

The peculiarity of the ethno-social conflicts in the Russian labor market: comparative analysis of Russia, Great Britain and Germany

La peculiaridad de los conflictos etno-sociales en el mercado laboral en Rusia: un análisis comparativo de Rusia, Gran Bretaña y Alemania

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Received: 02/02/2018 • Approved: 05/03/2018

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ABSTRACT:

The article reveals the peculiarity of ethno-social conflicts in the Russian labor market. The state of the ethno-social conflicts in the labor market in Russia is analyzed by A.K. Zaitsev (2001), A.V. Golovanov (2008), E.A. Utkin (1998). It is shown that the problem of interethnic tension is quite urgent for today's Russia. A comparative analysis of the attitude towards immigrants in Russia, Great Britain and Germany is carried out. Data from sociological studies that show attitudes towards immigrants in Russia, Britain and Germany are presented.

Keywords: ethno-social conflict, social tension in the society, inter-ethnic tension, labor migration, attitude towards immigrants in Russia, Great Britain and Germany

RESUMEN:

El artículo revela la peculiaridad de los conflictos etno-sociales en el mercado laboral en Rusia. El estado de los conflictos etno-sociales en el mercado laboral en Rusia se analiza desde la posición del paradigma sociopsicológico de la A.K. Zaitsev (2001), A. Golovanov (2008), E.A. Utkin (1998). Se muestra que el problema de la tensión interétnica es bastante relevante para la Rusia actual. Se lleva a cabo un análisis comparativo de la actitud hacia los inmigrantes en Rusia, Gran Bretaña y Alemania. Se presentan datos de encuestas sociológicas que muestran las actitudes hacia los inmigrantes en Rusia, Gran Bretaña y Alemania.

Palabras clave: conflicto etno-social, tensión social en la sociedad, tensión interétnica, migración laboral, actitud hacia los inmigrantes en Rusia, Gran Bretaña y Alemania

1. Introduction

The dynamics of the development of society at the present time is constrained by a number of factors. One of the most significant of them, which has an international character, is the exacerbation of ethno-social conflicts in the labor market. The urgency of the research problem is due to the growing number of the ethno-social conflicts in Russia. According to the monitoring carried out by the Center for the Study of National Conflicts and the "Club of Regions" in total from September 1, 2013 to March 20, 2014, 570 ethnically motivated conflict actions of varying degrees of intensity occurred in Russia. Also, experts note that in the country there is a trend towards strengthening long-term factors of inter-ethnic tension (Center for the Study of National Conflicts, 2014). Experts of the National Expert Council of RIA "FederalPress" revealed 455 social and political conflicts only in August 2016 (Conflict maps, 2016). According to the rating of the CEPR regions (Center for Economic and Political Reforms) in 2016-2017 the number of conflicts related to labor relations has increased. For example, in just the incomplete second quarter of 2016, there were 263 conflict cases related to labor relations (56 of them were labor protests themselves), in 65 regions of the Russian Federation. Throughout 2017, the number of protests in the country has continuously increased, and in the third quarter of the total number of protests in the country has increased by almost 60% since the beginning of the year, and about 70% of protest actions were shares related to socio-economic issues (Rating of regions, 2016). Moreover, speaking at the Interior Ministry collegium on March 15, 2016, Russian President Vladimir Putin said that in Russia at the moment there is an acute situation with migrants. According to the President's opinion, it is necessary that migrants live in normal conditions, "work where they are recruited, that they fulfill the law of the Russian Federation, the traditions of the peoples they live in, and so that it does not create problems in the labor market for us, within Russia, so as not to cause irritation to citizens of the Russian Federation (Extended meeting of the board of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, 2016). " In this way, interactions that arise in society between representatives of different ethnic groups, in some cases, result in conflicts. As a consequence, the number of crimes on national soil is growing, ethnic disaffection is increasing, and there is a surge of ethnic nationalism. At the same time, it should be recognized that one of the factors contributing to the development of conflict interaction is the fact that representatives of modern society are subject to different ethnic stereotypes that prevent representatives of different ethnic groups from maintaining a tolerant relationship to each other.

All these problems are especially relevant for today's Russia, since in addition to the fact that the country is a multinational state, there has recently been a large influx of labor migrants to various regions of the Russian Federation (Vinogradova et al., 2016). This trend is the cause of the emergence of contradictions between migrants and title ethnic groups. The main problem is the cheap labor force of migrants, which competes with local residents. Ethno-social conflicts in the sphere of education arise somewhat differently. Students from Central Asia, the African continent, fear for their safety not in the course of training, but in the urban environment, participation in labor activity (Vinichenko et al., 2016). Similar reasons act as deterrent to the development of tourism (Kabanova et al., 2016).

It should be noted that despite the high level of ethno-social conflicts in Russia, their number and forms of manifestation (aggressiveness) are significantly lower than in Western Europe, and Russians are more "tolerant" to representatives of other ethnic groups than residents, for example, countries such as France, England and Germany.

In the conditions of the economic crisis and ethno-social conflicts in the labor market, the issue of the effective use of human potential becomes especially acute (Buley et al., 2016; Mironova et al., 2017). In this regard, the study of the characteristics of the ethno-social conflicts in the Russian labor market is becoming particularly relevant.

To consider the ethno-social conflict as a whole, we turn to definitions of the concepts of "ethnos" and "social conflict". Issues of research on the ethno-social conflicts in the labor market are paid special attention in the scientific literature.

2. Methodological Framework

2.1. The concept of ethno-social conflict

At present, the most common approach to the definition of conflict is to define it through contradiction as a more general concept, and, above all, through social contradiction. (Denisova, 2003). The conflict, according to this approach, is "the emergence of objective or subjective contradictions, expressed in the confrontation of the parties, that is, a process in which two or more individuals or groups actively seek an opportunity to prevent each other from achieving a particular goal, to prevent the satisfaction of the interests of an opponent or change his views and social positions."

According to A.K. Zaitsev (2001), a social conflict can be defined as "a forceful dynamic interaction carried out by two or more individuals or social groups on the basis of a real or imaginary disparity of interests, values or a lack of resources, and finalized, resolved by victory, defeat or depletion of the parties."

From these positions, the ethnos can act as a social carrier for certain reasons. Thus, the ethno-social conflicts are, in their content, social contradictions. If we correlate social and the ethno-social conflicts, it can be seen that the ethno-social conflicts are a kind of social conflicts in their content and ways of solving.

Speaking about the ethno-social conflicts, it should be noted that one of the common definitions of this concept is the definition given in the explanatory dictionary of social science terms. According to the dictionary, "the ethno-social conflicts - 1) is the same as ethnic conflicts; 2) socio-political conflicts in which the ethnic becomes the main means of mobilizing groups of people, political institutions and movements with a view to exerting a forceful influence on state structures or on other ethnic communities". And the ethnic conflict is "different forms and levels of confrontation between ethnic communities". Thus, it can be concluded that the ethno-social conflict in the labor market is one of a kind of ethnic conflict (Oseev & Dudueva, 2015).

The paradigms of conflictology are the methodological basis for the study of the ethno-social conflicts, among which the socio-psychological paradigm with its basic notion of "social tension" occupies a special significance (with respect to the subject and methods of our research).

Social tension is the emotional state of a group or society as a whole, caused by pressure from the natural or social environment, and continues, as a rule, for a more or less long time.

Social tension as an emotional state of a group or society as a whole is an important theoretical and practical concept, as it reveals the social and psychological causes of conflict behavior of people, social groups in society.

The theory of social tension (or the socio-psychological paradigm of conflictology), in contrast to the socio-biological paradigm that sees the source of social conflict in the biological nature of man. Disorders, endocrine processes, etc., plus education, class K.Marks, F.Engels, V.I. Lenin, etc., which considers the source of the conflict the division of people into different classes in accordance with their position in the economic system, structural-functional, where the source the conflict is the distortion, the dysfunctional process in the social system, the disruption of the homeostasis of social systems and other paradigms, shows that the cause of the conflict is, on the one hand, real social and economic problems that cause people's dissatisfaction with the conditions of life, their social, economic and political situation and, on the other hand, a certain psychological state of a person - deprivation - a state of dissatisfaction with needs.

The concept of "social tension" reflected the ideas of R. Darendorf, who identified three key points in the study of social conflict: 1) how in the structure of society there are conflicting groups; 2) what forms the struggle of the conflicting groups takes; 3) how group conflict affects the change in social structure. The definition of indicators and the study of the peculiarities of social tension in Russian society in the regions paid much attention to the

studies of G.V. Baranova, A.V. Kondrashin, V.A. Frolov (2011), A.V. Golovanov (2008).

Social tension consists of 3 factors: 1) dissatisfaction (which means discontent of subjects with living conditions), 2) ways of showing dissatisfaction, 3) mass character (mass expression of discontent). On social tension affect both external and internal factors. External factors include: political, economic, technical, organizational, including shortcomings in working conditions. Internal factors include needs, value orientation, status, psychophysiological, psychological and other personality characteristics. Under normal interaction of subjects, social tension fluctuates within the norm - the background, in case of catastrophic development, it goes beyond the norm and becomes over the tension, which explodes the existing system of relationships. It should be noted that there is no clearly defined border of the norm, it is specific for different social actors.

2.2. Indicators of social tension in society

So, it can be argued that social tension as a phenomenon manifested, first of all, at the socio-psychological and behavioral levels, is characterized by the following features.

First, the spread of dissatisfaction with the existing situation in vital sphere of public life.

Secondly, by the fact that under the influence of the above-mentioned sentiments, confidence in the authorities is lost, the authority and power of authority are diminishing, a sense of danger appears, pessimistic assessments of the future, rumors of every kind become widespread. In a society as a whole, as well as in a separate territorial community, there is an atmosphere of massive mental anxiety, emotional arousal.

Thirdly, at the behavioral level, social tension manifests itself, both in spontaneous mass actions (in the rush of demand, in the purchase of goods and foodstuffs in order to create insurance stocks "for a rainy day," etc.) and in various conflicts, rallies, demonstrations, strikes and other forms of civil disobedience and protest, as well as forced and voluntary migration to other regions and abroad.

Therefore, low rates of social well-being are usually accompanied by a low level of loyalty to power and a low degree of satisfaction with various indicators of its activities. One of the ways of sociological analysis of the current trends of social development is to study the social well-being of people as their generalized emotional-evaluative reaction to social changes and their position in a transforming society.

3. Results

Taking into account the analysis, we will consider the features and forms of manifestation of the ethno-social conflicts in the labor market.

First, in the last decade there has been a large influx of labor migrants to the country, which has led to a clash of economic interests of the newcomers and the indigenous population of the host region, and as a consequence to the ethno-social conflicts in the labor market.

As noted by A.V. Dmitriev & G.A. Pyadukhov (2005): "The cheap labor of migrants who do not pay taxes and do not have any social privileges, seriously hampers proposals from their competitors (Dmitriev, 2000). As a result, many indigenous residents of the regions were thrown into the ranks of the unemployed or to lower-paid places in the service sector." Many representatives of the indigenous population of such regions become "rather aggressive, looking for those guilty of their situation." They are often "economic" competitors from other countries and regions".

In particular, this situation is observed in enclave labor markets. Under the enclave labor market is a market that is formed, first of all, "in the immigration enclave, as well as in other territories where trading and service enterprises are located, whose owners (or tenants) are immigrants who hire foreign workers (in that number and illegal immigrants), first of all, from the number of compatriots".

A large influx of labor migrants, leading to a clash of interests between visitors and the indigenous population, contributed to the emergence of ethnic tensions in Russian society.

Indicators of this are the study of the level of inter-ethnic tensions in the regions of Russia, which was conducted by the staff of the Center for the Study of National Conflicts and the "Club of Regions" in the period from April to September 2014. As noted by experts, the country continues to trend on the strengthening of long-term factors of inter-ethnic tension. Namely, poorly controlled migration, the ghettoization of Moscow and St. Petersburg, the expansion of radical Islam, including the non-Muslim regions of Russia, the archaization of the North Caucasus. At the regional level, there is also a marked desire to avoid discussing the painful topic as long as possible, submitting every ethnically motivated conflict as a domestic one.

Among regions of very high and high tension, such as Moscow, the Republic of Dagestan, the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous District, the Krasnodar Territory, the Republic of Crimea, the Republic of Tatarstan, St. Petersburg, the Saratov Region, the Stavropol Territory and the Chelyabinsk Region were allotted.

According to the results of the study of RPORC (Russia Public Opinion Research Center), which was conducted in July 2013, "Russians believe that immigrants carry more problems than the benefits for the country. And the presence of newcomers from other countries in most areas of employment is perceived negatively by the indigenous population. "

Russians see immigration as mainly negative consequences: first of all, it is the growth of crime, corruption (65% believe that immigrants are increasing these problems), and increased competition in the labor market (56%). But, at the same time, 47% of Russians believe that newcomers compensate for the shortage of workers in low-skilled and low-paid jobs.

As already noted, one of the serious complaints against migrants is the employment of migrants in jobs in the labor market.

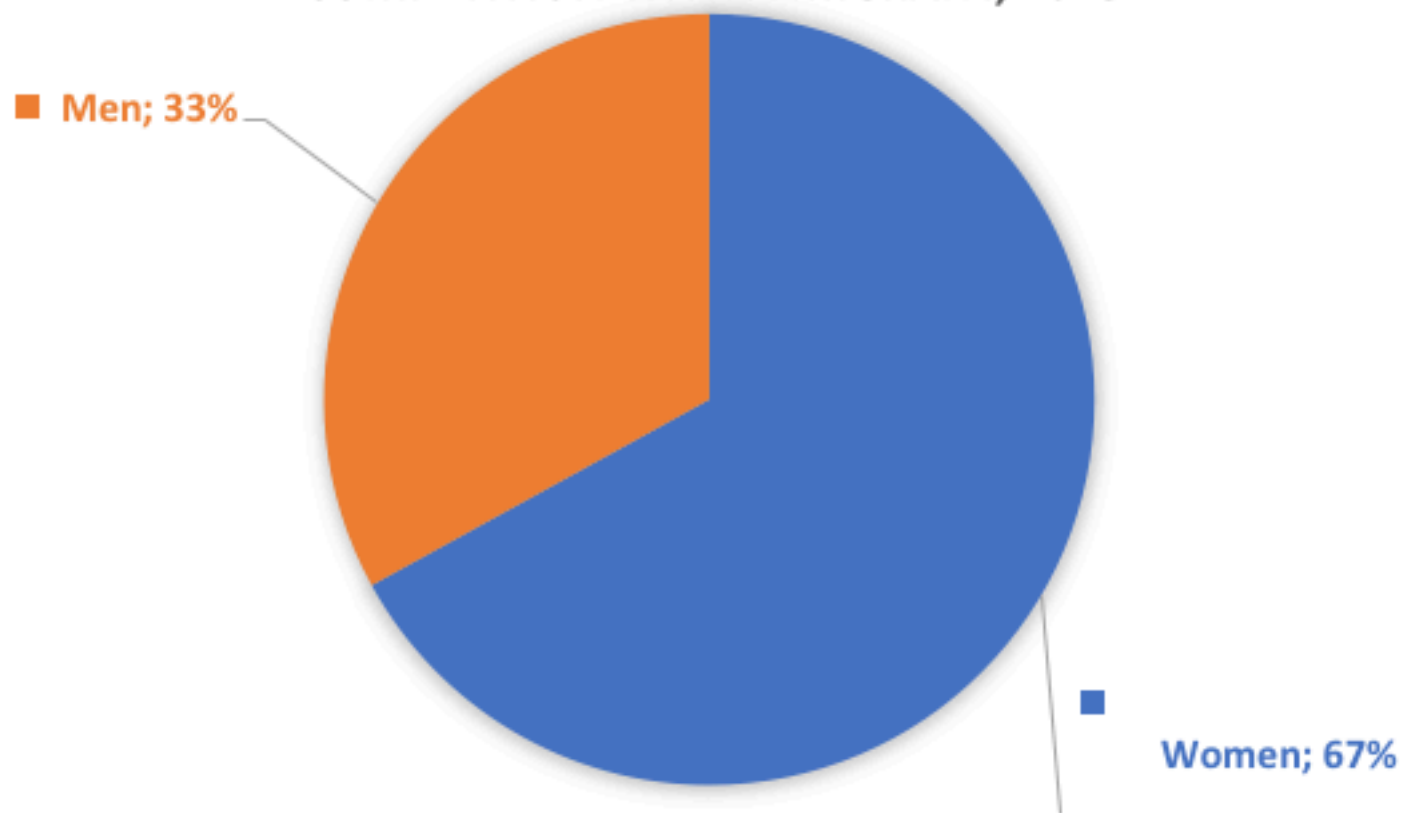
According to a survey conducted by the Center for Migration Studies (CMS) in 2013 with the support of the Office of the Human Rights Ombudsman in Moscow (the sample size is 800 respondents: 600 Muscovites and 200 labor migrants), expert interviews, focus groups, almost 40 % of the Muscovites surveyed agreed with the statement that migrants "occupy jobs that our people need" (Center for Migration Studies (2013). And only a small part - 7% of the respondents "stated that they personally know the real situation when they were employed not by them, but by a migrant".

How did women and men assess the situation? About an unsuccessful attempt to find employment in competition with a migrant, women were twice as likely to speak, than men - 67% and 33%, respectively (Figure 1).

Figure 1

The results of the answer to the question
"What jobs did the candidates compete"?

UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT TO FIND EMPLOYMENT IN COMPETITION WITH A MIGRANT, 2013



Mainly competitors competed for unskilled jobs with secondary special education and below; 67% of those who refused are the cleaning woman, the courier, the loader, the janitor, the seller. The high specific gravity of failures in this case was explained only by the limited "convenient from the territorial point of view" location and work schedule regarding places of residence of vacant workplaces.

An important feature is that at the same time all these vacancies in large numbers were present at that time in the Russian bank of vacancies. It should be noted that in most cases the proposed salary for these vacancies did not exceed 20 thousand rubles, which is clearly insufficient for Muscovites, but it is probably acceptable for migrants.

Moreover, the low competition for jobs was confirmed during a focus group meeting with Moscow employers in August 2013, although they spoke not only about the lack of required employees among Muscovites for the salary they are offered, but also about the unwillingness of Muscovites (and sometimes Russians from the regions) to work in the same way as employers require (with less output, processing, more rigorous work discipline, etc.)" (Florinskaya, 2015).

In this case, according to the expert the president of the "Migration XIX Century" foundation and the initiator of the "Dialogues on Integration" project, Igor Savin, the attitude to migrants in Russia has improved.

For example, in mid-May 2016 in Moscow at the Khovansky cemetery a brawl occurred, in which about 200 people took part. And first of all, these are migrants who arrived from Tajikistan. After this incident, the media wrote that migrants in Russia are unhappy with the conditions, delays in wages and there are threats of possible protests. Nevertheless, according to Igor Savin, who meets with migrants every month to listen to their complaints and wishes, nothing was heard about the possible unrest in the labor migrants' community: "Many of those with whom I spoke do not even know anything about Khovanskoye cemetery. People have other, more pressing concerns. It seems to us that they think only about how to get together and fight. " Also, the expert noted the important fact that in the opinion of migrants themselves, their situation has improved significantly, compared to 2011 and they do not even complain about bad relations with the local residents". (Experts, 2016)

According to the expert, the matter is towards the transformation of migrants into full-fledged workers and bearers of obligations. In addition, the people from Central Asia themselves support the idea of full legalization of their labor.

Russian President Vladimir Putin noted that the liberal model of society, paying special attention to the interests of migrants, looks attractive, but ultimately leads to irritation of the population. In this regard, the president says that "it is necessary to take only as many foreigners as the country is able to adapt to local conditions of the labor market, language and cultural traditions". Also, V.V. Putin noted that in his opinion, this problem in the European Union countries is acuter, and this is due to the fact that the migration flows that are sent to European countries are foreign to them, but not in Russia, since migrants from the USSR had to do with the country. (The President criticized the liberal attitude, 2016)

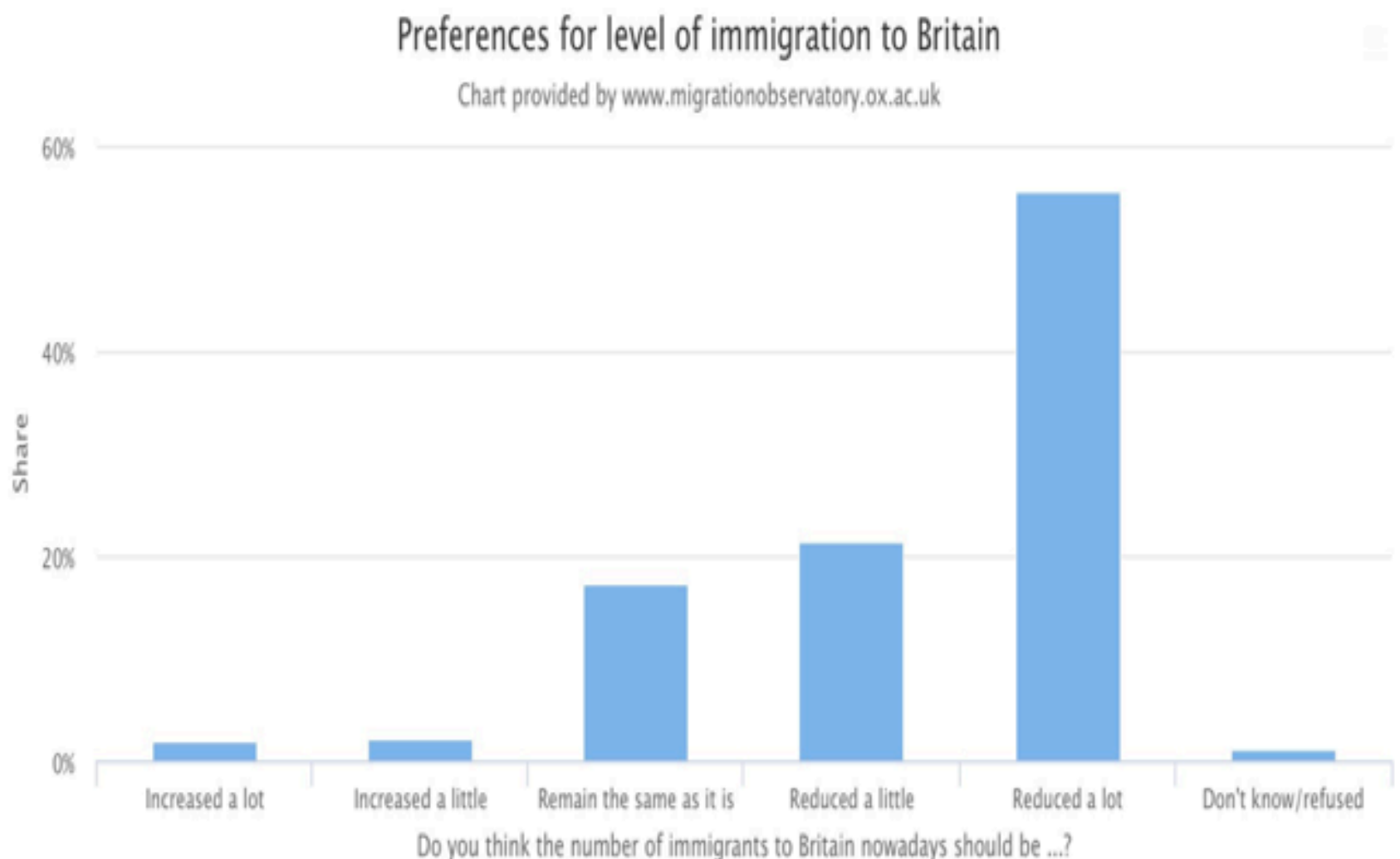
Secondly, as comparative studies show, a similar situation, when immigration is mostly negative, is observed in other countries. At the same time, Russia is quite far from the "explosion of ethnophobia", which Western analysts say.

3.1. Great Britain

For example, according to a British social survey conducted by the Observatory for the Study of Migration at Oxford University in 2013, there is a high level of opposition to immigration in the UK. Most respondents believe that there are too many migrants in the country, and that legal restrictions for them should be more stringent (Brexit was fueled by irrational xenophobia, 2016). More than 56% of respondents answered that the number of immigrants in the UK should be "reduced a lot" (Figure 2.).

Figure 2

The results of the answer to the question: «Do you think the number of immigrants to Britain nowadays should be...?»?



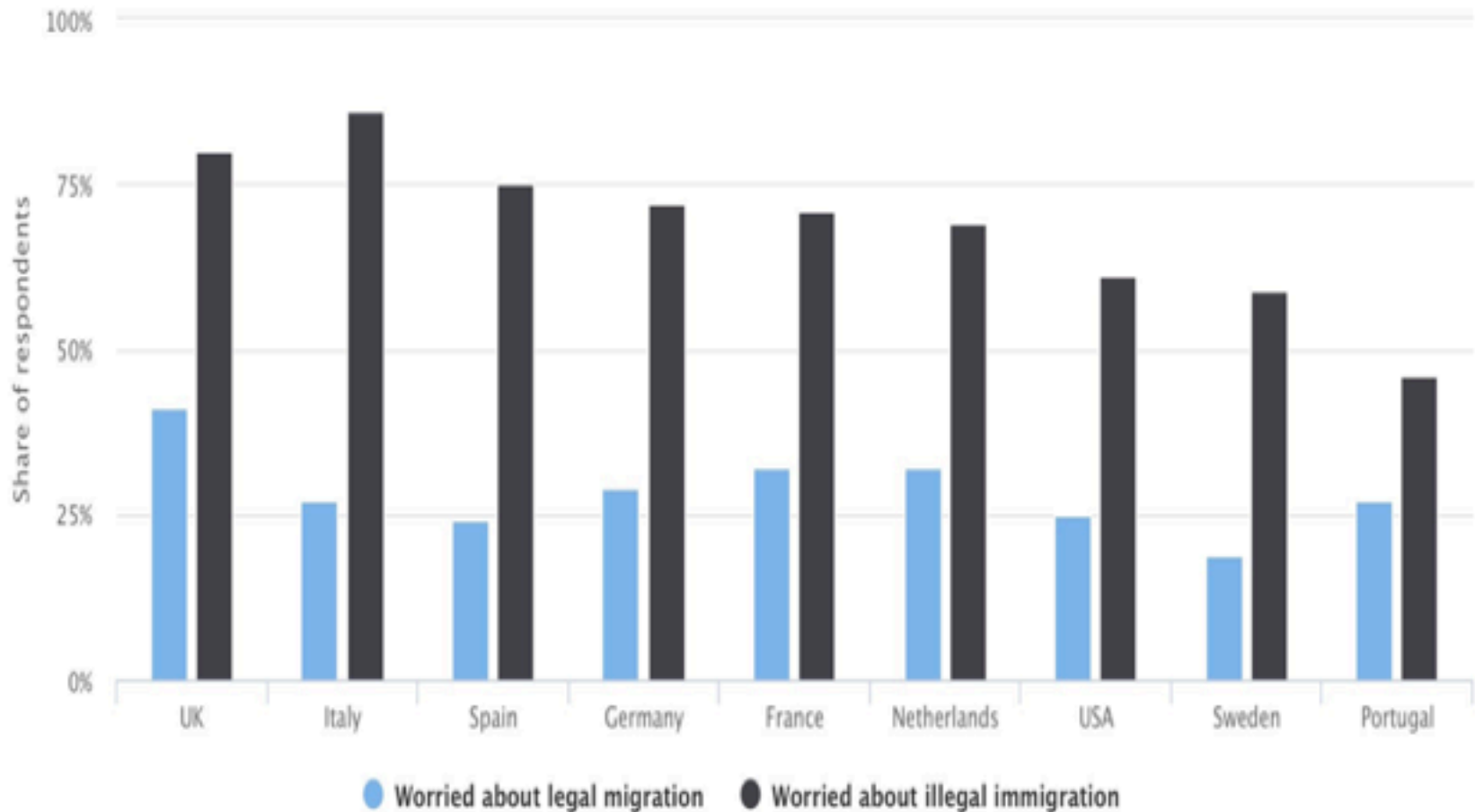
A survey conducted by Transatlantic Trends in 2014 shows the number of people in the UK who are concerned about immigration, whether legal or illegal, compared to other countries. According to the data, 41% of respondents are concerned about legal immigration to the country, and 80% are concerned about illegal immigration (Figure 3) (UK Public Opinion towards Immigration, 2014; Migrants in the UK Labour Market, 2016).

Figure 3

The results of the answer to the question: «What are you more concerned about legal migration or illegal immigration?»?

Concern about legal & illegal immigration by country, 2013

Chart provided by www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk



In 2016, according to experts, the number of manifestations of xenophobia and racial discrimination has sharply increased in Great Britain. According to John O'Connell, the representative of the anti-racist organization Far Right Watch, activists registered more than 90 cases of racial discrimination of the most varied forms, from insults to physical violence, within the first three days after the referendum. For example, Poles living in Huntington sent laminated cards with the inscription "We left the EU! No, the Polish parasites!". Also, graffiti of racist content on the walls of the Polish cultural center in Hammersmith, and so on (Manukov, 2016a).

3.2. Germany

Assessing, according to these studies, the attitude towards immigrants in Germany, one should accept the transition in the public consciousness from the negative attitude towards migrants to the growing feeling of hostility towards them.

1. As is known, in 2009, banker Tilo Sarrazin speaking about integration issues blamed "Muslim immigrants for a negative impact on society, which is becoming increasingly intellectual because of them."
2. Four years later, according to a survey conducted by the Institute for the Study of Interdisciplinary Conflicts in Germany in 2013, 66% of Western Germans and 74% of Eastern Germans have a "negative attitude towards Muslims" (Rozhdestvenskaya, 2014). Wilhelm Heitmeyer, the head of this institution, noted that "the general hostility towards foreigners gave way to a growing dislike for Islam in Germany." They were also observed that "such hostility, moving from ethnic to religious boundaries against Muslims, exists not only in radically right-wing currents." In his opinion, anti-Muslim sentiments are present throughout the country from the upper strata of society to the lowest.
3. According to the results of another survey conducted in the period 2013-2014. in Berlin by the Conflictology Institute of Bielefeld University, "in the opinion of 16.5% of Germans, migrants are a burden on social infrastructure. 28% of respondents fear that there can be too many migrants in Germany, according to 15%, already now their number in the country is excessive. 7.6% believe that Muslims should be banned from immigration to Germany. 8.7% expressed an opinion on the natural inequality of races"(Rozhdestvenskaya, 2014).

4. One of the striking indicators of the increase in inter-ethnic tensions in Germany due to migrants is the case of arson shelters for refugees in autumn 2015. For example, in the administrative district of Freiburg (Regierungsbezirk Freiburg), located in the north-western part of the country, unknown people threw several bottles filled with a "Molotov cocktail" in the shelter. Because of the lack of specialized facilities for people arriving daily from Syria, they had to be placed in sports halls of private and municipal clubs.

5. Moreover, the events that took place in Cologne, in the opinion of experts and analysts, greatly changed the attitude towards migrants in Germany.

It is known that on the night of January 1, 2016, about 90 Germans were sexually harassed by migrants (Johnson & Bräuer, 2016). Mass rape of German women caused a wave of protests. In addition, the authorities of the German Bornheim banned male migrants from visiting the city pool due to numerous complaints from employees and visitors about harassment. Later, for too soft attitude towards refugees, German Chancellor Angela Merkel was criticized by European countries and the Germans. It should be noted that in 2015 the number of registered migrants exceeded 1.1 million people. According to a poll conducted by the sociological service INSA in 2016 (Manukov, 2016b), the attitude of 61% of the surveyed FRG residents to migrants after the events in Cologne has changed. The ratio did not change only for every fourth respondent. 63% of survey participants believe that Germany has accepted too many refugees.

6. The growing number of deportees over the past years shows that there are serious problems with the adaptation of migrant visitors: if for the entire 2014 according to the data of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the FRG 10884 migrants were deported, only 18363 people were deported from January to November 2015.

7. Negativity in relation to migrants of the last wave by the ethnic Germans of migrants from the USSR adds incomparably easy involvement of migrant refugees in the German economy. "Soviet" migrants for several years proved their loyalty and professionalism in order to conclude a labor contract with them, while migrant refugees in a number of cases are immediately recruited with subsequent training (retraining) by profession.

4. Discussion

Carrying out a comparative analysis of the attitude towards migrants in Russia, Great Britain and Germany, it is worth noting that, unlike, for example, the British, Russians do not advocate strict legal restrictions on migrant visitors, and unlike Germans, do not express a sharply negative attitude towards Immigrants (!).

1. According to the study "Students in multinational megacities and large cities of Russia: ethnic self-awareness and interethnic relations", which was held in 2008, 56.2% of respondents noted that "Russia is a common home for all its peoples" (Students in multinational megalopolises, 2008).

According to V.V. Petukhov (2008): "It would be wrong to think that Russia is experiencing an" explosion of ethnophobia "- most of our fellow citizens demonstrate a high level of ethnic tolerance, believing that Russia is the common home of all peoples inhabiting it. It is national tolerance, which some domestic and foreign researchers sometimes do not want to notice, not only "blocks" interethnic conflicts in the country, but also does not allow radical nationalist organizations to declare themselves in politics" (Petukhov, 2008).

2. The RPORC (Russia Public Opinion Research Center) survey conducted in 2013 showed that 53% of the respondents supported the idea of attracting young and educated citizens to the country (Immigration to Russia). In this case, according to the Center for the Study of National Conflicts and the "Club of Regions" in 2014, the number of manifestations of ethnic hatred decreased by 35%.

Since January 2015, the influx of labor migrants into the country has decreased by 70%, according to the Federal Migration Service. At the same time, based on the demographic forecast of Rosstat until 2050, it can be concluded that Russia faces the threat of rapid depopulation. "To maintain the current population of the country (a realistic version of the forecast), the country must ensure a huge influx of migrants - more than 12% of the current

population of the country, since the proportion of the working-age population decreases roughly the same in all variants of the forecast (from almost 60% to less than 50%)" (How Russia dies out, 2015).

So. Without diminishing the threat of dissatisfaction with the state of interethnic relations, it should be recognized that in connection with the economic situation in the country, migration processes have changed which, for the above reasons, influence the preservation of social tensions in Russian society between different ethnic groups.

5. Conclusion

1. Despite the high level of ethno-social conflicts in Russia, their number and forms of manifestation (aggressiveness) are much lower than in Western Europe, and Russians are more "tolerant" to representatives of other ethnic groups than residents of, for example, such countries, like France, England and Germany.

2. On the basis of the conducted research it can be concluded that there is an objective need in Russia for attracting foreign labor. This is evidenced by the demographic forecasts of experts. Moreover, the current economic situation in the country also forms a deficit of labor resources. In connection with the sociocultural differences between migrant workers and the local population, various ethnic stereotypes, false myths, interethnic tension, and, as a consequence, the ethno-social conflict, arise. This speaks about the urgent need to address the issues of optimizing the system of social adaptation of labor migrants at the state level and at the level of civil society. This can be facilitated only by effective migration, demographic and economic policies of the state, based on the principles of the state national policy of the Russian Federation and the corresponding strategy until 2025.

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Revista ESPACIOS. ISSN 0798 1015
Vol. 39 (Nº 22) Year 2018

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