

## MIGRATION ATTRACTIVENESS OF THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SPACES: VOLGOGRAD CASE STUDY

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### **Abstract**

The internal labor migration is an important catalyzer of the movement on the labor market, especially in large cities. It contributes to the economic growth, provides the balance of the labor market and stability of many sectors of economy (construction, communal services, area of services, trading). However, not all large cities are centers of migration attraction. Ideas of labor migrants about the city attractiveness are influenced by two groups of factors: objective (indicators of social and economic development of the territory, natural and climatic conditions, sectoral structure of economy, unemployment level, etc.) and subjective (availability and accessibility of channels related to non-formal interrelations with the local population and regional structures, attitude of local population, activity of social organizations that assist with adapting, availability and activity of communities, etc.). For improving theoretical knowledge about mechanisms related to forming migrant's ideas about the city space as attractive, tools to estimate the social and economic space of the modern city were developed; objective and subjective criteria of its attractiveness were singled out. The research tools were tested through the example of the Russian city of Volgograd. According to the results of the research, it has been concluded that external labor migrants' selection of the residence place is not defined exclusively by economic interests and objective indicators of the labor market, level of salary, etc. However, to a considerable degree, it depends on stable non-formal relations with relatives and acquaintances established before arriving at the residence place. However such relations only partially simplify the adaptation of arriving labor migrants and do not provide complete mastering of the city space by them. Therefore, it is necessary to change the target audience and direction of the work of ethno-national social organizations (associations of fellow-countrymen) that have been formed before. The latter must become the channel of mastering the urban space by new comers. The efficient work of these organizations can considerably improve the city attractiveness in the eyes of labor migrants. It contributes to the accumulation of the symbolic capital of the city expressed in increasing its acknowledgement and growth of trust to its residents.

**Keywords:** external labor migration, city space, migration attractiveness of city, labor market.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Based on the synthetic theory of migration of D. Massey, it is possible to state that migration is a natural and inevitable consequence of political and economic processes. Migration (territorial mobility) is divided into forced (it is stipulated by natural factors, wars, religious or political conflicts) and voluntary (that includes the relocation according to economic reasons). The external labor migration as a type of social and economic mobility aiming at searching for a job can be researched, on the one hand, based on subjective interests of the actor (striving for improvement of their social and economic position, as well as increasing revenues that can come with both increase and decrease in the social status), and on the other hand, based on the interest of the society in using the migration resources for stabilizing and developing economic processes. Thus, D. Rodrik (2005) mentions about the advantage of the migration regime that will soon surpass the effect of the international trading. H. Jaet and L. Ragot think that "migration is beneficial for economy, and the total gain in efficiency surpasses the migrants' revenues" (Jaet, 2001). Herewith, the situation in the modern world is contradictory: on the background of the growing demand for external labor migrants who can fill in vacancies unattractive for the local employable population, the migration processes, due to their massive character, cause serious economic risks (decrease in social standards of employment and level of the labor payment, disruption of market mechanisms and tempos related to modernization in a number of areas, etc.), as well political threats related to the state safety.

Modern researches of the labor migration focused on studying such social factors that couldn't be estimated objectively as impact of sibs, current traditions of migration, activity of the diaspora on the territory chosen for living, availability of inter-state agreements and contracts, efficiency of the world of social organizations specializing in migrants' problems, estimation of migration processes by regional powers and social opinion, etc. Meanwhile, these factors have considerable impact on the migration attractiveness of territories.

The situation in the social and economic space of the city is a local version of regional, national, and global processes. That is why we have selected the P. Bourdieu's ideas about social space as a theoretical basis of our research. He defined it as a field whose structure was set by the allocation of the economic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984). To his mind, the correlation of forces between agents or institutes involved in the fight for various types of social capital directs vital strategies of subjects (Bourdieu, 1984). Thus, the social and economic space of the city can be considered as territorially fixed field structure whose characteristics are defined by social interrelations that penetrate it. Their

component is a fight between newcomers who try to overcome obstacles on the way to enter this space and local employable population striving to protect its monopoly and exclude competition.

It is necessary to agree with the author of the creative class theory of R. Florida that talents, creativity, and innovations in the modern economy are allocated unevenly (Florida, 2008). They are focused not only on specific professional areas but also on specific territories, mainly in large cities. It increases (along with such factors as location, size and status) their migration attractiveness. The representatives of the differentiated urbanization theory H.S. Geyer, T.M. Kontuly and A.J. Fieldi determined that the stage of urbanization and readiness of the society to de-urbanization were defined by tempos of the migration growth or decrease in cities that differed according to the population amount (Fielding, 1989; Geyer, 1993). The epoch of urbanization is peculiar of local development of economy when the labor market is focused in large cities. Researches of T.G. Nefedova show that the process of population focusing in large cities of Russia was stipulated by the fact that those were large cities that provided the population with the greatest opportunities for earning money (Nefedova, 2016). In the context of economic crisis and mass closing of city-forming enterprises in the majority of medium-sized and small towns, the attractiveness of large million cities only strengthens (although economic barriers of penetrating in large cities are not decreased). Large cities attract labor migrants by a great diversity of jobs and the increased level of income, better social servicing, opportunities of the career growth, obtaining education and active leisure.

Does it mean that external labor migrants relocated mainly to larger and more developed cities focusing exceptionally on economic gain? We assume that the answer to this question is not that simple as it may seem to be. On the one hand, considering external labor migration as a type of the social and economic mobility related to searching for a job and optimal conditions of employment, it is reasonable to state that the basic motif is the improvement of social and economic situation and implementation of the actors' economic interests. On the other hand, to the same degree, the mobility of population is influenced by the symbolic resource of the urban space – availability of guides, symbols and images that provide the feeling of involvement and commonness with landmen and are important for the person's identification. N.G. Fedotova states that symbolic capital of the urban space is expressed in its prestige, reputation, acknowledgment of its importance and attractiveness both in the eyes of residents and people beyond it (Fedotova, 2015).

According to the ideas of structuralism, the space structure is defined by the agents' ideas about relations between various social positions. In their turn, while interiorizing during implementation of practices, these relations turn into schemes of practices production (Bourdieu, 1984). Thus, migrants turn into social agents with constant dispositions, and their social and economic activity makes its

contribution to the transformation of symbolic space of the city (Vasileva, 2015). Symbolically significant places of the urban space allow to accumulate the socio-cultural potential, and unite people in communities. Developing the concept of “expelling” and “attracting” factors of E. Lee, in his “synthetic migration theory” D. Massey showed that every act of migration changed the social context in terms of the growth of this territory attractiveness for migrants. As a result, channels and ways of migration are routinized and become typical. It makes further relocation of migrants in this direction more probable (Lee, 1966; Massey, 1990; Massey, 2015). For such potential migrants the positive image of a specific urban space is related, above all, to the feeling of involvement, commonness with landsmen with the possibility to integrate into local communities and acquiring territorial, ethnic and religious identity: “Collective identity is constructed as symbolic marking of special places that are important for the community and accumulate its cultural memory and thus structure the reality” (Fedotova, 2015). It is extremely important due to the increase in the number of migrants who are not adapted to living in large cities.

## 2. METHODS.

The methods of the research that were used are represented by two groups. The first one includes methods to estimate objective indicators. Within the conducted research, the city of Volgograd and the Volgograd Region with the city center were characterized according to the following indicators: the position of the Volgograd region in the RIA rating (the volume of the labor resources market, level of education, salary, etc.), economic need of the Volgograd Region in external labor migrants (dynamics of the population amount, level of unemployment, professional composition of vacant working places), and estimation of the external migration in Volgograd (the number of people who came and left the CIS and far abroad countries). Thus, needs of the city and the region in labor migrants are shown as an objective factor of the region space attractiveness.

During the research the analytical tools of D. Stewart – theory of gravitational model – were used (Stewart, 1941). According to this model, the interrelation between the aggregates of peoples subordinates to the law that is analogous to the universe attraction (gravitation) law. It allows to represent Volgograd as a natural “gravitational center” that concentrates social and economic interrelations and informational flows (Shmelkov, 2005). It allows to define the economic need in external labor migrants and to reveal objective factors of the migration attractiveness of the space. Based on the D. Stewart’s theory of the gravitation model, the infrastructure of the urban space and the degree of the migration interrelation between spatial objects of the city were researched. The urban infrastructure was researched as a space of continuous changes that has an impact on the reproduction

of the symbolic capital and defines the prestige of the city. Besides, the cost of the apartment rent in Volgograd was analyzed. It also has an impact on decisions about the place of migrants' relocation.

The second group consists of methods to estimate subjective indicators based on the data of sociological researches. Firstly, the method of questionnaire survey of external labor migrants (n = 400, 2015) allowed to structure the factors that have an impact on the choice of the residence, place of work, and relocations of labor migrants in Volgograd between these places. Quote selection was used. Quoting was carried out in accordance with the allocation of citizens of various states (and their demographic characteristics) in the structure of migration flows, as well as in accordance with the concentration of external labor migrants on the territory of the Volgograd Region and Volgograd.

The structure of migration flows is as follows: citizens of Uzbekistan (23%), Armenia (22%), Kazakhstan (15.5%); Azerbaijan (9%), Tajikistan (7.5%), Moldova (4.5%), and Kirgizia (3.5%). The demographic characteristics of migration flows are as follows: the structure is mainly represented by employable citizens from 30 to 35 years old (48%) and from 24 to 29 years old (26%). There is a smaller number of those who are 36-45 years old (12%). The remaining 14% includes age groups consisting of individuals who are younger than 23 and older than 46 years old (Figure 1).

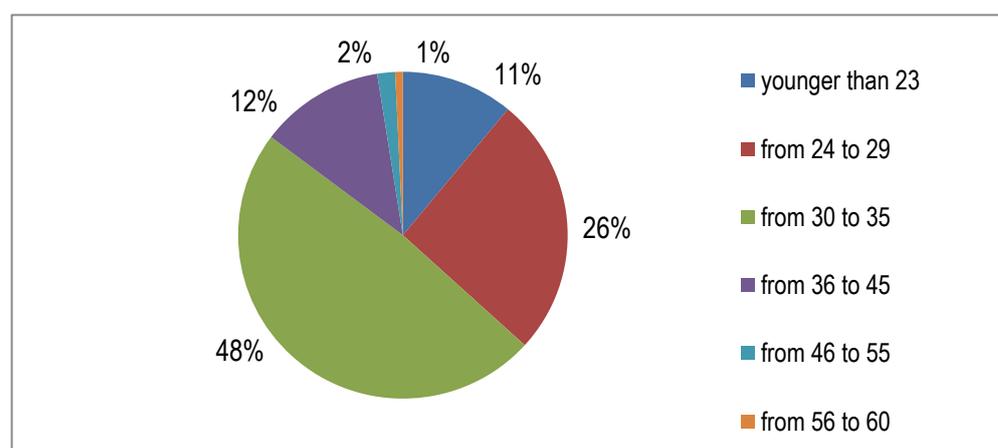


FIGURE 1 - STRUCTURE OF ALLOCATING EXTERNAL LABOR MIGRANTS OF VOLGOGRAD ACCORDING TO AGE GROUPS

In accordance with the concentration of labor migrants on the territory of the Volgograd Region, the situation is as follows: 26% of people live beyond the territory of Volgograd. As for city districts, 16.5% live in the Dzerzhinskiy area, 16% in the Sovetskiy area, 9.8% – Traktorozavodskoy, 9% – Kirovskiy, 7.5% – Krasnoarmeyskiy, 7.5% – Krasnooktiabrskiy, 6.3% – Voroshilovskiy, and 1.5% – in the Central area.

The basis that allowed to define the structure of the general aggregate was the data of the Federal Service of State Statistics and Territorial Body of the Federal Service of State Statistics in the Volgograd Region, as well as the Directorate of the Federal Migration Service in the Volgograd Region.

Secondly, the questionnaire survey of the Volgograd population was carried out. It allowed to estimate the peculiarities of perceiving external labor migrants by the local population of Volgograd (n = 1000, 2015). Quote selection was used. Quoting was carried out according to the gender, age, and districts where Volgograd residents live. Possible statistical errors do not exceed 3.1%. Quotes according to the age – from 18 to 34 years old, from 35 to 54 years old, 55 years old and older – are calculated proportionally to the population amount. According to the statistical data, the quotes were regrouped: 18-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, 60 and older.

Quotes according to the gender and age were calculated on the basis of the data represented on the website ([www.gks.ru](http://www.gks.ru)) of the Territorial Body of the Federal Service of State Statistics in the Volgograd Region (Table 1) (Volgograd Region in Figures, 2012). Quotes according to the place of residence were calculated on the basis of the data represented on the website ([www.gks.ru](http://www.gks.ru)) of the Territorial Body of the Federal Service of State Statistics in the Volgograd Region (Table 2) (Results of 2010 All-Russian Population Census).

TABLE 1 - CALCULATION OF QUOTES OF THE SELECTION AGGREGATION ACCORDING TO AGE AND GENDER

Age	In total (per.)	In total (%)	Men (per.)	Men (%)	Women (per.)	Women (%)
18-29	250	25	128	51	122	49
30-39	170	17	83	49	87	51
40-49	160	16	77	48	83	52
50-59	180	18	81	45	99	55
60 and older	240	24	84	35	156	65
In total	1,000	100		–		–

TABLE 2 - CALCULATION OF QUOTES OF THE SELECTION AGGREGATION ACCORDING TO THE PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Municipal unit	In total (per.)	In total (%)
City district Volgograd including intra-urban areas	1,000	100
Voroshilovskiy	80	8
Dzerzhinskiy	180	18
Kirovskiy	100	10
Krasnoarmeyskiy	170	17
Krasnooktiabrskiy	150	15
Sovetskiy	100	10
Traktorzavodskiy	140	14
Tsenralny	80	8

Thirdly, the semi-structured interview with managers of ethno-national social organizations of Volgograd was carried out (n = 28, 2014) to estimate tools of adapting external labor migrants in the social and economic space of the city. Managers whose organizations are registered, whose activity is characterized as active, as well as those who directly or indirectly interrelate with external labor migrants in Volgograd were interviewed.

### 3. RESULTS

Comprehensive research allows to state that the attractiveness of the Volgograd space for external labor migrants is defined by the following general characteristics of the region. Firstly, this is the position of the region in the rating of the labor force attractiveness (2015). The Volgograd Region is characterized according to the integral index of labor force attractiveness of the Russian Federation subjects. It holds position 6 (integral indicator according to the data for 2014) out of 83 Russian regions. The integral index of labor force attractiveness of the Russian Federation subjects is calculated as an average geometrical value of results according to 9 analyzed indicators combined into subgroups "Scale of the labor resources market", "Loyalty of labor resources", "Quality of labor resources", and "Cost of labor resources". When creating the index, the following indicators were analyzed: amount of the economically active population, thous. persons in 2014; the average growth of the amount of the economically active population per 3 years, %; number of unemployed people, in average for 2014, thous. persons; level of the population unemployment, in average for 2014, %; amount of economically active population with higher and secondary professional education in 2014, thous. persons; a share of economically active population with higher and secondary professional education in 2014, %; a share of those who are involved in own domestic production of agricultural, forestry, hunter and fishing products for sale or exchange, % in 2013; a share of those who are involved in economy and search for additional job in 2013; and the average nominal accrued salary of employees in 2014.

First of all, the calculation of this index aims at revealing regions that are attractive in terms of employers and potential investors. However, it is not obligatory that these regions are attractive for external labor migrants.

The second indicator includes economic needs of the region in attracting labor force of external labor migrants. Studying these needs was based on social and demographic indicators of the region. The dynamics of the size of the Volgograd Region population for 2009-2013 says that by 2014 the population had decreased by 13.9 thous. persons, or 0.5% (Figure 2) (Demographic Situation and Level of Population's Life, 2014). According to the data of Rosstat, in 2015 and 2016 the tendency related to decreasing the amount of population is maintained due to the population ageing (Estimation of the

Amount of the Permanent Population as on January 1, 2016 and in Average for 2015). The increase in the demographic loading and the decrease in the level of the economic activity of permanent population allow to make the following conclusion.

The increase in the amount of the economically active population at the expense of the growth of the birth rate is prolonged in terms of time. The intensity of the process is increased due to attracting external labor migrants. It is possible to observe similar tendencies now: the share of urban population is intensively increased mainly at the expense of migration.

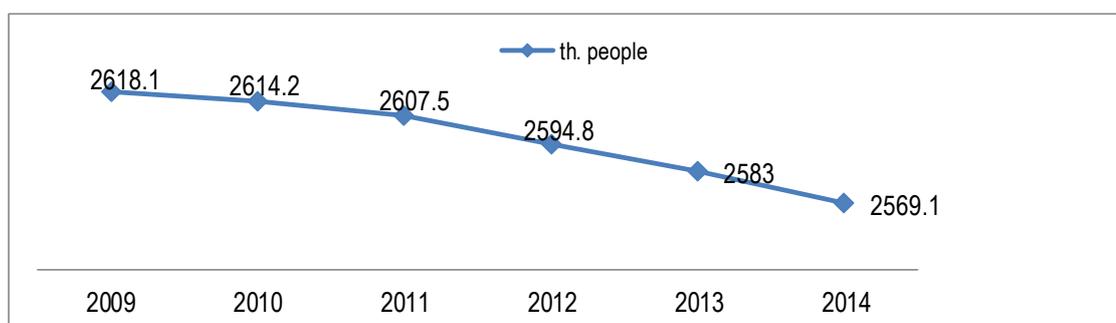


FIGURE 2 - DYNAMICS OF THE AMOUNT OF POPULATION OF THE VOLGOGRAD REGION IN 2009-2014 (COMPILED ACCORDING TO THE DATA OF THE AGGREGATED PLAN OF THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE VOLGOGRAD REGION UP TO 2030)

The level of unemployment (it is lower than the average in the Russian Federation) makes the Volgograd Region attractive for potential migrants: in 2010 – 8%, in 2011 – 6.9%, in 2012 – 6%, in 2013 and in 2014 – 6.6% (from the economically active population) (Volgograd Region in Figures 2014). In the administrative center the level of unemployment is lower than the average in the region: as on October 1, 2016 the level of the registered unemployment in Volgograd was 0.79% of the economically activity population of the city.

Indicators of the professional composition of vacancies are an objective factor of the attractiveness or non-attractiveness of space. As on 2016 Volgograd fixes the inequality of the labor market.

The greatest ratio in the sectoral structure of the demand for labor force is assigned to the vacancies of working specialties – 71.8%, and the share of vacancies for employees and engineering and technical employees is 28.2% (Figure 3) (Monitoring of the Registered Labor Market of Volgograd).

The objective factors related to estimating attractiveness of the city space are supplemented by the estimation of the migration efficiency in the city. In order to define the migration efficiency, absolute indicators were used: the number of those who arrived (A), and the number of those who departed (D). The coefficient of the migration efficiency (Cme) is defined according to the following formula:

$$C_{me} = \frac{A - D}{A + D} \times 100\%$$

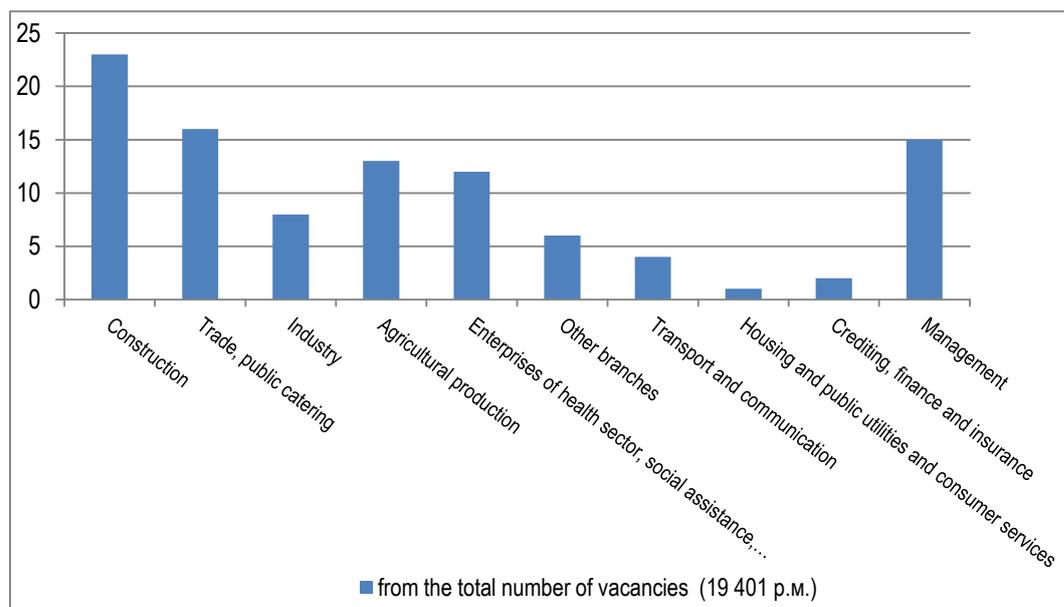


FIGURE 3 - VACANCIES ACCORDING TO TYPES OF THE ECONOMIC ACTIVITY (COMPILED ACCORDING TO THE DATA OF THE STATE PUBLIC INSTITUTION VOLGOGRAD CENTER OF POPULATION EMPLOYMENT)

However, it is necessary to take into account that the notions “those who arrived” and “those who departed” characterized migration a sort of conditionally, because the same individual may relocate several times during a year. And still this coefficient allows to more or less accurately define the migration efficiency, when considering the external migration, the sum of those who arrived at the city and departed it during a definite period of time (for the CIS and far abroad countries). There are the following indicators for 2014: the number of those who arrived is 4,525, and the number of those who departed is 1,432 (Volgograd Region in Figures 2014).

Consequently, we get 52%. The efficiency coefficient in 2010 was 65%, in 2011 73%, and in 2013 – 65% (Statistical Annual of the Volgograd Region 2014). As a whole, the dynamics shows that there is a drastic fall of the migration turnover in the Volgograd Region. The indicators show not only the differences of the migration activity for the specific time period, but also the peculiarity of the structure of the space where external labor migrants stay. The calculation of absolute indicators enabled us to obtain the statistical characteristic of the migration potential. It contributes to forecasting and regulating the process.

The tools of the D. Stewart’s gravitation model allowed to define the degree of the interrelation between spatial objects of Volgograd – center and periphery – within the research. The characteristics of the city

infrastructure were researched by using the D. Stewart's tools adapted for researching the allocation of migration flows. The analytical construction was tested by using the indicators of Volgograd

$$M_{ij} = k \frac{p_i p_j}{d_{ij}^2}$$

where  $M_{ij}$  is the power of the migration attraction between regions of the city,  $ij$  is the regions under study, we will accept  $k$  as equal to 1,  $p$  is the amount of the population in regions under study, and  $d_{ij}^2$  is the distance between spaces (Table 3).

TABLE 3 - MIGRATION ACTIVITY OF THE CENTER AND PERIPHERY OF VOLGOGRAD

Regions under study	Distance between spaces	Amount of population in regions under study	Correspondence coefficient	Power of migration attraction between the city regions
North-center *	≈14.38 km	288,918 per.	1	113,449,388.7
South-center **	≈35.3 km	268,251 per.	1	17,479,832.7

\*North-center: Traktorozavodskiy – Central Regions

\*\*South-center: Krasnoarmeyskiy – Central Regions

According to the obtained data, the remoteness of the city districts makes it difficult for residents to reclaim the urban space. Because of hindered communication residents of the periphery limit their mobility and strive to find symbolic benefits near the residence place by going to other districts only when they need to. Thus, it is undoubted that it is rather difficult for the external labor migrant to master the current social and economic space of Volgograd. Thus, the conducted research showed that the urban space was not reclaimed by migrants. It complicates their adaptation.

The indicator of the migration attractiveness of Volgograd related to the ideas about prestige and welfare is the rental cost. As the SRG Moscow analytical center reported to the Volgograd business TV, in June 2016 the average cost to rent a one-room apartment in the city was RUB 295.5 per square meter. The average rent of the two-room apartment in June was RUB 265.8, and the rent of a three-room apartment will be RUB 263.3 per meter (Average Price to Rent a Square Meter in Volgograd). It seems that a one-room apartment is a typical residence external labor migrants can afford in Volgograd. The average rental cost (per one-flat apartment) is RUB 11,000. The average rental cost depends on the district where the facility is located. The most expensive apartments are found in the Voroshilovskiy and Central Districts of the city. It explains the alert attitude and smaller demand with labor migrants. We observe approximately the same cost in other districts of the city.

The estimation of the migration attractiveness of the social and economic space of Volgograd requires to take into account not only objective factors of attracting labor migrants to the region but also their

subjective estimation. During the empiric research a number of peculiarities of the external labor migration in the space of Volgograd were revealed. The data of the questionnaire interview shows that external labor migrants select the residence not only by considering “the region as a whole” but also a specific city and even a district. Due to it, we revealed how the rental cost influenced the decision about migration. Answers of external migrants were allocated as follows: 64% of respondents note that it is easy to rent a place for residence in Volgograd; 36% think that it is rather difficult to do it. Difficulties are stipulated by the fact that for some migrants the rental cost is rather high. For other migrants difficulties are related to the lessors’ prejudiced attitude.

The sociological research showed that all external labor migrants who participated in the interview had arrived at the city when they had already got acquaintances or relatives there. These subjective factors compensate for the impact of objective factors that decrease the attractiveness of Volgograd: low social and economic difficulties both for the city and region as a whole that are related to aggregating external labor migrants to symbolic benefits of the city, high rental cost under relatively low level of salaries. Empiric data witness about the fact that most often external labor migrants live with friends or relatives and very rarely rent apartments on their own. It goes without saying that there are cases when an external labor migrant relocates and knows that he/she will live separately from relatives and friends. However, in this case he/she relies on the development of social relations with landsmen in the city space.

Basic areas of the activity where foreign citizens work include the area of services, construction, wholesaling and retailing, processing productions, transportation and communication. 83% of the external labor migrants note that in Volgograd it is relatively easy to find a job. As a whole, 72% of respondents noted that friends or relatives could help to overcome difficulties related to searching for a job. However, 23% are sure that they can rely only on themselves. 17% of respondents note that in Volgograd it is rather difficult to find a job, and especially it is related to the work with a high level of salary. Only 4% trust the employment center, and only 1% contact ethno-national social organizations for help (it cannot be a statistically important indicator).

Thus, external labor migrants focus, above all, on close people’s help related to employment. They are not focused on the interrelation with the local population. It correlates with the results of the interview with the permanent population of Volgograd. This is a negative tendency that the local people have concerns related to the loss of their working places (employers are supposed to prefer external labor migrants because their labor is estimated lower. Therefore, some limitations in the area of employment are possible on the labor market, and “the job for migrants” occurs). The data of the questionnaire

interview of the city population point at the fact that about 60% of respondents agree with the statement that “Migrants derogate working places from the local population” (Table 4).

TABLE 4 - ALLOCATION OF ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION: “DO LABOR MIGRANTS DEROGATE WORKING PLACES FROM THE VOLGOGRAD LOCAL POPULATION”, %

Express the degree of your consent with the following statement as related to the foreign citizens who arrived at Volgograd to search for job	Age							Total
	younger than 23	from 24 to 29	from 30 to 35	from 36 to 45	from 46 to 55	from 56 to 60	above 60	
Entirely agree	3.8	2.3	3.1	5.0	5.1	2.8	7.1	29.2
Partially agree	4.5	3.5	4.1	5.8	4.4	3.3	5.4	30.9
Hard to answer	1.2	0.9	0.9	1.2	1.6	0.7	1.6	8.0
Partially disagree	2.1	1.5	1.8	3.6	2.9	1.5	2.5	15.9
Entirely disagree	1.5	1.2	2.3	2.9	2.9	1.4	3.9	16.0
In total	13.0	9.4	12.2	18.5	16.9	9.6	20.5	100.0

The data from the table say about the ambivalent nature of the attitude of local residents to labor migrants. On the one hand, the local population is not contented by the increase in the competitiveness on the labor market. On the other hand, it agrees that labor migrants occupy working places the local employable population is not interested in (Table 5).

TABLE 5 - ALLOCATION OF ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION: “DO EXTERNAL LABOR MIGRANTS OCCUPY THOSE WORKING PLACES THE LOCAL POPULATION IS NOT INTERESTED IN?”, %

Express the degree of your consent with the following statement as related to the foreign citizens who arrived at Volgograd to search for job	Age							Total
	younger than 23	from 24 to 29	from 30 to 35	from 36 to 45	from 46 to 55	from 56 to 60	above 60	
Entirely agree	4.6	2.6	4.5	6.2	4.9	2.9	7.4	33.2
Partially agree	5.3	4.2	4.2	7.3	7.5	4.1	6.6	39.1
Hard to answer	1.4	1.2	1.3	1.6	1.4	0.5	3.6	10.8
Partially disagree	1.3	1.0	1.3	2.5	2.2	1.8	1.8	11.9
Entirely disagree	0.4	0.5	1.0	0.9	0.9	0.3	1.1	4.9
In total	13.0	9.4	12.2	18.5	16.9	9.6	20.5	100.0

During the research it was revealed that only the fifth part of the Volgograd population had a positive attitude to labor migrants and acknowledged the need in their work, and offered to legalize their staying. Half of the population shows the neutral attitude, and one third of the population has a negative attitude, and displays concerns related to the destabilization of the situation (Table 6).

It is necessary to take into account that the local population and labor migrants do not strive for interrelation and are afraid of the competition for working places. Herewith, the strive of migrants to maintain the habitual life style and the lack of sufficient knowledge in the legal and financial areas, language barriers make them choose those areas for residing that have already been reclaimed by their landmen.

TABLE 6 - ATTITUDE OF THE LOCAL POPULATION OF VOLGOGRAD TO EXTERNAL LABOR MIGRANTS, %

	Age							Total
	younger than 23	from 24 to 29	from 30 to 35	from 36 to 45	from 46 to 55	from 56 to 60	above 60	
They destabilize the situation	3.1	3.1	3.1	5.3	4.5	2.9	7.1	29.2
This is cheap labor force	7.6	4.6	6.0	9.3	8.7	4.9	8.9	50.0
It is necessary to legalize their stay in the Russian Federation	2.2	1.6	2.6	3.7	3.5	1.6	4.4	19.6
Hard to answer	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	1.2
In total	13.0	9.4	12.2	18.5	16.9	9.6	20.5	100.0

The analysis of the research results shows the need to develop mechanisms and institutes that optimize the interrelation of the local population with external labor migrants. This role must be fulfilled by ethno-national social organizations (associations of fellow-countrymen). However, the interview of managers of these organizations has shown that at the present time they do not play the role of the buffer between external labor migrants and the accepting party. Having been formed in Volgograd by the 1990s, social organizations focused on solving, first of all, social problems of ethnic groups that had been living on this territory for long and had the Russian citizenship. The problem of adaptation has been solved for them, but the main problem was, on the contrary, to maintain the national culture. Recently ethno-national social organizations (associations of fellow-countrymen) have started implementing projects on adapting external migrants (language courses, courses for increasing legal competence). However, this work has just started and covers only 1% of migrants.

It is necessary to use mainly ethno-national social organizations (associations of fellow-countrymen) because they are close to the population, they are not state structures, and that is why they can be highly trusted. Activity of the organizations promotes mitigation and overcoming severe vital conditions of citizens (Gulyaikhin, 2016). Thus, in the current situation social organizations can provide external labor migrants with real support in Volgograd. They often undertake responsibility on the social and legal protection, providing target assistance. However, they do not consider it as their basic task. That is why they do not solve problems related to adapting newly arrived landsmen. The lack of informing external labor migrants about the activity of legally registered associations of fellow-countrymen is another disadvantage. That is why they have to contact non-formal associations of fellow-countrymen, as well as relatives and friends.

#### 4. DISCUSSIONS

The obtained results can be interpreted in the context of the problem related to the social deprivation of migrants. Its research was initiated in classical works of P.F. Lazarsfeld and S. Stauffer. The cause of social deprivation of migrants is the deficit of economic and emotional bearers stipulated by the

limitation, discontinuity or corruption of social contacts, connections and relations that are important for an individual. As a result, people suffer states of anxiety, fears, non-satisfaction with themselves and their life. Under these conditions, the importance of the inter-personal communication in non-formal ethno-social groups increases. The social opinion of its members and leaders becomes an important factor of mediating information that comes from external sources – local population, mass media, and regional government. The researches of P.F. Lazarsfeld showed that the media impact had been weakened during the inert-personal communication due to the fact that standards, beliefs, creeds, and interests that were characteristic of this group formed barriers that prevented the penetration of the information that contradicted the group's position (Lazarsfeld, 1957). Besides, the individual's realization of their belonging to a specific organization, religious confession or national group has an impact on the selection and interpretation of the information.

Objective factors of the urban space can be also considered through the prism of the problem related to the social deprivation of migrants. The analysis of the vacancies structure on the labor market showed that mainly jobs for low-qualified specialists and blue-collar jobs were vacant. It decreases the attractiveness of the city space for highly qualified specialists who have either to agree to get a job that does not comply with their education and qualification, or to choose other regions for residing. The domination of mainly low-qualified staff and young people who know the Russian language badly in the migrants' flow creates additional barriers of communication. They do not allow migrants to fully adapt to local conditions. Inter-personal contacts with representatives of non-formal communities (associations of fellow-countrymen) and relatives are more important for them than information from mass media. The latter is corrupted under the impact of social opinion formed in the community of migrants, and bad knowledge of the language does not let perceive it individually and critically. Due to it, it is urgent to increase the role of formal ethno-national social organizations that could become a more reliable channel of the information translation.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

According to the results of the research, it is possible to make the following conclusions. Ideas about the attractiveness of the city for labor migrants are not defined exclusively by economic indicators (indicators of the labor market, level of salary, etc.). However, to a great degree, they depend on the availability of non-formal communities (associations of fellow-countrymen), as well as sibs that can provide establishment of social contacts, connections and relations that are important for an individual in terms of the culturally and morally impoverished environment. However, due to the closed nature of these communities, their functioning is not objectively enough for the full adaptation that supposes reclamation of the urban space, inclusion in symbolic benefits and involvement in full

interrelation with the local population. Without it, it is impossible to implement long-term life plans related to education and career. Formal ethno-national social organizations can help to overcome interrelation barriers. Members of these organizations have been living on this territory for quite long. On the one hand, they have entirely integrated in the local community. On the other hand, they have common ethnic roots with newcomers. These measures allow to form the conditions for positive perception of external migrants and local population by each other.

Thus, ethno-national social organizations can create a stable social network of interrelations between arriving labor migrants, local population and regional structures both on the institutional and interpersonal levels. The availability of such interrelations considerably increases the attractiveness of the urban space in the eyes of people who select the region for residing, and contributes to the accumulation of the symbolic capital of the city that is expressed as the improvement of its acknowledgement and growth of the trust to its residents.

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