
MODERN RUSSIA: IDEOLOGY, POLITICS, CULTURE AND RELIGION

VALENTINA SCHENSNOVICH. MIGRATION POLICY IN MODERN RUSSIA // *Analytical review was written for the bulletin "Russia and the Moslem World."*

Keywords: migration; ethno-religious composition of the population; Moslems; Islam; enclaves; demographic trends; migration policy; public administration; Moslem religious organizations; regulation of external labor migration; adaptation and integration of migrants; labor market; foreign labor force (IRS); quotas.

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Abstract. This review analyzes the most essential features of the state migration policy of modern Russia. The attention is focused on the religious factor, ethnopolitics, regulation of external labor migration; adaptation and integration of Moslem migrants.

Introduction

In the modern world, migration processes have acquired an unprecedented scale. Migration has become one of the key factors in social processes. In the Russian Federation, migration is determined by global trends: natural population decline, lack of labor, uneven economic development of regions. The above factors are complemented by Russia's participation in integration associations in the post-Soviet space. At the same time, the growth of the Moslem part of the population and the formation of Moslem enclaves raise concerns among Russians.

In the structure of external migration, the priority belongs to labor migration. Most of those who come to work are Moslems. Demographic trends make it possible to predict a significant increase in the presence of Moslems and a change in the ethno-religious composition of the population of Russian regions. The problem of adaptation of migrants requires an integrated approach, for which religious and public organizations are not always ready. The educational influence of the Russian Moslem clergy could contribute to the inculturation of Moslem migrants. At the same time, the ineffectiveness of adaptation and inculturation leads to an increase in interethnic and interreligious tensions.

The article by DSc(Philosophy) Tatyana Pronina, Pushkin Leningrad State University, Sankt-Peterburg, [6] "Migration in modern Russia and the religious factor*" is based on the analysis of materials from surveys and interviews conducted in the regions of the Russian Federation in 2016–2020.

The migration flow to Russia increased after the collapse of the Soviet Union due to the deterioration of the political and economic situation in the former republics of the USSR. In dynamics 2017–2019 there is again an increase in migration to the Russian Federation. In 2019, 19.5 million people were

* Translation of the title is presented in author's version.

registered in Russia for migration. About 5.5 million people arrived for the purpose of employment. This figure may actually be 1.5–2 times higher. The share of CIS citizens among the arriving foreigners has remained unchanged for a number of years - about 85 per cent, of which 40 per cent come from the states of Central Asia, mainly - Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. At least 9.8 million foreign citizens stay constantly on the territory, which is about 7 per cent of the population.

However, if we take into account those who stay in the Russian Federation at a time, taking into account illegal labor migrants too, then the number may increase to 10 million. At the same time, Russia's own Moslem population is about 20 million people. In total, there are about 30 million Moslems in the country. This is more than 20 per cent of the population. In the future, significant changes may occur in the ethno-religious composition of the Russian population. Migration thus becomes not only a demographic factor, but also plays an important role in political processes.

The largest external migration in the Russian Federation is labor migration. Basically, it is of a “circular,” temporary nature. Tax payments of foreign workers bring significant income to the state: In 2018, it was 45 billion rubles. According to experts, Russia has a double benefit from migration: migrants create material benefits, make migration payments, pay taxes in Russia itself, increasing its GDP, and through money transfers they stabilize the situation in the regions closest to Russia. The main centers of attraction for external migration in the Russian Federation are the Central and Northwestern Federal Districts. More than half (57 per cent) of all foreign citizens who entered the Russian Federation for the purpose of employment are registered in 4 regions - Moscow and St. Petersburg, Moscow and Leningrad regions. These regions are dynamically developing, with the greatest attraction of investments, various objects are being actively built here, there are many markets, and a developed service sector. The main sectors of employment of foreign

migrants are construction (34 per cent), services (13 per cent), manufacturing (10 per cent), agriculture (7 per cent).

Studies show that the attitude of Russians towards migrants is now showing a tendency to deteriorate. Local residents are often inclined to blame newcomers for existing socio-economic problems. According to a survey conducted by employees of the Center for Religious and Ethnopolitical Research, Leningrad State University named after A.S. Pushkin in one of the central regions of Russia in 2016, only 20 per cent of respondents believe that the presence of migrants is useful for the country and the region, 26.6 per cent answered that they should not be in the country, 17.2 per cent expressed their dislike for migrants, 35.9 per cent answered that they did not care. Among the reasons for hostile attitudes, the following were named: aggressive behavior – 64.1 per cent, disregard for local traditions and norms of behavior – 39.3 per cent, criminal activity – 35.3 per cent, violations of public order – 32.5 per cent, they are dangerous – 21 per cent, they occupy jobs of Russians – 19.4 per cent. To the question: “What actions should the authorities take in relation to migrants?” the majority spoke in favor of restrictive measures: 60 per cent of respondents answered that it is necessary to restrict the inflow of migrants and control illegal migration, 14 per cent believe that it is necessary to limit the types of acceptable work and the amount of remuneration for migrants, only 7 per cent spoke out that the legal norms of entry and accommodation should be facilitated.

Negative sentiments prevail in the attitude of Russians towards migrants. According to the results of a monitoring study conducted by the sociological center “Megapolis” in 2014 through a telephone survey of 1,000 Petersburgers, 46.4 per cent answered that citizens coming to the city for temporary work from the former Soviet republics and the North Caucasus create problems.

The adaptation and integration of migrants in Russia has its own peculiarities. Since the main migration flow is circular in nature, most of the migrants are not focused on integration at all.

For them, an acceptable option is the level of adaptation that allows them to survive in the country and earn money: a minimum knowledge of the Russian language, sufficient for communication in everyday life. There was no talk of any cultural integration. Migrants often have a negative perception of many norms and traditions of the country of arrival. Sociologists see the reason for this in a high degree of enclavization, when visitors have no reason and no need to communicate with the local population.

Experts' opinions differ on the question of whether there are ethnoreligious enclaves in Russia. As a rule, representatives of official state bodies believe that there are none. Indeed, if we keep in mind enclaves similar to those formed on the outskirts or in the suburbs of large cities in France, Germany, Belgium, then there are no such ones in Russia yet. The reason for this is the low scale of immigration. Labor migration is of temporary nature – according to statistics, only about 20 per cent of visitors want to stay in Russia. There are also few representatives of the second generation of immigrants who were born in the country of arrival. However, some researchers believe that enclaves in Russian cities in Moscow and St. Petersburg exist (T. Protasenko, I. Beloborodov). Visitors, the researchers note, live separately, according to their own laws and rules that are unclear to Russians. Citizens are afraid of such “enclaves”, believing that they cannot feel safe next to them. In ten years, the “enclaves” will become unmanageable from the outside, their population will grow. As a result, they will begin to change the cultural background, way of life and traditions. This is a common practice for cities where the share of migrants exceeds 10–12 per cent percent, and in Moscow today there are more than 20 per cent of migrants.

According to T. Pronina, there are already prerequisites for the formation of “parallel societies” reflecting the process of enclavization in Russian cities. The main one is a long stay on the territory of the Russian Federation – about 6 months or more – of

a significant number of migrants. After leaving, they are replaced by new employees who often settle in the same places – as a result, their concentration can be significant.

In Moscow, the areas of compact residence of migrants are the outskirts of the city. The situation is similar in St. Petersburg – here migrants also settle in areas with low rent for housing, near places of work. There are similar areas in other cities: Nizhny Novgorod, Samara, Ufa, Orenburg. In the absence or lack of adaptation mechanisms, segregation of such communities occurs. The number of migrants in the Russian countryside is also increasing. For example, in the Astrakhan and Volgograd regions, migrants make up a significant share in agricultural activities related to seasonal harvesting of melons and vegetables. This situation is evaluated in a polar way: from “ban it, it will lead to conflicts”, to “they will save a dying Russian village”. Experts admit that the village cannot do without migrants.

The majority of labor migrants in Russia are Moslems. However, the intensity of their religiosity, according to the researcher, differs significantly in generations. In an interview with the author of the article, it is recorded that immigrants from Central Asia who came to St. Petersburg 15–20 years ago are less religious than young relatives who come to them today, who are very religious. Under the influence of the latter, older relatives also become more religious. Expert interviews with leaders of Moslem communities and national centers indicate that the religiosity of migrants often differs from the Islam that is traditional for a particular region of Russia, has an intense character, reveals the features of election, visitors are guided by the authority of leaders who were their mentors at home. All this complicates their inculturation. There is also such a trend: in some regions, imams who received religious education abroad in the 1990s and 2000s are easier to build communication with migrants. As a result, there is a displacement of authentic members from the community, the separation of communities along ethnic lines. According to the forecast of political scientist

Abdulla Rinat Mukhametov, the indigenous Moslem population of Russia will itself become a minority on its territory in relation to the Central Asian majority (yesterday's migrants).

Public councils for interaction with religious organizations and centralized religious organizations can coordinate efforts to adapt migrants. But a small number of migrants are covered by the activities of public and state structures. Migrants most often did not even hear about public national organizations. But many of them visit mosques and prayer rooms. However, here we can still talk about great potential, but not about significant real achievements. Work with migrants is limited to holding meetings with the invitation of employees of the Federal Migration Service, who explain how to issue a registration and a patent, warn about the inadmissibility of offenses, etc. In their sermons, the imams talk about the need to comply with Russian laws, respect for local residents and representatives of all nationalities and religions.

According to T. Pronina, the inefficiency of religious organizations in the adaptation of migrants is associated, among other things, with objective reasons. It is the Moslem migrants, most of whom are located in large Russian cities, who, due to the lack of mosques and prayer houses, find themselves outside the sphere of influence of representatives of the Russian Moslem clergy. Whereas the educational influence of the clergy, focused on the cultivation of the all-Russian identity, could become an effective way of adaptation and prevent the trends of segregation of migrant communities.

In the article "Formation and institutionalization of state migration policy", DSc(Political Science) V. Zorin (Financial University under the Government of the Russian Federation) and PhD(Political Science) M. Burda (Russian Academy of National Economy and Public Administration under the President of the Russian Federation) [1] analyze the features that influence the formation of migration policy in modern Russia. The authors provide statistical data, expert assessments, ratings and legal acts.

The researchers note that the topic of external migration is one of the most acute and relevant in the socio-political space. At the same time, the understanding of external migration at the level of experts and society often differs. The expert community is currently generally positive about the mechanisms of external migration in the context of solving certain problems in the Russian labor market and the difficult demographic situation. In turn, part of the Russian society is conservative about external migration and associates the increase in the level of domestic crime, the spread of drugs and terrorist risks with migration. Opinion polls show that two-thirds of Russians support restrictive measures of the Russian government aimed at limiting the influx of visitors. For example, in 2019, the Levada Center received the following results: – 72 per cent of respondents supported the need to limit the influx of migrant workers; – 63 per cent of respondents noted: – “The presence of migrants in our city / region is excessive”; – 64 per cent of respondents said: “My relatives and friends are ready to do the work that migrants are currently doing.”

The authors consider the model of modern Russian migration policy, when the latest version of the Concept of the State Migration Policy of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2025 was adopted. They note that the new migration concept approved by President Vladimir Putin is the result of reworking and improving, taking into account the changing political situation, the mechanisms laid down in the Migration Policy Concept of 2012. This approach made it possible to evolutionarily reform the mechanisms of state management in the migration sphere. During the implementation of the previous migration concept, the authorities introduced new aspects into the migration legislation, among them:

- differentiation of the rules for temporary employment of foreign citizens on the territory of the Russian Federation;
- improving, including regulatory and legal, mechanisms for countering illegal migration and its organization;

- adjustment of Russian regulatory legal acts, in terms of clarifying the procedure for their application to foreign citizens who are in the Russian Federation, within the framework of the Labor Code of the Russian Federation.

The possibility to carry out temporary labor activity in Russia on the basis of a patent since January 2015 has allowed the Russian migration system to differentiate external labor migration not only by qualitative criteria – general procedure, qualified specialist, highly qualified specialist, but also by the “country” criterion. Currently, three “country” criteria are expressed. The maximum level of preferences applies to migrant workers from the EAEU member States (Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan), for whom a single labor market has been formed throughout the Union. The second level of admission includes migrants from the CIS member states that are not members of the EAEU – Azerbaijan, Moldova, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Ukraine, which have been subject to the rules of the institute of “patenting” since 2015. The third level includes all other states, migrants from which, when carrying out temporary work in Russia, need to issue a permit to attract foreign labor and a work permit. The implementation of the three-level system made it possible to abandon the mechanism of quota attraction of foreign labor, which had the potential for corruption offenses, and also did not always meet the current needs and needs of the Russian labor market in foreign labor, and in this regard was criticized by the business community and public organizations.

Migration, as a complex phenomenon, depends on the interaction of the political, economic, social and humanitarian aspects of the policy implemented by the state. The model of migration management implemented within the framework of the Russian migration system, formed by state authorities, with the active participation of civil society institutions, allows achieving a balance between the political, economic and demographic interests of the state, on the one hand, and ensuring

national security, protecting the rights of the local population and legal migrants, on the other.

Leading Russian experts in the field of migration consider it necessary to adjust the existing migration system in terms of improving approaches to attracting migrants not only for temporary work in Russia, but also their subsequent integration into Russian society as its new full-fledged members. However, according to the Doctor of Political Sciences Mikhailova N. (Peoples Friendship University of Russia), PhDs (Political Sciences) Burda M. (The Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration) and Grishin O. (Peoples Friendship University of Russia) [5] (article "State migration policy of Russia: actual issues of external labor migration") the political regimes of the Central Asian republics see external migration to the Russian Federation in a different paradigm. Migration of their citizens to work in Russia is considered in these states as a mechanism that allows minimizing domestic political risks associated with a low standard of living and unemployment. The researchers also note that remittances of migrant workers to the countries of origin continue to be a significant aspect of the economic stability of the states – migration donors. In addition, labor migrants themselves often do not consider Russia as a new place of residence.

The authors emphasize that the indication in the migration card of the purpose of entry into the Russian Federation "work" does not give the right to carry out temporary labor activity to foreign citizens from the CIS member states. According to the statistics of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia, only about 36 per cent receive the necessary documents – patents and work permits. It is obvious that a certain part of migrants who have not issued documents carry out temporary labor activities illegally. A significant part of migrants become illegal immigrants unintentionally and, in some cases, this has the following set of reasons:

- a low level of Russian language proficiency does not allow a migrant to study the requirements of Russian migration legislation even in the country of departure. The migrant is guided by information from social networks and acquaintances, and these data are often unreliable and erroneous;

- after entering the territory of the Russian Federation, a migrant is given 30 days to file an application for a patent, while he must register for migration, receive the necessary medical certificate, a certificate of knowledge of the Russian language. Often, in order to speed up such a procedure, a migrant turns for help to intermediaries (diasporas, non-profit organizations and dubious legal advice), who sometimes are engaged in outright fraud;

- an unscrupulous employer offers a migrant to register without the necessary permits, and after 30 days, when the migrant can no longer apply for a patent, actually transfers the migrant to an illegal position and gets the opportunity to manipulate such an employee, including without paying him wages.

The existing high migration attractiveness of Russia for immigrants from the post-Soviet states is due to the existing features of Russian migration legislation, which promotes the development of preferential relations with the CIS countries and thus cultivates the dependence of the Russian labor market of foreign labor on the influx of external labor resources from several donor states.

The Russian migration system differentiates external labor migration in two planes. The migration legislation identifies categories of highly qualified and qualified specialists, and also implements various procedures for obtaining permits for potential labor migrants regarding their state of departure. Russian legislation includes migrants from the EAEU states to the first group, for which a single labor market has been formed throughout the Union. The second group includes migrants from the CIS member states that are not members of the EAEU, for whom the procedure for obtaining permits in the form of a patent

for temporary employment is provided. The third group includes migrants from all other States. For this group, the process of carrying out temporary labor activity in Russia is the most difficult and requires, in addition to obtaining a work permit, obtaining a permit to attract foreign labor.

According to PhD (Hist.) V. Komarovskiy [2], the Concept of the State Migration Policy of the Russian Federation for 2019–2025 did not reflect duly the transformation of the migration policy of the main host countries, emphasizing the role of labor migration in increasing economic competitiveness. The system of regulating the inflow and use of foreign labor in Russia includes three categories of labor migrants: two of them are visa-free: citizens of the EAEU member states, equated to the national labor force, immigrants from other CIS countries (work on the basis of a patent), and the visa flow of labor migrants from third countries.

Migration regulation is determined by the socio-economic needs of the host country in certain categories of migrants, the intensity of their influx, the need to either stimulate or limit it in a certain period. For the European Union today, the tasks of limiting the influx of migrants, countering illegal migration and strengthening the external borders of the EU are coming to the fore. At the same time, the new Concept charges Russia with a task of improving the regulatory and legal regulation of the influx of foreigners, facilitating the resettlement of compatriots, attracting and adapting in-demand categories of labor migrants from visa countries.

The adoption of the new Concept of Migration Policy makes significant adjustments to the country's migration policy, shifts its focus to the voluntary resettlement of compatriots, improving the current migration legislation and strengthening the fight against its violations. With any trend of development of the socio-economic situation, an increase or decrease in the need for FLW, the analysis and forecast of the dynamics of supply and demand for it in the domestic labor market becomes an

increasingly urgent problem for the further development of the country and the prevention of negative phenomena.

In the article “Role and place of external labor migration in the structure of foreign labor” V. Komarovskiy [3] examines the role of labor migrants from the post-Soviet countries in the economic support of Russian households. Along with the introduction into scientific circulation of previously unused data from a sample survey conducted by Rosstat in 2019, the author identifies the specifics of the sectorial distribution of contingents of immigrants from post-Soviet countries.

Due to historical conditions, immigrants from the CIS countries, who make up the majority of labor migrants, are of interest from the point of view of understanding the dynamics of entry and adaptation in Russian conditions. The share of people who have lived in Russia for more than 5 years and adapted to it is on average 83 per cent. The largest number of external migrants settled in Russia is accounted for by Ukrainians (25 per cent), Kazakhs (22 per cent) and Uzbeks (15 per cent).

Consideration of the problems of labor migration involves an analysis of the interaction of visiting workers with employers. However, insufficient attention is paid to this defining aspect of the relationship. Apparently, a significant proportion of employers hiring foreigners did not come into the view of the sample statistical observation in 2019. Data on the conclusion of employment contracts are not officially published and are not even partially provided by employers.

The vast majority of employers belong to small and individual entrepreneurs. At the same time, the total number of entrepreneurs who hired foreigners was an insignificant share of entrepreneurs – members of households (15.5 per cent), whose main business area is trade, repair of motor vehicles, etc. (39 per cent), construction (17 per cent), manufacturing (12 per cent). Due to the limited use of the FLW, the number of foreigners employed by this category of employers was relatively small – 466.6 thousand people, of which immigrants from the CIS

countries accounted for 429.8 thousand (92.1 per cent). Almost two-thirds of foreign workers (60 per cent) were from Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Ukraine.

The author concludes that the concentration of a significant share of migrant workers in a certain range of industries providing services to households (population) mainly includes construction and repair, agricultural work and transport services. Employment in other sectors is much less widespread, which correlates with the professional and qualification structure of migrant workers. There are also national preferences for employment in certain sectors.

Comparing the results obtained with the data of official migration statistics allows us to get a clearer understanding of the real demand and supply of foreign labor services from the CIS countries in the domestic labor market, creates an opportunity to prepare a forecast of the need for their services and develop planned indicators.

In the article "Rossiya i SNG: dinamika migracionnyh potokov" (Russia and the CIS: dynamics of migration flows) [4] V. Komarovsky notes that over the past 5–6 years there took place a significant redistribution of external migration flows to Russia. First of all, this concerns labor migration – the supply of foreign labor from visa countries, especially European ones, has significantly decreased, the number of labor migrants from the post-Soviet countries (the CIS and the EAEU) has stabilized.

As follows from the statistics, the crossing of the Russian border by citizens of visa-free countries has a lot in common, although there are also a number of national features. These features relate not only to the scale of entry, but also to the preferred purposes of entry, its intensity. For countries such as Kazakhstan, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Moldova and Belarus, the "private" nature of most entries to Russia remains predominant.

The annual maximum indicators are inherent in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, which, in comparison with the data on the total

number of labor migrants from these countries, allows us to consider this phenomenon as an indicator of the maximum demand for FLW in Russia during this period, satisfied by the supply of labor from these countries. Kyrgyzstan also acts as a significant supplier of FLW for the domestic labor market (2019 – 58 per cent of all entries).

The inter-country dynamics of entries is of considerable interest. According to the border service of the FSB, in 2019, 199.4 thousand citizens of Kazakhstan who entered Russia indicated the purpose of the visit as “work”, and according to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation, only 136.2 thousand people who came for the same purpose were initially registered.

Uzbekistan has been the largest supplier of FLW to the Russian labor market for many years, and with a high degree of probability, the importance of the Russian labor market for the citizens of Uzbekistan will remain for a long time. In total, 2.1 million citizens of Uzbekistan registered for migration in order to get a job in 2019, and this figure is steadily growing from year to year.

Tajikistan ranks second in the number of labor migrants to Russia after Uzbekistan. As for the structure of migration flows of citizens of Tajikistan, in comparison with Uzbekistan, the share of applicants for work among migrants to Russia in 2019 was much higher – 82 per cent against 57 per cent, although this figure is more than twice lower in number (875.1 thousand people).

The nature of migration from Kyrgyzstan has its own peculiarities, although the country is a member of the EAEU and has a visa-free regime for cross-border movement with Russia. For Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan, the indicators of 2019 are comparable in terms of the share of people entering for work (58 per cent and 57 per cent, respectively), as well as in terms of the share of private trips (28 per cent and 32 per cent). The volume and intensity of the entry of immigrants from Azerbaijan attract

attention with their constancy. It seems that, first of all, it is a well-established trade in agricultural products.

Turkmenistan, due to the political course of its leadership, differs significantly in terms of the scale of migration exchange with Russia from all the CIS countries. The visa regime of Turkmenistan plays a significant role for all countries, including the Russian Federation. The presence of Turkmen workers in Russia is increasing through quota mechanisms for accepting visa migrants. First of all, they are employed in Turkish construction companies. 4.8 thousand people were registered for migration, and they indicated work as the purpose of entry. In 2019, the first places were taken by the business motive of crossing the border (29 per cent) and tourism (26 per cent).

The analysis of the features of the entry of citizens from ten post-Soviet republics to Russia over the past decade allows us to draw a number of conclusions

- Statistics on the entry and registration of migrants in Russia for the period under review gives an idea of the national migration trajectories of citizens of the post-Soviet countries.

- National contingents of migrants have their own national and regional characteristics related to the historical past, socio-economic and political situation of the donor country.

- The nature of the trajectories along which the number of entries to Russia has been distributed over the past decade, their relatively stable cyclicity gives us the right to speak about a high degree of interdependence of the mechanisms of interaction with Russian partners, primarily in the labor market.

- The results obtained indicate that the countries considered can be divided into two types of interaction: (1) based on the provision of a demanded workforce and (2) focused on achieving a whole range of private goals and objectives (from moving to permanent residence to meeting various business interests).

- Depending on the size of the donor countries, the availability of a free labor force focused on labor migration,

the contribution to meeting the needs of the host country, the occupation of certain free niches in its labor market is determined.

- The different intensity of entries from individual countries is determined by the timing of achieving the set goals (primarily, united by the concept of “private”). Longer-term goals, such as work and study, significantly affect the length of stay and the frequency of migrants crossing the border.

- Differentiation of approaches to the analysis of the duration of stay deepens the understanding of the mechanisms and motivations for crossing the Russian border.

The main task of the migration policy of any host country is to meet the needs of the economy in foreign labor and protect domestic workers from unfair competition. Supranational associations also face the problem of forming a single labor market (the EAEU and the EU).

It is obvious that without an objective understanding of the dynamics and structure of the goals and objectives pursued by foreign citizens in our country, it is hardly possible to talk about a balanced migration policy, about an effective system of selection and screening of in-demand and redundant categories of foreigners.

Conclusion

Migration processes in the modern world do not diminish their relevance in the global political agenda. After the collapse of the USSR, Russia becomes one of the largest actors in migration processes with its own special migration system. Revealing the changes in the Russian migration legislation, which made it possible to build a modern migration system, the authors also consider the specifics of state management of migration processes in modern Russia and give suggestions for its improvement. Over the post-Soviet period, Russia has become a recipient country of migration flows along with the United States,

Germany and a number of other states of high migration attractiveness. Modern Russian experts note the peculiarities of not only the implemented state migration policy, but also the formed migration regime, the main task of which is to attract foreign citizens to ensure their national and economic interests.

The migration attractiveness of Russia in the post-Soviet space requires the Russian authorities to develop new approaches in the field of adaptation and integration of external migrants. The formed conditions for adaptation and integration of migrants are important for the effective implementation of not only migration, but also national policy. In this regard, the importance of interaction between government bodies, both at the federal level (the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia and the Federal Agency for Ethnic Affairs) and at the regional level (administrations of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation) with civil society institutions, is growing.

In Russia there are councils for interaction with religious organizations, centralized religious organizations, public ethnic communities that can coordinate efforts to adapt migrants. Moslem migrants, most of whom stay in large Russian cities, due to the lack of mosques and prayer houses, find themselves outside the sphere of influence of representatives of the Russian Moslem clergy. Whereas the educational influence of the clergy, focused on the cultivation of an all-Russian identity, could contribute to adaptation and hinder the tendencies of segregation of migrant communities.

At present, the issues of adaptation and integration of foreign citizens in Russia do not have an appropriate regulatory legal framework, and this fact hinders the implementation of the interaction mechanism enshrined in the Concept of Migration Policy. At the same time, the updated Concept, according to the researchers, meets modern migration challenges and allows us to counteract migration risks.

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