

RESEARCH

REPORTS

RECOMMENDATIONS

OLGA YAKIMOVA

THE POTENTIAL ROLE THINK TANKS COULD PLAY IN STUDYING MIGRATION IN RUSSIA: THE POLISH EXPERIENCE

INSTITUTE OF
PUBLIC AFFAIRS

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The last three decades have brought about significant economic, political, and social transformations in Russia that have determined international migration in the country. These changes have affected Russians' attitudes toward immigrants as "Others". The era living behind the Iron Curtain limited Russians' opportunities to have contact with foreigners. As a result of restrictions on international mobility and the political and economic characteristics of socialist Russia, the number of foreigners in Russia was small and the issue of immigration latent. The few foreigners who came to Russia during the Soviet period were perceived as exotic and temporary guests, who should be treated according to Russian standards of hospitality.

But over the course of the post-1991 transition, Russia quickly changed into a country attracting a considerable number of immigrants. Currently, Russia is one of the countries with the highest number of foreign-born citizens on its territory (United States – 40.4 million, Russia – 11.2 million, Germany – 10.7 million).¹ Large communities of immigrants from Central and Southeast Asia – including Chinese, Vietnamese, Tajiks, Uzbeks – began to settle in the state, transforming Russian society into a multicultural, multi-ethnic, and multi-religious one. These trends are likely to remain steady.

Although Russia is attracting a growing number of immigrants, Russians are not well equipped to interact with foreigners. This fact clearly emerged in Russians' answers to questions about their attitude to the arrivals of immigrants and to their finding work in Russia. As many as 83% of Russians are in favour of reducing the number of foreigners from the South and the East in Russia.² About 56% of respondents are against the settlement of foreigners in Russia (66% in Moscow and 61% in Saint Petersburg).³ A survey by the Russian Public Opinion Research Center (VCIOM) in 2013 showed that the general feeling of the threat associated with the presence of immigrants was very high (35%).⁴ Of all the threats listed, Russians are most worried that immigrants will contribute to an increase in crime and that they will burden the welfare system. In addition, Russian citizens fear the demographic and economic threats that the presence of immigrants might cause.

These fears are, in fact, associated with new, emerging security threats, which have influenced the perception of migrants – the extinction of the native

1 International Migration Outlook 2013, <http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/imo2013.htm>

2 Russian Public Opinion Research Center (VCIOM), Press release # 2366. August, 2013, <http://wciom.ru/index.php?id=459&uid=114341>

3 Ibidem

4 Russian Public Opinion Research Center (VCIOM), Press release # 2351. July, 2013, <http://wciom.ru/index.php?id=459&uid=114302>

population due to decline in fertility (23%),⁵ a drastic drop in living standards (22%),⁶ and the rise of ethnic tension (20%).⁷ A special mention should be made to the threat of terrorist. Most Russians are afraid of being victims of terrorist attacks (78%), and in this context respondents believe the Caucasus (20%) and the Islamists (16%) to be evil.⁸

The “foreigner issue” is gradually becoming an object of social conflict. However, it must be taken into account that international migration and negative attitudes to “newcomers” are tied to the broader issue of ethnic xenophobia and the existing negative feelings towards other ethnic groups within the country (internal migrants from northern Caucasus).

In general, Russians have positive feelings for nationalities that are a positive reference group, for nationalities living in countries with a higher socio-economic status than Russia. Russians are happy to host westerners, but have negative emotions associated with newcomers from beyond Russia’s eastern and southern borders: Tajiks and Uzbeks, who conjure up images of criminals, terrorists, members of the mafia, and smugglers. Particularly easily identifiable groups, such as Chinese and Vietnamese, are also targets of aggression.

Hence, the data show that the process of the observed mixing of populations and the continual influx of immigrants does not come hand in hand with increased tolerance for ethnic diversity and others’ differences. One of the measures of intolerance can be a tendency to exclude as potential neighbours, people belonging to different social categories such as members of ethnic minorities or immigrants.⁹ An analysis of neighbourly tolerance in Russian society in the last decade shows an increase of xenophobia against immigrants and persons of different races. In fact, the most strongly rejected group in Russia turned out to be immigrants – designated as the least favourite neighbours by 41% of Russians.¹⁰ Deep aversion to immigrants was the reason for protests and even riots by the indigenous population in 2013 (Moscow: Biryulyovo, Arzamas, etc.).

However, there is contradiction between “social knowledge” of the migration situation (a seemingly immense influx of immigrants) and official statistics, which represent the real number of immigrants and the level of their crimes.¹¹ This fact shows stereotypes that people have about the perception

5 Ibidem

6 Ibidem

7 Russian Public Opinion Research Center (VCIOM), Press release # 2516. February, 2014, <http://wciom.ru/index.php?id=459&uid=114712>

8 Russian Public Opinion Research Center (VCIOM), Press release # 2466. December, 2013, <http://wciom.ru/index.php?id=459&uid=114624>

9 Grzymala-Kazłowska A, Jasinska-Kania A. Tolerance in Poland, http://www.english.pan.pl/images/stories/pliki/publikacje/academia/2011/1_2011_29/28-31%20kaz%C5%82owska%20pdf.pdf

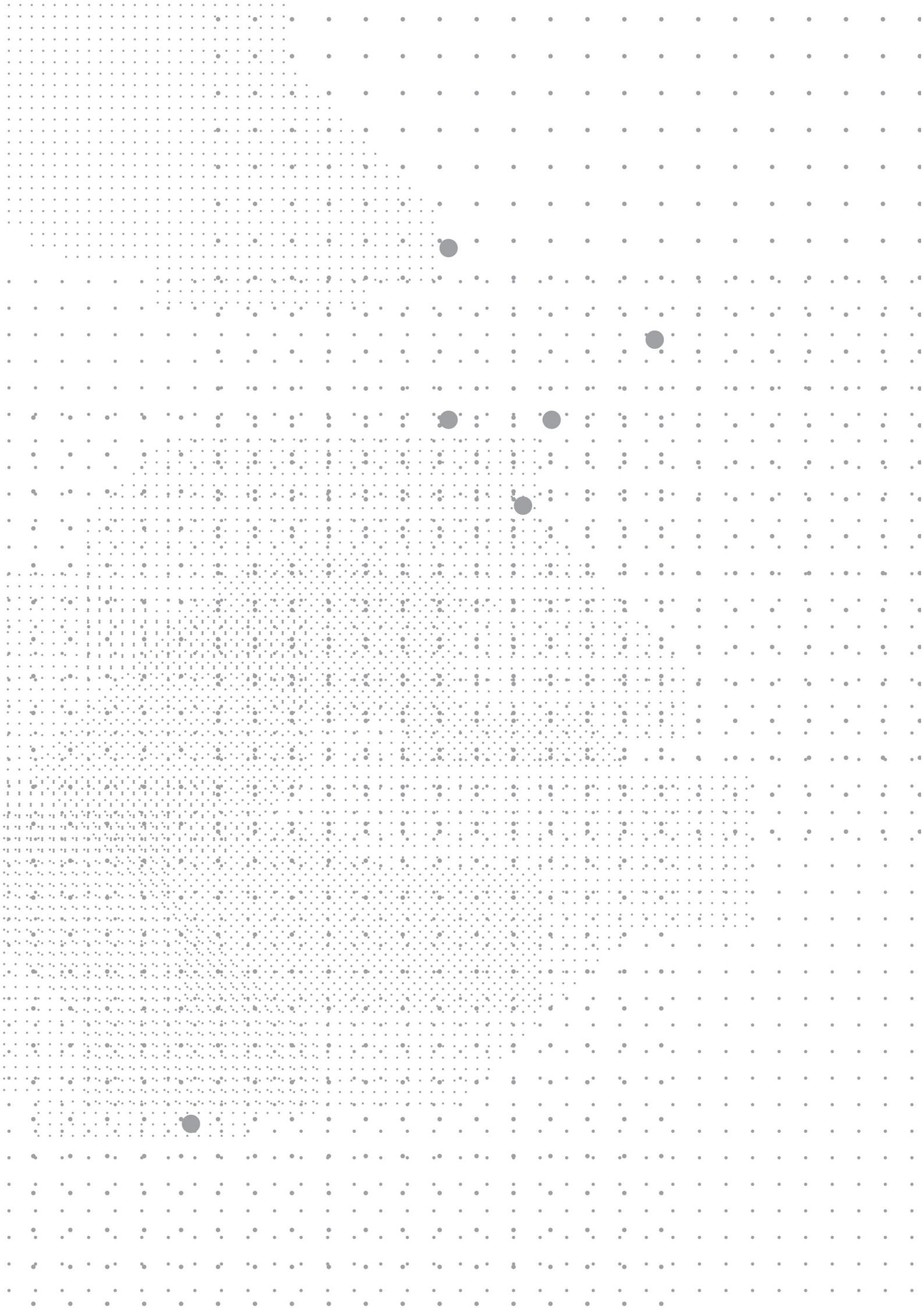
10 Russian Fund “Public Opinion” (FOM). Russian regions: scale of hospitality, May, 2012, <http://fom.ru/obshchestvo/10458>

11 Dmitrieva, A. Statistics don’t verify ideas of migrants’ criminalism (Дмитриева А. Представления о криминальности мигрантов не подтверждаются статистикой), <http://www.vedomosti.ru/opinion/news/14307911/extra-jus>

of immigrants'. It determines the latent social tension and destabilises the system of society in general.

In order to correct such a distorted image of immigrants that is diffused through everyday awareness and to construct an adequate perception of international migration as a particular phenomenon of modern life, it is necessary to study not only the direct, but also the fundamental causes of negative host community attitudes to foreigners, as well as the process of their formation. Consequently, if migration policy is to be effective, it must be based on reliable data and in-depth analyses that can be provided by analytical institutes (think tanks) specialised in migration studies.

In this paper, I seek to put the problem of tolerance towards minorities and attitudes towards immigrants in a broader societal context. The study does so in three ways. First, it analyses the prevalence of attitudes. Second, it tests various determinants of tolerance. And finally, it compares the level of tolerance and its changes in Russia with other European countries, focusing on the case of Poland.



2. ANALYSIS OF THE MIGRATION PROCESS AND OFFICIAL DISCOURSE OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION IN RUSSIA



2.1 The migration process and the dilemma of diversity management

Demographic processes in modern Russia are characterised by depopulation, which is why making an effective system for the integration of migrants is one of the country's biggest challenges. The issues of depopulation and the reduction of manpower resources are forcing the country to pay attention to the use of foreign labour, which could potentially compensate for the natural decrease in Russia's population.

According to the Federal Migration Service of Russia (FMS), migrants mainly come to the country from the countries of Central Asia – Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. However, the flow of migrants from CIS countries is beginning to decrease. The Central Asia countries are still oriented towards Russia, although some are beginning to think about the forming of a multi-vector migration policy and to look for other countries to which they can send their migrant workers. It logically follows that in the near future, Russia will have to compete with other European countries for the opportunity to host labour migrants. This fact should move the issue of the attractiveness of Russia to migrants to the top of the modernisation of Russia agenda. This means a shift from the policy of limitation of migration flows, to a policy of active engagement of migrants into the country, including migrants from abroad. In these circumstances, it is becoming particularly important to construct new models of relations with migrants.

Traditionally, there are two basic models of diversity management: 1) the assimilation model meaning ethno-national identity (the traditional approach) and 2) the multicultural model meaning civil state identity (the modern approach). However, neither of these approaches is definitely realistic.

In the early 20th century, such traditionally immigrant countries as the United States and Australia tried to implement the model of assimilation (“melting pot”). This model was developed under the concept of a national state and homogeneous culture, including the identities of all citizens as equal. In theory, it would eliminate socio-cultural diversity and facilitate the management of society.

Nevertheless, first,¹² assimilation does not exclude interaction between migrants and the host ethnic majority, and hence it is becoming a bilateral

12 Kukatas, Ch. Theoretical background of multiculturalism (Кукатас Ч. Теоретические основы мультикультурализма): <http://inliberty.ru/library/study/327/>

process in which newcomers not only go through a process of acculturation, but they also influence the routine life and mentality of the recipient society. Second, it was found that far from all cultural minorities are ready to change in the way that is required by the host society's social policy. Some ethnic groups have shown reluctance to integrate into the culture of the recipient country, creating a "parallel society" of their native culture and language. Third, it has become clear that even acculturation is not a sufficient basis for integration into a new society. Fourth, equal rights and freedoms that are practiced in the host society mostly do not coincide with the social practices of migrant groups.

As for the theory of multiculturalism that has been developed in Canada and Europe since the 1960s in connection with the struggle for the right to be "another", it is today criticised,¹³ as it contributes to reinforcement of society's mosaic and cultural fragmentation. For ethnic migrants, the policy of multiculturalism that is practiced by the recipient society is becoming a way to avoid integration, which is ultimately regarded as the loss of personal identity. This policy only leads to an increase in tension in inter-ethnic and inter-confessional relations.

Moreover, the modern history of migrant communities in European and North American countries shows their aspiration for autarchy. Today, all capitals and major cities of the world have quite isolated and completely self-sufficient areas, where one or another ethnic groups live compactly and where they partly ensure their own employment. Of course, this "ghettoization" of migrants does not promote inter-cultural dialogue and does not create favourable conditions for the actualisation of conceptual models of deliberative democracy or discursive ethics.

Thus, a realistic look at the dynamics and structure of migration processes, as well as at the strategies of adaptation of migrants in the new social and cultural context, compels us to acknowledge the impossibility of the complete integration of migrants into the host society. We can only talk about their "partial or functional" integration.

The problem, therefore, is that on the one hand migration is an objective process that determines global development and integration. At the same time, migration contains a lot of contradictions, where social inclusion of one group and exclusion of another is the major problem. Thus, migration is a process that has a strong conflict potential. According to classical theories, immigrants have to integrate into the local culture to become part of the host community. The new paradigm considers that migration is a social process that does not imply integration of immigrants into the local culture, but tolerates the variety of results of the migration process. Such a change is not possible in a society where xenophobia is spread and immigrants are perceived as a "threat", which is why it is currently very important to understand all the

13 Benhabib S. *The Claims of Culture. Equality and Diversity in The Global Era*, Princeton University Press, 2002.

factors (both social and inherent nature) that impact on host society attitudes towards international migration.

The Russian government could overcome the actual tense situation if it established a migration policy that would be informed by facts and an understanding of migrants' position. The work of raising awareness and promoting knowledge about the migration process could be carried out by a community of actors, of which the authorities (decision-makers), academics and analysts (experts), and NGOs (representatives of civil society) are the most crucial. European think tanks have shown themselves to be important agents in this respect, as they can contribute to the development of the debate on the direction of migration policy. This fact determines the necessity of involving think tanks in migration policy-making in Russia.

2.2 Discourse of international migration

The official discourse of international migration plays a key role in the migration process, as on the one hand it determines the image of the country (attractive or not attractive) for potential immigrants, while on the other it determines attitudes of the indigenous population towards migrants (positive or negative).

For instance, there are currently two levels on which the Russian public views immigrants as sources of economic gain and as threats to its values or social stability. They correlate with two levels (ambivalent position) on which the authorities produce a discourse on migration as a source of socio-economic and cultural development (high-skilled and educational migrants) and as the reason for an increased crime rate and other problems (low-skilled and illegal migrants).

| | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Actors of the migration process (recipient society) | Discourse on migration | |
| State (authorities) | Source of development | Source of problems |
| Society (indigenous population) | Source of economic gain | National threat |
| Social effect | | |
| Attitudes/strategies of communication | Positive attitudes (utilitarianism) | Negative attitudes (distancing) |

Currently, the official discourse of Russia's attractiveness for immigrants contains the following features:¹⁴ 1) socio-economic indicators that are important for migrants: highly urbanised region; trade, educational, industrial,

¹⁴ Based on the author's content-analysis of the press in 2011 (113 newspapers). Yakimova O. A. Media discourse of the migration process in the context of interaction between the host and the immigrant communities (Якимова О.А. Медиадискурс миграционного процесса в контексте взаимодействия принимающего и иммигрантского сообществ), <http://journal-s.org/index.php/sisp/article/view/1120131>

and cultural centre; wide labour market; growing need for workers; need for compensation of working age population etc., 2) interest of the authorities in openness and inclusion into the global community (major international dialogue events supporting the development of joint businesses etc.), 3) a high standard of living, 4) a stable socio-political situation (lacking of intense ethnic or cross-cultural conflicts), 5) historical ethnic and multicultural diversity, and 6) a favourable geographical position.

Thus, the country and the host community are positioned as a dynamic, interested in foreign investment, actively collaborating with many countries, and multicultural society, where representatives of different nations live in peace and mutual respect.

This image of Russia impacts not only on members of the wider public abroad, but also on the indigenous population who perceive the country as a part of the global economic, educational, and cultural space. Such point of view involves the possibility of aliens being in many areas of the public life of the local community.

However, the contradiction is that at the same time, the discourse of international migration includes the negative images of labour migrants who are the majority of migration flow into Russia. This can be explained by the methodological standpoint of the theory of intercultural communication (Edward Hall), which supposes that people have an archetypal perception of space, according to which a person or group who are the first to occupy the territory or who live on it for a long time, subconsciously start to believe in the exclusive right of possessing it.

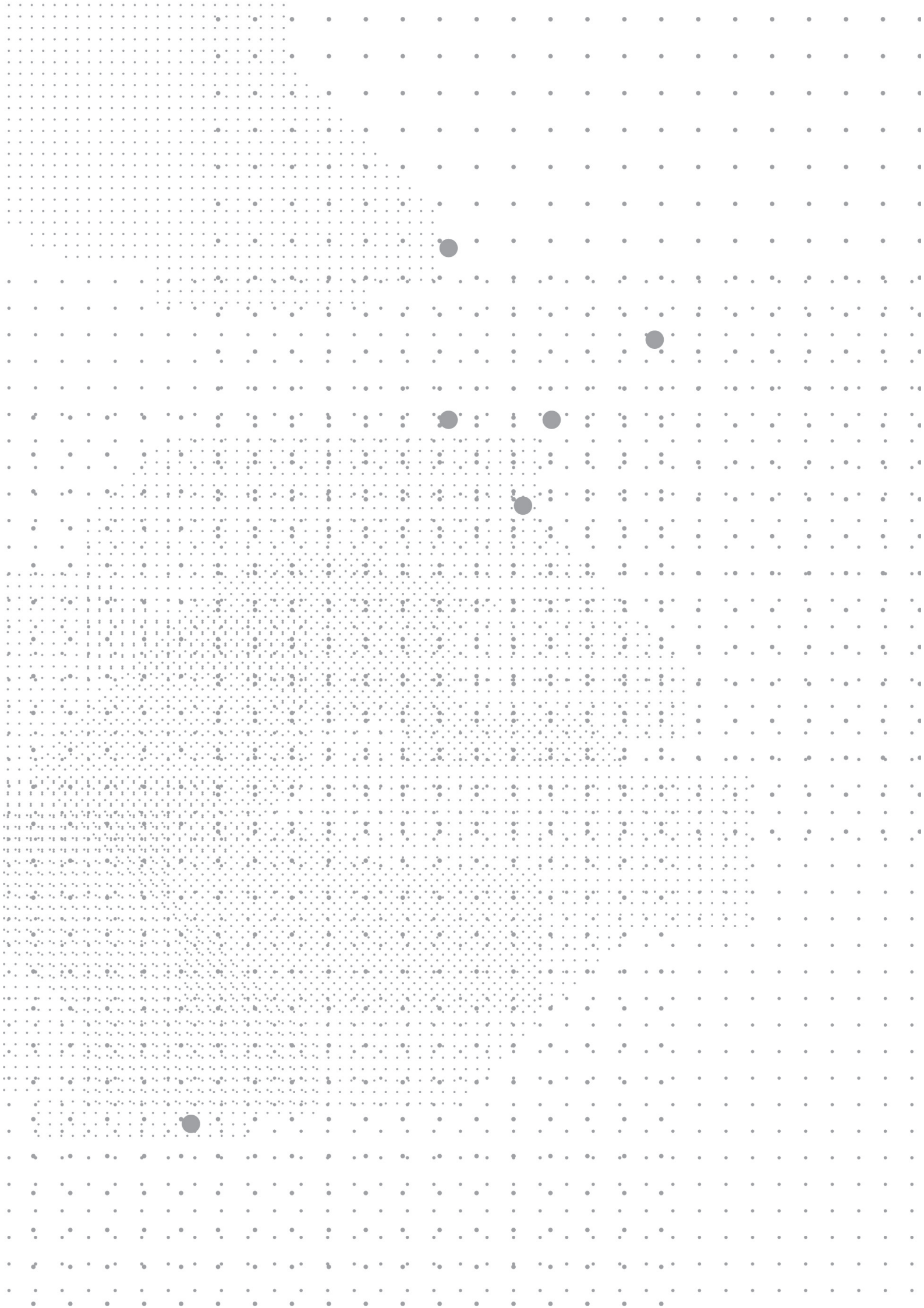
Therefore, the belonging of a group of immigrants to the indigenous population as well as the continuance of co-residence of the host and immigrants' communities on the same territory is of particular importance to social peace and ethnic tolerance. Migrants from Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Vietnam, and China do not belong to the indigenous population of Russia, and locals have no historical background of co-residence with them. This fact determines the "split" attitude towards migrants: on the rational level – understanding the need for their presence, on the emotional level – rejection of migrants and perception of them as "strangers".

Another evident contradiction is that the migration policy of Russia, as well as of all western countries, is oriented towards accepting highly-qualified people who are able to develop an innovative economy, scientific knowledge, and culture. Nevertheless, the observed result of public policy is the stay of a large number of unskilled workers in spheres of building, and consumer and communal services. Therefore, the indigenous population associates the migration process primarily with low-skilled migrants from Central Asia, and locals have the negative reactions of fear and rejection while thinking about immigrants.

In general, discourse of international migration in Russia involves the following contradictions:²⁵ 1) between the migration appeal image of the country (openness, tolerant, interested in economy development) and the negative image of international migration as a phenomenon (negative image of migrants from Central and Western Asia as the majority of migration flow), 2) between the negative representation of a large group of low-skilled labour migrants (another ethnic group, “visible” migrants) and the positive representation of a small group of skilled migrants from western countries (“invisible” migrants), 3) between the broadcasting authorities’ declared policy oriented to accept highly-qualified migrants into the country and observing the reality of the presence of unskilled or illegal foreign migrants, 4) between the large amount of information that provokes the emotional perception of international migration (information about situations with migrants’ participation) and the insignificant quantity of information that provokes the rational perception of international migration (a lack of information about determinants and mechanisms of migration), and 5) between a tolerant description of multicultural events (holidays of ethnic minorities), and an intolerant description of the everyday life of ethnic migrants (cultural distance, inability of adapting).

Some of these contradictions are on the level of policy and others are on the level of discourse. Nevertheless, resolving of all these contradictions is only possible if policy and discourse is based on credible facts and balanced information; which will allow a decrease in social tension and a reduction of the potential conflict interaction of the local population and foreign visitors. Taking into account the increase in migration flows, which includes temporary migrants who are not interested in integration into the host society, the role of a think tank consists of helping to construct the culture of interaction of the host and immigrants’ communities, raising public awareness of the migration phenomena, and improving the social climate around migration.

15 Ibidem



3. THE EUROPEAN UNION AND POLISH EXPERIENCE IN DEVELOPING THINK TANKS FOR THE STUDY OF MIGRATION



As mentioned above, negative attitudes towards immigrants based on the phenomenon of “other” or “alien” are descended from the collective unconscious. A cautious attitude towards foreigners resides in people both in Russia and Europe, where public discourse also represents many traditional stereotypes towards newcomers.

However, from a pragmatic viewpoint, sustainable levels of properly managed migration are of distinct benefit to a host society. Many immigrants make a valuable contribution to the recipients’ economic and demographic process in terms of both their skills and experience. Besides this, most European countries also have a long history of welcoming genuine refugees, which will continue. This is why, despite the growing evidence of anti-immigrant rhetoric, the challenge of developing an EU-wide immigration, integration, and asylum policy is a hot political topic and will remain so in the years to come.

Most European think tanks are devoted to the study of international migration, to the promotion of understanding between immigrants and receiving communities, as well as to public policies that safeguard the dignity and rights of migrants, refugees, and newcomers. In this context, think tanks are the research and policy arms of the authorities. Through research and analysis, think tanks on migration study provide policymakers, the media, and the general public with accurate information about the role of immigrants and immigration policy in the societies of Europe. They consider their mission to be to shape a rational conversation on immigration and migrant integration, and carry it out in such ways as: a) publication of books, journals, and papers, b) holding conferences, meetings, and dialogues, c) conducting evidence-based and policy-relevant research, and d) provision of expert support to local, national, and international institutions.

Generally speaking, think tanks work with policy-makers on all levels of governance (international, regional, national) and with civil society organisations (faith-based groups, NGOs, etc.). Staff of think tanks regularly serve as experts to government leaders, opinion-makers, and the media. Their reports and materials are widely disseminated and relied upon by the press and policy-makers. Thus, the main purposes of European think tanks are: a) to monitor developments in the field of international migration, b) to conduct research, c) to provide the public with full and accurate facts, and d) to make recommendations on policy.

Overall, the European Values Study (2008)¹⁶ shows Poland to be one of the more open post-communist states. Poland's level of prejudice against immigrants and people of different races is slightly lower than the European average.

Currently tolerance as an abstract value is espoused more often in Poland than in most European countries, and the values of tolerance and respect for other people have been seen as more desirable in the education of children in Poland than in the majority of other countries.

The rise in tolerance towards neighbouring ethnic minorities and immigrants may be tied to an increase in openness towards these groups, and may be a result of the following determinants: a) the improvement of the economic situation as well as the material standards of living in Poland, b) an increase in the level of social optimism in Poland, c) Poland's succession to the European Union, and d) the increase in education.

However the depth of scientific analysis shows that the attitude towards immigrants is influenced by a lot of another factors, such as cultural similarity, historical legacies, and personal experience related, for instance, to foreign travel, holidays, or work, as well as public discourse of international migration and etc.¹⁷

In Poland, think tanks play a very important role in constructing the current discourse, as they offer a balanced view of migration phenomena as well as the fact that the Polish government believes in the necessity of informing the public about its migration policy and supports the debate on its direction.

In order to understand the assets and environment for the operation of a successful think tank, it is necessary to consider the functioning of Polish think tanks as cases.

The Institute of Public Affairs (IPA)¹⁸ is a leading Polish think tank and independent centre for policy research and analysis (20 years of operation, in-house research and policy analysts, and a network of associate experts). IPA defines its mission as contributing to informed public debates on key Polish, European, and global policy, and studies European and social policy, civil society, and development policy.

The study of migration is one of its major research fields. Currently, dozen of migration policy programmes are being developed at IPA: "MIPEX 2015", "Migration to the Center", "Preparation and publication for Warsaw residents of a manual on equal access to goods and services of Warsaw", "The perception of Poland and Poles in the Netherlands", "Integration through education. Psychological and legal support for foreigners in Poland", "Fighting-human trafficking in the EU: promoting legal cooperation and victim protection",

16 Grzymala-Kazłowska A., Jasinska-Kania A. Tolerance in Poland, http://www.english.pan.pl/images/stories/pliki/publikacje/academia/2011/1_2011_29/28-31%20kaz%C5%82owska%20pdf.pdf

17 Attitude to Other Nationalities. Polish Public Opinion / CBOS Public Opinion Research Center, February, 2013, http://www.cbos.pl/EN/home_en/cbos_en.php

18 <http://www.isp.org.pl/programy,program-migracji-i-polityki-rozwojowej,56.html?submenuheader=3>

“Lawyers for Refugees”, “Researching risks in forced migrant’s integration in Poland”, the “MEDIVA project”, “New Polish migration to Germany – Local Perspective”, “Research of the integration of Asian communities in Poland”, “Different but equal – research, concerning the equal treatment of foreigners in Poland”, etc.

The Centre of Migration Research (CMR)¹⁹ is an interdisciplinary inter-faculty research unit at the University of Warsaw, specialising in studies on the migration process in Poland and Europe (20 years of operation, and 50 finalised research projects of a total budget of 1.25 million euros). Its activities involve a) research projects (Mediterranean and Eastern European Countries as new immigration destinations in the EU, Mobility and Migrations at the Time of Transformation – Methodological Challenges, Migration Policy and Labour Market Change, etc.), b) national and international seminars and conferences, c) international collaborative initiatives (SOPEMI; IMISCOE), and d) supporting various public institutions (immigration statistics, migration-related data bases, expertise concerning migration policy, and other migration-related issues).

The Foundation for Social Diversity (FSD)²⁰ is an independent NGO committed to developing an open and inclusive society in the context of cultural, national, religious, ethnic, and racial diversity. The think tank’s mission is to support cross-cultural communication and dialogue, increase knowledge and develop tools to support the process of integration and anti-discrimination work, and raise awareness about problems of social exclusion resulting from discrimination based on race, ethnicity, nationality, religion, and world-view.

Its main type of activities are a) education (training, workshops, and long-term educational programmes for students, pupils, teachers, school directors, and public administration employees, which are designed to respond to a specific need or to deepen knowledge and strengthen skills in areas of cross-cultural communication, information about different cultures or religions, the issue of discrimination, social exclusion, equal treatment, integration, and migration, etc.), b) research (“action research” – research that has direct practical policy implications, focus on innovative topics and issues, innovative in their approach and methodology), and c) the “Migrant Narratives” Series (a series of short films, which now serve as educational tools to support debate and discussion on the situation of migrants and social minorities in Poland, discrimination, multiculturalism, and social diversity).

The experience of the listed think tanks shows that there are formal channels in Poland for including their point of view in the process of developing migration policy (e.g., consultations of government legal proposals) as well as there space for the use of academic arguments in public debate. To advance

¹⁹ <http://www.migracje.uw.edu.pl/en/about/general/>

²⁰ <http://ffrs.org.pl/en/>

(on one hand) and to perceive (on the other hand) such arguments, experts and stakeholders (decision-makers, officials, etc.) use such instruments as conferences, mass media, and expert seminars. At the same time, it is important to note that stakeholders listen to think tanks, as the latter provide well organised and independent information produced by well-recognised experts that have a high international reputation.

Thus, think tanks are an instrument for offering a balanced view of migration phenomena, something that is missing and clearly needed in Russia, where the public discourse is influenced by prejudices.

4. CONCLUSION

According to the assessment of experts, the decline in Russia's population will exceed one million people a year from now until 2017.²¹ Only a few Russian regions will be able to compensate for the decline in the working age population by attracting Russian nationals from other regions, and this will only boost demand for immigrants elsewhere. This will increase Russia's demand for immigrants, as labour will become the most deficient resource in the country. Today, there is a consensus among Russian economists that the country's government should encourage labour migration.

While the country already hosts a number of foreign-born citizens second only to those in the United States, Russian society has not yet realised that immigration is Russia's destiny and that Russia's economic prospects depend on it. As a result, at present the immigration process is neither sustainable nor well managed. However, it is definitely in Russia's interests to resolve the glaring contradiction between the demographic challenge and the institutional response to it as soon as possible. Russia should now address legal immigration, asylum, and integration issues in a more structured and in-depth manner in order to achieve the goal of developing policy.

In this context, the role of a think tank is to support the shaping of an open, knowledge-based migration policy in Russia, which in turn would encourage economic growth, but would not threaten public safety.

To sum up, the authorities could cooperate with think tanks in the following ways: first, by providing a solid, fact-based foundation for the immigration debate ("contributing research"); second, through forums, briefings, and special publications bring diverse groups (advocates, academics, policy experts, and politicians) together to shape the immigration debate ("bridging the gap"); and third, by rapidly responding to statements made by anti-immigration groups based on fear and misinformation, and providing the media and the general public with accurate, up-to-date information ("getting the facts").

In their general outline, these ideas will be presented at the Concept of National Migration Policy of Russian Federation until 2025. The reassuring news is the fact that the Federal Migration Service of Russia is developing a law about social adaptation and integration of immigrants.

Finally, despite the institutional prerequisites for cooperation in the field of migration policy that exist, there is a lack of interaction between the authorities and think tanks in Russia. This is happening not only because of the non-transparency of the authorities, but also because of the insufficient number of think tanks and their low level of activity.

21 Ioffe G., Zayonchkovskaya Z. Immigration to Russia: Why It Is Inevitable, and How Large It May Have to Be to Provide the Workforce Russia Needs, http://www.ucis.pitt.edu/nceer/2010_824-05g_loffe.pdf

