EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF MIGRANTS OF FOREIGN ETHNICITIES AS A FACTOR OF THEIR INTEGRATION INTO THE HOST COMMUNITY

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Abstract
Every country that receives migrants has to solve the problems of their naturalization and integration. High educational level of the migrants of foreign ethnicities helps them to integrate into the host community more effectively. Non-institutional sources of education (J. J. Heckman) also play a significant role in the processes of integration of migrants (knowledge of the language of the host country, knowledge of laws, culture, and active communication with the members of the host community etc.). Russia holds the second position in the world in terms of international migration. The authors of the present article, basing on the materials of their studies carried out in Ekaterinburg (Russia) in 2016–2018, demonstrate that the migrants of foreign ethnicities from Central Asia better integrate into the host community in case they have a high educational level, and employ non-institutional sources of education. According to the authors, the migrants having a university degree or an incomplete higher education have some specific characteristics, which help them integrate better into the host society. Representatives of this group of migrants are more often characterized by the followings points, as compared to the representatives of people with different educational background: they know Russian well (76.9%) and know Russian laws (75.4%), have got used to living in Ekaterinburg (60%), would like to have a permanent residence in Russia (56.9%), have friends and relatives in Ekaterinburg (67.7%), learn news about Russian people and Russia from their communication with local citizens (73.8%), don’t have any national prejudices (75.4%), are less religious (43.1%). Thus, the authors conclude that the combination of such factors as the higher level of education of the migrants and the possibility to use non-institutional sources of education increases their chances for the integration into the host community. The host country gets “quality” migrants, who can integrate well and aspire to obtain the citizenship of the host country.

Keywords: migrants of foreign ethnicities, educational background, integration, Central Asia, Russia, survey.

1 INTRODUCTION
In 2017, 533,265 migrants from different countries entered Russia in the course of relocation. 96,852 of them had university degrees. The majority of these migrants are from the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). The majority of migrants from CIS coming to Russia are from Central Asia, and the share of well-educated people is relatively low (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan). In 2017, 4,532 migrants from CIS countries entered Ekaterinburg (Russia); the majority of them arrived from Central Asia. These are regular annual indicators of international migration for Ekaterinburg.

Modern researchers are actively studying the relationship between the level of education of foreign migrants and the successfullness of their integration into the host community. Thus, the results of surveys in Israel show that immigrants during their first years do not work in an occupation that fits their education; this holds their estimated human capital below that of the Israel-born [1]. The educational characteristics of migrants influence various aspects of their behavior in the host country. Thus, basing on the results of the survey held in nine European cities researchers revealed the interrelation between the educational background of migrants and their protest activity [2]. There are studies that demonstrate by the example of young people the interrelation between the motivation for education in their native country and future migration plans. Using the example of Senegal, researchers show the popularity of Islamic education and sales training, which increase the possibilities of subsequent migration for young people [3].

Host countries offer a variety of resources to improve the educational level of migrants. J. J. Heckman points out that it is unacceptable to ignore non-institutional sources of learning, since training can take place outside educational institutions [4]. Non-institutional sources of education for potential or actual
foreign migrants are also being investigated by scientists [for example, see 5]. Using the example of Germany, other researchers demonstrate that the fact that mothers in migrant families of Turkish origin do not have enough information about the educational system leads to a decline in the social status of their children. Furthermore, migrants’ less profitable social network composition and lower levels of German language skills contribute to their information deficits [6]. However, such studies are practically absent in the territory that we are studying (Ekaterinburg, Russia), and in Russia in general.

2 METHODOLOGY

Conclusions made in the article are based on the results of the survey by means of the standardized interviewing of migrants from Central Asia (N 231) in 2016–17; on the data of quality interviews with migrants of foreign ethnicities (N 19) in 2018. The integration of migrants into the host community is presented in our survey through three levels of indicators: effective, instrumental, and factorial. Indexes of the first level include indicators of adaptation to new living conditions: assessing the degree of habitualness of the life in the city, willingness to stay permanently in Russia. The second group of indicators includes tools that facilitate integration: knowledge of the Russian language, Russian laws, presence of friends and relatives in the city, and the possibility of obtaining information about life in Russia from local people. The third group of indicators includes cultural factors affecting integration: presence of national prejudices, adherence to Muslim religious traditions and interest in native history. The authors used the following methods for analyzing information: the descriptive method, the method of comparing groups, the method of analytical comparison of the texts of in-depth interviews.

3 RESULTS

At the beginning of our research, we assumed that communication with local residents is an extremely important non-institutional source of learning not only Russian language and Russian laws, but also the norms of communication with members of the host community. In our opinion, this is also a significant factor in the migrants’ integration. The survey results confirmed the proposed hypothesis. Good knowledge of the Russian language and laws correlates with the fact the migrants have Russian friends and the fact that they obtain knowledge about life in Russia through the communication with the local population; it also increases the degree of habituation to the life in the city.

— How often do you usually communicate with locals and where? — I always communicate with them all day long. But I don’t communicate with my compatriots often, only on holidays. They come to visit us when we arrange these holidays. — And with whom do you communicate most often? — With Russians mostly (female, 26 years old, Tajikistan).

Institutional sources of education are associated with obtaining knowledge and skills in educational institutions. We divided the respondents into three groups in accordance with the level of education received in organizations of higher and secondary vocational education, as well as secondary general education (see Table).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table. Socio-adaptive and national-cultural characteristics of migrants depending on the level of education (% of the number of respondents in the educational group).</th>
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<tr>
<td>Education level: secondary general and lower</td>
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<tr>
<td>Used to living in Ekaterinburg</td>
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<tr>
<td>Would like to move to Russia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Have friends, relatives in Ekaterinburg</td>
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<tr>
<td>Obtain information and news about Russia from the Russians</td>
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<td>Good knowledge of Russian laws</td>
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<tr>
<td>Can not only speak Russian, but also read and write in it</td>
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<td>No nationalities cause dislike</td>
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<tr>
<td>Migrants tend to pray, visit a mosque, participate in religious holidays</td>
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<tr>
<td>Have interest in the history of their nation</td>
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Source: author’s own data.
The data given in the table shows that the level of integration of migrants increases with the level of education. This manifests itself both in the more developed adaptation tools (knowledge of the Russian language, Russian laws, the possibility of contacts with the local population), and in value preferences (lack of national prejudices, religious habits).

— Do you respect your national traditions, and if so, which ones? — No, I do not, because I was brought up in a Russian-speaking family, so our family does not have any special traditions that indigenous Kazakhs have (female, 20 years old, studying at the university, Kazakhstan).

The higher the level of education is, the less common is the celebration of religious holidays; at the same time, people with higher educational level tend to have more interest in the national history, their knowledge of the Russian language and Russian laws is higher as well. Thus, with the increase in the level of formal education, we witness the higher erudition related to the Russian culture alongside with the understanding of the importance of preserving the ethnic culture of the foreign migrants.

— Are you ready to abandon the observance of Kazakh traditions? — Nooo, even though I do not know anything about traditions and do not observe them, I believe that traditions and cultural peculiarities should be preserved. We inherited it from our ancestors, and we must pass it to the next generation (male, 23 years old, secondary vocational education, Kazakhstan).

The influence of education level of migrants on their integration into the host community is particularly pronounced in the characteristics of the group with the highest level of education. Thus, migrants who have higher (or incomplete higher) education, more often than other educational groups: have friends (relatives) in Ekaterinburg; learn news about the Russians and Russia when communicating with the Russians; know Russian language and Russian laws better; believe that Russian culture should play a leading role in Russia; are more often interested in the history of their nation; less often have national prejudices; have a lower level of religiosity; are more accustomed to life in Ekaterinburg; have an explicit desire to move to Russia for living. However, only 16% of the total number of migrants with a high level of education in this survey are willing to stay in Russia forever.

We compared two subgroups of migrants with higher and incomplete higher education to find out what barriers stand in the way of highly educated migrants when making a decision about the permanent residence in Russia: 1) those who expressed a desire to permanently move to Russia; 2) those who did not express such desire.

The level of knowledge of the Russian language and knowledge of Russian laws is approximately the same in the two analyzed groups; that is why low linguistic and legal competence do not form a motivational barrier for acquiring a permanent place of residence in Russia. This survey shows that the main obstacles in the decision-making about permanent living in Russia for highly educated migrants are communicative and national-cultural barriers.

Communicative barriers are the obstacles for obtaining information, as well as for comfortable communication in the new social environment. The results of our study showed that those who did not express the desire to stay in Russia were almost 1.5 times less likely to have friends or relatives among the permanent residents of Ekaterinburg (53.6% and 78.4%, respectively); they are also less likely to receive information about the Russians and the country from migrants of the same nationality (21.4% and 40.5%, respectively). Thus, this subgroup of highly educated migrants is obviously characterized by the lack of communication.

National-cultural barriers are values and attitudes that prevent the process of foreign migrant’s integration into Russian society. According to our data, among these obstacles there are: a specific understanding of the Russian culture, and its place among other national cultures, as well as attitudes towards nationalist organizations. Thus, a group that did not express an obvious desire to stay in Russia is mostly characterized by the rejection of the idea of the leading place of the Russian culture; a common opinion is that no particular culture should be singled out among all national cultures of Russia (64.3% and 29.7% respectively). Negative attitudes toward nationalist organizations are less common in this category of migrants (35.7% and 78.4%, respectively).

Therefore, we can say that the internal obstacle for the formation of the desire to stay in Russia for highly educated migrants is the orientation towards the autonomy of their national culture, while the external one is the lack of the favorable communicative environment.
4 CONCLUSION

The authors suppose that institutional and non-institutional sources of education for potential migrants are very important. Under the conditions of the elimination of Russian schools and the decrease in the level of Russification of higher education in Central Asia, not only labour, but study migration should be developed as well, e.g. through the distance forms of teaching Russian language to prospective labour and study migrants.

A high level of education is a positive factor in the integration of migrants into the local community. The educational background, related to both institutional and non-institutional forms of education, is interconnected with communication with the local population. Poorly developed communication opportunities prevent highly educated migrants from making a decision about living in Russia permanently. We believe that raising the level of education of potential and actual migrants can have a positive impact on integration only in combination with a favorable communicative environment.

The authors of this article believe that institutional and non-institutional forms of raising the educational level of potential migrants are very important. Under the conditions of the elimination of Russian schools, the decline in the level of Russification of higher education in the countries of Central Asia, not only labor but also educational migration should be developed, including distant forms of teaching Russian for potential labor and educational migrants.

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