on the territory of the region, one can confirm that migration lifts the status of Russian language.

As for religion, situation in the region is rather liberal. According to constitution of Russian Federation which permits confession of any religions which do not contradict to law, polyconfessional labor migrators can easily keep to their religion. About 20 national and cultural autonomies representing the Armenians, the Greeks, the Germans, the Koreans, the Ossetians, the Turkmen, people of Dagestan are functioning in the region. More than 70 national and cultural centres are registered. According to the results of labor migrators quiz, absolute majority of respondents do not feel opposition on the part of regulatory bodies, non-governmental organizations or other social institutions. This broadly contributes to preservation of social-psychological confidence feeling inside oneself and maintenance of ethno-confessional values of migrators.

Juridical space formation which directly touches upon subjects of presence legality of labor migrators in the region remains a problem which is hard to realize. Law “About measures on illegal migration intersection in the Stavropol region” (6 of June 2002) as an attempt to regulate in a complex way illegal migration streams at the level of subject was enacted in the Stavropol region SR [8]. Though, in practice this document did not solve the problem of illegal migrators presence in the region. Officially the basic part of labor migrators is not registered. Liberal accounting order of labor power and absence of serious sanctions for its violation by employers contributes to unexecuted employment of migrators. According to expert estimations, as minimum two illegal labor migrators fall within one official guest worker [14, 35].

Systemization of the Stavropol region peculiarities as a receiving region permits to emphasize factors which prove its attractiveness for external and internal migrators. These peculiarities are: border location, favourable climate for life and husbandry; demand for migrants, traditionally developed migrant “niches” at the labor market; similarity of customs and traditions of locals and labor migrators part, affinities and etc. All this means that the Stavropol region represents a complex regenerating society filled with problems as of socioeconomic, so sociocultural character.

Thus, the analysis of labor migration situation in the Stavropol region convinces that labor migration has spontaneous, disorganized character and represented by migrators with low level of education and qualification. But, despite on low quality of labor migration, it in a greater degree appears to be a “**magic solving of economic and population problems**” (I. Wallerstein) [4], that contains threat for region converting it in the zone of migration risks.

Consequently, regional peculiarities of migration processes in the Stavropol region manifest in the following. “Superposition” of various migration waves of external and internal, forced and labor migration takes place there. Displacement of reasons of “migration” opposition from an objective sphere to sociocultural, sensationally-emotional is present there. There are positive consequences of labor migration even under its low qualification level. The given specificity influences on the processes of adaptation, establishing of business cooperation, social interaction, international communication of actors' migration. Active participation is required in migration problem solving

on the part of government institutions, civil society institutions. Special emphasis should be paid to questions not only of migration legislation, creation of working places and living conditions for migrants and locals, but also to formation of cross-cultural communications, neutralization of ethno-cultural, confessional and other distinctions.

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