

RESEARCH

REPORTS

RECOMMENDATIONS

EKATERINA KLIMENKO

**FOSTERING TOLERANCE
TOWARDS MIGRANTS:
EFFORTS OF THE STATE.
THE POLISH EXPERIENCE
AND THE CASE OF RUSSIA**

**INSTITUTE OF
PUBLIC AFFAIRS**

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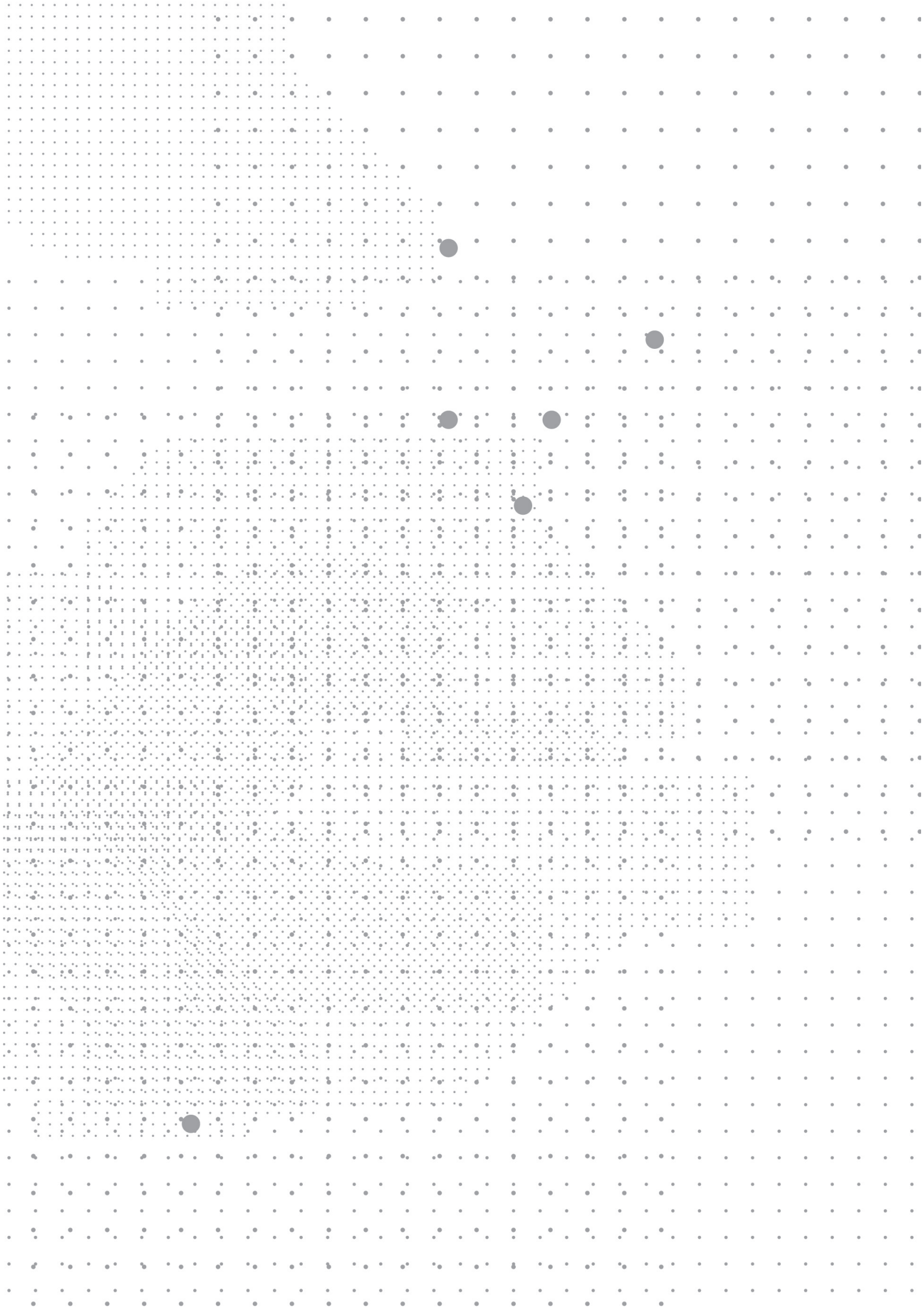
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In modern Russia, migration and migrants are represented by the media as a problem, not an opportunity. Moreover, politicians of all kinds have been exploiting the subject, turning migration into a political issue. As a result, the level of migrant-phobia in Russia has been growing intensely in recent years. Thus, 51% of respondents do not believe that migrants' work is beneficial to the country and society.¹ Sixty-nine per cent of respondents believe that the number of migrants who reside in the city or region where they live is excessive.² Sixty-three per cent of respondents would like the influx of migrants to the city or region where they live to be limited.³

At the same time, migration is – and will continue to be – a part of modern Russia's everyday reality. With the problem of depopulation modern Russia is currently experiencing showing a tendency towards worsening, the Russian labour market will demand more labour force – i.e., a larger scale of migration.⁴ Vacant work places on Russia's labour market are attracting and will continue to attract migrants. The fact that migrants often consent to work in conditions and for a salary that Russians would consider unacceptable – partly because these conditions, however unjust they may seem in comparison to what Russians are provided with, are much better than the conditions migrants face in their countries of origin – will encourage employers to hire migrants. In other words, it appears that the influx of migrants to Russia is set to grow (unless the state – probably following a request by the host society – decides to limit it).

Thus, the question Russian society needs to find an answer to is not how to reduce the number of migrants to Russia, but how to make the process of migration beneficial to everyone – both migrants and host society members. The answer to this question lies in the field of changing the attitude of host society members towards migrants, constituting tolerant relations between representatives of these groups.

The issue of fostering tolerance – including tolerance towards migrants – first attracted the attention of decision makers in Russia in the early 2000s. A number of legislative acts and state-run programmes aimed at fostering tolerance have been elaborated, and cultural events and media campaigns

1 “Public opinion – 2013”. Annual yearbook by the Levada Center. Access at: <http://www.levada.ru/books/obshchestvennoe-mnenie-2013>. Table 17.8.

2 Op. cit. Table 17.9.

3 Op. cit. Table 17.15.

4 Моргунова А. Трудовые мигранты в России: оценки и перспективы взаимодействия. Access at: <http://demoscope.ru/weekly/2013/0555/analito2.php>; Тюрюканова Е. Трудовая миграция в Россию Access at: http://www.polit.ru/article/2008/01/21/demoscope315/#_ftn1#_ftn1

were held. Although the state's efforts aimed at changing the attitude of host society members towards migrants should be acknowledged, some serious drawbacks of the government bodies' activity targeted at fostering tolerance should be outlined: concentration on the socio-cultural sphere; lack of promotion of communication between migrants and host society members; limited target audience; and lack of NGOs' involvement. Later in this paper, I will discuss these drawbacks in detail.

When looking for solutions to the above-mentioned drawbacks, attention could be paid to the experience of a country facing similar migration-related challenges – Poland. At a first glance, migration situations in Poland and the Russian Federation appear to be quite different regarding both the scale of influx of migrants and the structure of migrants' groups.⁵ Nevertheless, the Polish experience in solving migration-related problems is applicable in the case of Russia. What makes the migration situations in Poland and Russia comparable – if not to say similar – is the problem of depopulation and the related problem of demand in influx of labour force both countries are experiencing. In addition, both Russia and Poland have recently become countries of emigration. The people who leave these countries – whether to go abroad temporarily or permanently – are young, educated, and active men and women of employability age. At the same time, the vast majority of migrants to Poland and Russia are less qualified workers, often aimed at finding temporary or seasonal work places. Not only are both Russia and Poland in need of bringing in a large number of migrants, these countries are also interested in attracting a highly-qualified and well-educated labour force. Developing effective migration policies along with fostering tolerant relations between migrants and host society members are the measures that need to be taken in order to meet these broader national objectives.

This paper concentrates on the efforts of the state aimed at fostering tolerance towards migrants and is based on the comparative analysis of policies and programmes elaborated and implemented by government bodies – including those performed in cooperation with the third sector – in Russia and Poland. In this paper I will: outline migrant-phobia related problems modern Russia is facing; analyse efforts by Russian and Polish government bodies and NGOs aimed at fostering tolerance towards migrants; elaborate recommendations to be used by Russian government bodies, the activity of which is targeted at fostering tolerance towards migrants.

5 The number of migrants in Poland is not nearly as significant as in Russia (migrants constitute less than 0.5% of the population of Poland). Migrants' linguistic and cultural proximity to Poles allows them to integrate easily into Polish society. Migrants facing the most severe integration-related problems are refugees from Chechnya. Their number is insignificant, while the quantity of government bodies and NGOs that assist their integration is essential.



Migrant-phobia is becoming one of the most ominous problems modern Russia is facing. The majority of host society members deem migrants and migration itself as a negative phenomenon. Migrants are believed to possess negative traits and characteristics: the inability to speak the Russian language and communication difficulties (53%); a low level of professional qualifications (42%); untidy and unpleasant appearance (35%); excessive demonstration of their culture and customs (28%); and disrespectfulness and discourtesy (19%). At the same time, an insignificant number of respondents mention the positive traits of migrants: a high work capacity and responsibility, despite a low salary (27%); sociability (5%); politeness and tact (4%); accuracy (4%); and kind-heartedness and the ability to help (4%).⁶ The complexity of the problem is reflected in the numbers of those who strongly support the slogan “Russia for the Russians” (23% in 2013), and those who feel that this slogan should be executed within reason (43% in 2013). At the same time, only 19% of respondents were opposed to this idea in 2013 (in comparison to 30% in 1998).⁷

Migrant-phobia is both the cause and consequence of the marginalisation of migrants. The negative attitude towards migrants contributes to their social exclusion, as migrants are often deprived of any proper form of communication and interaction with members of the host society. Lack of communication and interaction between migrants and host society members results in constituting negative stereotypes of both migrants and migration. In other words, social exclusion triggers the dissemination of migrant-phobia among host society members. Moreover, it is this negative attitude towards migrants that becomes the prerequisite for generating a specific understanding of the state migration policy by members of Russian society. Seventy-eight per cent of respondents believe that the state should try to restrict the influx of migrants, while only 14% state that migration should be used for the benefit of Russia.⁸ Eighty-four per cent of respondents claim migrants from Central Asia and the Caucasus should be obliged to obtain a visa in order to enter the Russian Federation.⁹ As for migrants residing illegally on the territory of Russian Federation, only 15% of respondents think that they should be legalised, helped in getting a job, and integrated into Russian society, while 73% of respondents believe that they should be expelled from

6 “Public opinion – 2013”. Annual yearbook by the Levada Center. Access at: <http://www.levada.ru/books/obshchestvennoe-mnenie-2013>. Table 17.12.

7 Op. cit. Table 17.16.

8 Op. cit. Table 17.13.

9 Op. cit. Table 17.11.

the country.¹⁰ Thus, a vicious circle of migrant-phobia and marginalisation is created.

Violation of migrants' rights – whether bureaucratic arbitrariness or physical violence – is often perceived as “appropriate”, thus making migrants easily victimizable in the face of the more malevolent host society members. At the same time, it is necessary to stress that while some groups of migrants face mostly legal, economic, and social problems, others are faced with problems allied to cultural differences, language barriers, and the attitude of host society members.

The most vulnerable victims of migrant-phobia are labour migrants from Central Asia and the Caucasus. The number of Russians who feel irritation, disaffection, or fear towards migrants from “Central Asia, the North Caucasus, and other southern countries” has grown from 43% in 2005 to 61% in 2013, while the number of those who are indifferent has decreased from 50% in 2005 to 39% in 2013. At the same time those who feel respect and sympathy towards migrants has remained low – 6% in 2013.¹¹ The vast majority of respondents believe that the population of some of the ethnic groups living in Russia should be restricted. Among these groups mentioned in 2013 were: people from the Caucasus (54%), people from the former Central Asian republics of the USSR (45%), Chinese (45%), Vietnamese (32%), and Roma (32%).¹²

This fact is related to a number of circumstances. First, the number of labour migrants residing on the territory of the Russian Federation is relatively high.¹³ Among them, the most significant in quantity are labour migrants from Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. A large number of labour migrants are citizens of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova, and Kazakhstan. Although a large number of the labour migrants from post-Soviet countries come to Russia as seasonal workers, some of them seek opportunities to reside in Russia permanently – whether legally or illegally.

Illegal migration is another issue that triggers host society members' hostility towards labour migrants. Thus, according to Ekaterina Egorova, a high-ranking officer at the Federal Migration Service, the number of foreigners who reside on the territory of Russia illegally varies from 3 to 5 million people.¹⁴ The majority of them, although entering the country legally, later violate migration laws and regulations by either overstaying on the territory of Russia or working in Russia without a proper permit.

Another prerequisite for dissemination of intolerance towards labour migrants is the lack of state attention towards the issue of their integration

10 Op. cit. Table 17.14.

11 Op. cit. Table 17.7.

12 Op. cit. Table 17.15.

13 According to the Federal Migration Service, 17,342,369 foreigners entered Russia in 2013. By the end of 2013, there were 10,847,352 foreigners residing on the territory of the Russian Federation. The vast majority of migrants on the territory of the Russian Federation are labour migrants from the former republics of the Soviet Union. Access at: <http://www.fms.gov.ru/about/statistics/data/>

14 Access at: <http://ria.ru/society/20121015/902613691.html>

into the host society. Legal acts regulating migration-related processes primarily consider the scale of migration. These acts are aimed at controlling the number of labour migrants on the territory of Russia through quota schemes; establishing the process of entering the country, registration, and procedures of obtaining a work permit, as well as formalities related to deporting those who violate migration laws. At the same time, the necessity to promote the integration of migrants has not been acknowledged by the Russian government until recently.¹⁵ Thus, the key government body dealing with migrants – the Federal Migration Service – is not involved in any activity targeted at promoting the integration of migrants.

The spread of migrant-phobia is not only triggered by the scale of migration but also by its structure. The vast majority of labour migrants are badly educated and lowly qualified. They consent to work in poor conditions and for low wages. Their education and level of accomplishment not only make it very difficult for them to integrate into the host society but contribute to generating a negative image of labour migrants. Cultural differences and language barriers exacerbate the problem. While the proximity of cultures and languages as well as physical resemblance to host society members allow Ukrainians, Belarusians, and Moldovans to “vanish” within Russian society, citizens of Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Azerbaijan are easily identifiable and attract a lot of – hostile – attention of host society members.

It is also worth mentioning that intolerance towards certain groups of labour migrants is to a certain extent grounded in the racist attitudes of host society members. The number of those who feel annoyance, dislike, or fear towards residents of the “southern republics” in their city or district has grown from 58% in 2002 to 61% in 2013.¹⁶ The support of the slogan “Enough to feed the Caucasus” conveys society’s attitude towards migrants from the North Caucasus region of the Russian Federation rather than foreigners. Thus, the number of those who support this slogan has increased from 62% in 2011 to 71% in 2013.¹⁷ During this very period, the number of those who feel strongly opposed to this slogan has decreased from 6% (2011) to 3% (2013). It is very often a foreigner’s physical appearance that attracts the negative attention of host society members and provokes hate crimes.¹⁸

Ultimately, the growth of migrant-phobia is strongly related to the way migration and labour migrants are reflected in the media and political

15 Legal acts and programmes aimed at promoting the integration of migrants have only been elaborated in the last two years. In 2012, the president signed decree N 602 “On providing inter-ethnic consonance” (“Об обеспечении межнационального согласия”). The decree proclaims the following goals: monitoring of inter-ethnic relations, reconciling and preventing inter-ethnic conflicts, and impeding manifestations of ethnic and religious extremism. In accordance with the decree, the concept of the migration strategy for 2012-2025 was elaborated. The concept proclaims a number of goals including promoting the integration of migrants and fostering tolerance towards migrants.

16 “Public opinion – 2013”. Annual yearbook by the Levada Center. Access at: <http://www.levada.ru/books/obshchestvennoe-mnenie-2013>. Table 17.6.

17 Op. cit. Table 17.17.

18 Thus, according to the head of the SOVA Analytical Center, Alexander Verkhovsky, labour migrants from Central Asia and the Caucasus often become victims of hate crimes solely due to their physical appearance.

discourses and, as a consequence, perceived by the public. Migration is considered a threat not only in speeches by political party leaders and journalists' articles, but also in a number of legal acts. Thus, the implementation of the concept of the migration strategy for 2012-2025¹⁹ is aimed at eliminating factors considered as obstacles to the efficient regulation of the process of migration and minimising migration-related risks. In other words, migration itself is deemed a potential problem rather than an opportunity. Moreover, among the risks related to the process of migration, socio-cultural ones are the first to be mentioned. In the programme "Migration",²⁰ issued in Saint Petersburg in 2012 and aimed at implementing the principles of the concept of the migration strategy, migration-related threats and dangers are stressed.

19 Концепция миграционной политики Российской Федерации до 2025 года. Access at: http://www.fms.gov.ru/documentation/koncep_mig_pol/

20 Миграция. Комплексные меры по реализации Концепции государственной миграционной политики Российской Федерации на период до 2025 года. Access at: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/822401633>



The issue of fostering tolerance among members of the host society first attracted the attention of decision-makers in the early 2000s. Thus, in 2001 the federal programme aimed at fostering tolerance and preventing extremism in Russian society for 2001-2005 was adopted.²¹ In Moscow, two regional programmes aimed at fostering tolerance were enacted successively: “Moscow on the Way to the Culture of Peace” in 1999²² and “Moscow Multiethnic” in 2005.²³ In Saint Petersburg, shortly after enacting in 2004 the legislation “On inter-ethnic relations in Saint Petersburg”,²⁴ the Public Advisory Council on the Affairs of Ethno-cultural Autonomies, Ethnic, and Inter-ethnic Associations allied to the Saint Petersburg government was created. Subsequently, two regional “Tolerance” programmes were developed: for 2006-2010²⁵ and 2011-2015.²⁶

These programmes are all targeted at fostering tolerance between ethnic, cultural, and religious groups that Russian society consists of, and building up peaceful inter-ethnic, intercultural, and inter-denominational relations. Emphasis is put on relations between the majority ethnic group and local ethnic minorities rather than groups of migrants and the host society. As a consequence, efforts to combat migrant-phobia and to promote tolerance towards migrants undertaken in course of the implementation of these programmes are insufficient.²⁷

State efforts aimed at fostering tolerance towards migrants concentrate primarily in the socio-cultural sphere

Decision-makers determined to foster tolerance towards migrants do not pay enough attention to issues related to: elaborating legislation aimed at

21 Федеральная целевая программа “Формирование установок толерантного сознания и профилактика экстремизма в российском обществе”. Access at: gov.cap.ru/HOME/13/gimn5/toller.doc

22 Комплексная городская программа “Москва на пути к культуре мира”. Access at: http://www.mshr-ngo.ru/docs/kult_mir.htm

23 Среднесрочная городская целевая программа «Москва многонациональная: формирование гражданской солидарности, культуры мира и согласия». Access at: http://mosopen.ru/document/602_pp_2005-08-09

24 О межнациональных отношениях в Санкт-Петербурге. Access at: petersburgedu.ru/ugc/files/.../b6166f9c85ca09386d9b76e5232ec1a0.doc

25 Программа гармонизации межэтнических и межкультурных отношений, профилактики проявлений ксенофобии, укрепления толерантности в Санкт-Петербурге на 2006-2010 годы (Программа “Толерантность”). Access at http://www.spbdn.ru/index/razd2/pr_toller_2010/rff4t54/

26 Программа гармонизации межкультурных, межэтнических и межконфессиональных отношений, воспитания культуры толерантности в Санкт-Петербурге на 2011-2015 годы (программа “Толерантность”). Access at: http://www.spbdn.ru/index/razd2/pr_toller_2015/programmamer/

27 The issue of fostering tolerance towards migrants only became an object of interest of decision-makers a few years ago. Thus, fostering tolerance towards migrants is mentioned as one of the goals in decree N 602 “On providing inter-ethnic consonance” signed by the president in 2012; the concept of the migration strategy for 2012-2025; the programme “Migration” (“Миграция. Комплексные меры по реализации Концепции государственной миграционной политики Российской Федерации на период до 2025 года”) issued in Saint Petersburg.

providing both migrants and host society members with the opportunity to defend their rights, facilitating the procedures of legalisation of a migrant's status on the territory of Russia, and developing programmes targeted at promoting migrant integration. Emphasis, on the contrary, is put on designing and executing various educational programmes, cultural events, and media campaigns to foster tolerance.

Thus, the government body that played a key role in the elaboration of the above-mentioned federal programme aimed at fostering tolerance and preventing extremism in Russian society for 2001-2005 was the Ministry of Education of Russian Federation, while the implementation of this programme was primarily the responsibility of higher educational institutions. Both of Moscow's regional programmes were concentrated primarily on the spheres of education, culture, and leisure. The majority of events that have taken place during the realisation of Saint Petersburg's regional programmes have been various training sessions, cultural events – concerts, exhibitions, festivals, etc. – and media campaigns.

An important part of fostering tolerance is played by ethno-cultural alliances – a specific type of non-government organisations working in the field of inter-ethnic relations. These are associations of members of a certain ethnic minority group residing on the territory of one of the regions of the Russian Federation. In Saint Petersburg, for instance, over 130 NGOs of this kind are registered. Among them there are those founded by members of ethnic groups that reside in the Russian Federation (Bashkirs, Tatars, Buryats, etc.) and those that consist of immigrants to Russia – and their descendants – that live in Saint Petersburg temporarily or permanently (Poles, Afghans, Africans, Syrians). There are NGOs founded by immigrants from the countries of origin of the majority of labour migrants – Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Ukraine, Belarus, Azerbaijan, and Armenia. The major part of such alliances' activity concentrates in the spheres of education, enlightenment, culture, and the media: they design and implement educational and cultural projects, establish educational and cultural institutions targeted at maintaining the culture and language of the corresponding ethnic group, and disseminate information on this group's history, customs, and traditions.

For the purposes of providing the support of the state and coordinating the activity of ethno-cultural alliances, houses of nationalities were founded in Moscow in 1998 and in Saint Petersburg in 2005.²⁸ The Saint Petersburg House of Nationalities organises and holds up to 700 cultural events annually: concerts of ethnic dancing and music groups, exhibitions of ethnic costumes, forums and panel discussions, sport competitions, and ethnic holidays and festivals. A department aimed at counselling those organising and holding

²⁸ Ethno-cultural alliances are very often supported by the federal and regional governments. For the purpose of coordinating these NGOs' activities, the Public Advisory Council on the Affairs of Ethno-cultural Autonomies, Ethnic, and Inter-ethnic Associations allied to the Saint Petersburg government was created.

cultural events and activities, operates at the House. Sunday classes of various languages, seminars for teachers and members of school administration, “lessons of tolerance”, and lessons on the law for children and youth are held. Specialists of the House consult migrants, residents of Saint Petersburg, and members of NGOs on ethnic and migration policies of the state, ethno-cultural organisations, history, and the culture of Saint Petersburg.

The socio-cultural focus of state-run programmes aimed at fostering tolerance – as well as the support the state provides to ethno-cultural alliances and socio-cultural institutions such as the houses of nationalities – reflects the decision-makers’ view on the origins of the problem of intolerance, as well as the understanding of the most efficient ways of solving it. The social exclusion of migrants is perceived as the result of cultural differences and language barriers between them and host society members,²⁹ the intolerance towards migrants – as a consequence of the lack of knowledge on traditional cultures of migrants’ countries of origin. “Enlightenment” is perceived as the most efficient instrument of combating migrant-phobia, and therefore becomes one of the key aims of implementation of the programmes and of the functioning of institutions aimed at fostering tolerance.³⁰ “Enlightenment” itself is understood as educating host society members in the field of the cultures, customs, and traditions of various ethnic groups, including groups of migrants. As a consequence, emphasis is put on cultural differences, while similarities are being disregarded.

While education is without doubt an efficient instrument of fostering tolerance towards migrants, it is necessary to stress that this “ethnographic” approach to solving the problem of migrant-phobia leads to neglecting some of its most important aspects – social, economic, political, and legal. The issues of migration and migration-related problems; the economic, social, and cultural benefits of migration; diversity and multiculturalism; tolerance and human rights, are not reflected in the content of the majority of educational programmes, cultural events, and media campaigns aimed at fostering tolerance towards migrants. It is also worth outlining that this approach does not allow day-to-day communication difficulties that both host society members and migrants face to be overcome.

In addition, the authors of state-run programmes apply the approach that can be called “humanitarian” when advocating for tolerance. Tolerance is regarded as a goal, not an instrument that can be used to achieve a goal; as a value rather than a mechanism providing social cohesion. Rational, pragmatic arguments are not used in the process of partisanship in favour of tolerance – making this process less efficient.

29 In accordance with this way of understanding the problem of migrants’ marginalisation – which is clearly indicated in the concept of the migration strategy – promoting migrant integration will be carried out by organising Russian-language courses and educating migrants on Russian history and culture.

30 This “enlightenment”-centred approach is reflected in legislation and programmes aimed at promoting migrant integration.

Migrants and host society members are distanced; activities targeted at promoting communication between them are insufficient

As mentioned above, the “ethnographic” approach applied in the course of implementation of state-run programmes aimed at fostering tolerance towards migrants puts emphasis on demonstrating cultural differences between various ethnic groups (including differences between members of the host society, on the one hand, and migrants – on the other). Meanwhile efforts aimed at organising dialogue between migrants and host society members are insufficient. No attention is paid to developing host society members’ and migrants’ skills of intercultural communication. At the same time, it is these skills, not knowledge on traditional cultures of various ethnic groups that are necessary to promote efficient day-to-day communication between migrants and members of the host society.

The tendency to distance migrants and host society members is reflected in the project of the legislation “On social and cultural integration of foreigners in the Russian Federation”³¹ elaborated in accordance with the concept of migration policy.³² Educating migrants – including organising Russian language, history, culture, and law courses – is without doubt one of the most efficient instruments of their adaptation and integration into the host society. Establishing the chain of adaptation and integration centres appears to be a highly productive idea. At the same time, the design of the system of adaptation and integration of migrants presented in the legislation mentioned above has several disadvantages.

First, the need to reside in adaptation and integration centres while studying and the obligation to pay for the education will discourage a lot of migrants from using the services of these centres. At the same time, many foreigners will be incapable of passing the test required to receive the certificate proving knowledge of the Russian language, history, and law without proper preparation under professional supervision. The necessity to obtain such a certificate in order to legalise a migrant’s status on the territory of the Russian Federation – and the inability to obtain it – is without doubt going to discourage a large number of migrants from attempting to undergo the legalisation procedure. Moreover, the integration process – as it will

31 “О социальной и культурной адаптации и интеграции иностранных граждан в российской федерации”. Access at: <http://www.fms.gov.ru/documentation/865/details/81610/>

32 According to this legislation, adaptation and integration centres providing foreigners with Russian language, history, culture, and law courses will be founded. These centres will operate on the basis of adaptation – for labour migrants coming to reside in the country temporarily – or integration – for migrants planning to stay in the country permanently – contracts with foreigners. Labour migrants are supposed to be residing in these centres while receiving educational services. At the same time, foreigners receiving integration – not adaptation – services are to be staying outside these centres. Adaptation and integration services are to be paid by the foreigners themselves or their future employers. Adaptation and integration centres are to be operating on the territory of the Russian Federation – mostly in regions experiencing a significant influx of migrants – and in countries the majority of migrants come to Russia from. Upon completion of the training process, a foreigner is to pass an exam in order to obtain a certificate which proves his/her knowledge of the Russian language, history, and law. Possessing such a certificate is required for legalising a foreigner’s status in the Russian Federation (according to the decree N 602 mentioned above).

be designed according to the legislation – completely excludes any forms of contact between migrants and host society members. In addition, the decision on issuing a migrant with a certificate will be taken – according to the legislation – by the head of the adaptation and integration centre where he/she was studying. This detail leaves a lot of room for abusive practices and corruption. What seems the most important, however, is that the adaptation and integration centres labour migrants are supposed to reside in may turn into some sort of ghetto where they are isolated from the community. These practices of segregation of migrants rather than promoting their communication and interaction with host society members may become a barrier to their integration and cause growth in host society members' intolerance towards them.

The audience of state efforts aimed at fostering tolerance towards migrants is limited

The target audience of the vast majority of events that take place during the course of the implementation of state-run programmes aimed at fostering tolerance are children and young people. This fact is related to the above-mentioned “enlightenment”-centred approach of such programmes. For instance, the activity aimed at fostering tolerance performed by ethno-cultural NGOs and the House of Nationalities is targeted at children and youth: “lessons of tolerance”, law lessons, sport competitions, concerts, and festivals. At the same time, the vast majority of host society members – as well as the larger part of the migrants – is unfamiliar with the activity of the House of Nationalities and ethno-cultural NGOs.

The audience of a large number of events aimed at fostering tolerance are educational system professionals. All of the state-run programmes aimed at fostering tolerance include organising and conducting professional training for teachers on tolerance, working in a multicultural environment, and preventing discrimination in a classroom. Unfortunately, the efficiency of these educational activities is relatively low.

One of the most significant drawbacks of state-run programmes aimed at fostering tolerance is the absence of activities targeted at people who work with migrants on an everyday basis – government officials, members of public administration, the Police, and Federal Migration Service officers. These are the people that the well-being of migrants depend on, which is why it is these people who are in need of developing their knowledge and skills concerning tolerance and intolerance, anti-discrimination, migration-related problems and promoting migrant integration. Unfortunately, they are often excluded from the audience of both state- and NGO-run programmes aimed at fostering tolerance towards migrants. Educational activities (training sessions, seminars, workshops) targeted at these groups are very few.

Migrants themselves are excluded from the target audience of state-run programmes aimed at fostering tolerance. While activities aimed at promoting interaction between migrants and host society members are very few, events designed and executed for migrants are nearly absent. This is without doubt related to the fact that the marginalisation of migrants has only recently been recognised as a problem. Therefore, legal acts and programmes aimed at promoting their integration have only been elaborated in the last two years.³³

Nevertheless, in the course of the two Saint Petersburg “Tolerance” programmes, the realisation of a number of activities targeted at migrants took place. These were mainly Russian-language lessons for migrant children studying at Saint Petersburg schools, and various cultural events organised by ethno-cultural NGOs and the House of Nationalities. It is, however, worth mentioning that these activities were aimed at either children and youth or migrants who are already well integrated into Saint Petersburg’s community.

The “Migration” programme of the Saint Petersburg government stipulates a number of activities aimed at members of migrant groups: Russian-language courses for children and adults; lectures and teaching courses on the history and culture of Saint Petersburg; excursions for migrants and members of their families; and dissemination of information considering the judicial system, culture, leisure activities, and rules of behaviour. It can be clearly seen the emphasis is put on the spheres of education and culture.

Lack of cooperation between government bodies and NGOs in the sphere of fostering tolerance towards migrants

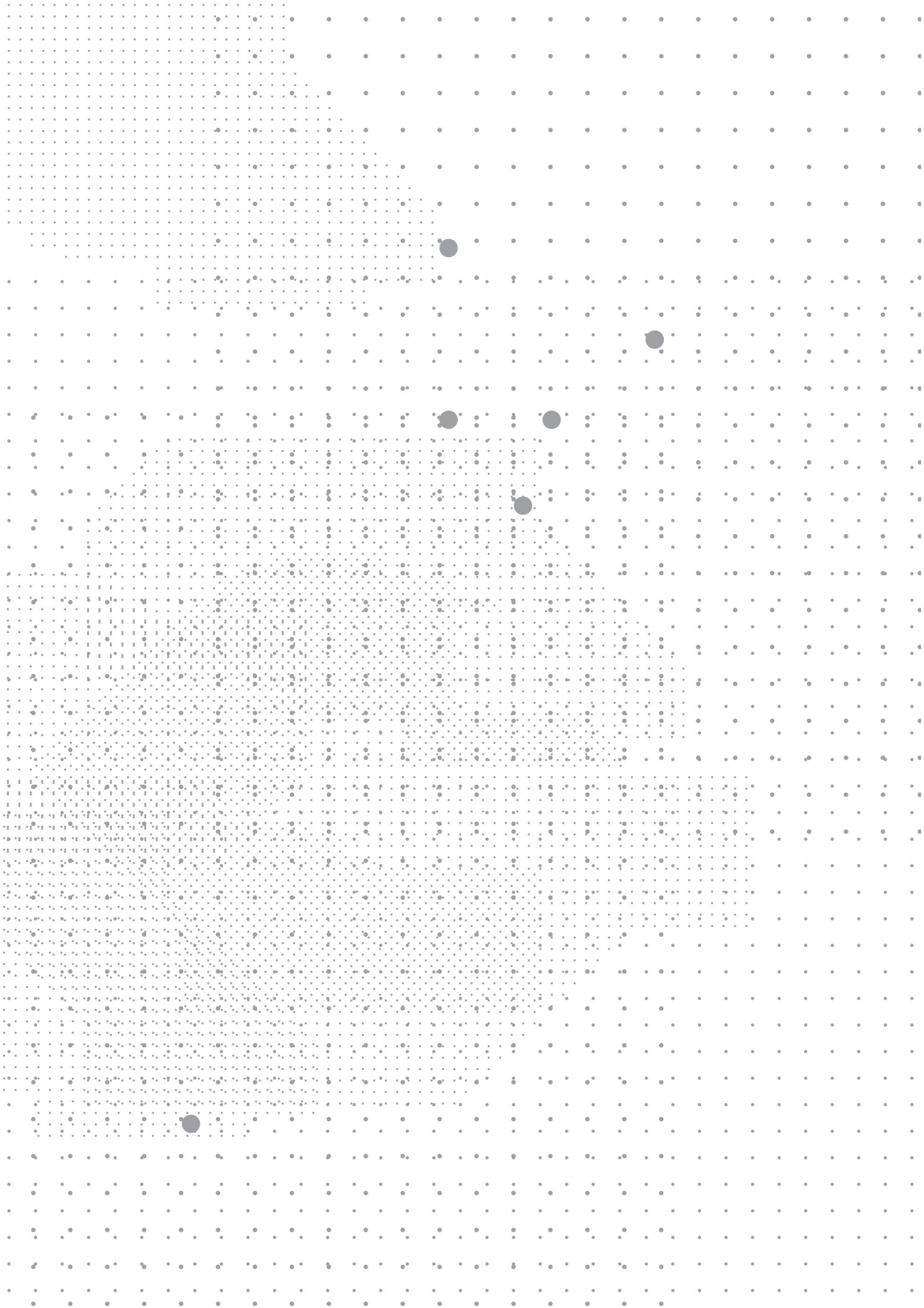
This, in fact, is the most important obstacle to enhancing the effectiveness of efforts towards fostering tolerance. Third sector activists are often excluded from the process of discussing legislation and state-run programmes aimed at fostering tolerance. For instance, in the case of elaborating the Saint Petersburg “Tolerance” programmes, some experts on the issue of inter-ethnic relations whose understanding of the problem was “liberal”, were expelled from the working group.³⁴ NGOs are often unable to neither influence the elaboration of legislation and programmes targeted at fostering tolerance, nor control their implementation. They are normally not allowed to monitor the activity of government bodies that work with migrants. Therefore, their work primarily consists of attempts at defending a migrant in case of the violation of his/her rights.

The only type of NGO to be strongly supported by the state are the ethno-cultural alliances mentioned above, whose activity is focused on the spheres of education and culture. NGOs aimed at providing migrants with legal aid and/

33 Some of these pieces of legislation were mentioned above: decree N 602 “On providing inter-ethnic consonance”; the concept of the migration strategy for 2012-2025.

34 А.Ю. Сунгуров, Р.Л. Боярков. Возможности и пределы государственного участия в развитии толерантности (на примере анализа региональной программы). Access at: www.gosbook.ru/node/60688

or Russian-language lessons are very often disengaged from cooperation with government bodies. The practice of NGOs organising training sessions and workshops for teachers and members of school administration, the Police, the Federal Migration Service officers, public administration, and others working with migrants on an everyday basis, is not developed at all.





The experience (and achievements) of Polish government bodies and NGOs in solving migration-related challenges – including the issue of fostering tolerance towards migrants – are significantly different from Russian ones. As a result, some important difficulties occur in the process of comparison of approaches, methods, and instruments applied in order to build up tolerant relations between migrants and host society members in Russia and Poland. The main disparities between the Russian and Polish cases lie in three fields: goals, audience, and acting bodies. While the efforts of decision-makers in Russia are focused on fostering tolerance towards migrants, the Polish state concentrates on the issue of promoting migrant integration. As a result, the target audience of the government bodies' efforts in Russia consists of representatives of the host society. Meanwhile, the majority of both government bodies' and NGOs' activity in Poland is targeted at migrants themselves. In Russia, the key role in solving migration-related issues is played by government bodies, while NGOs' influence on decision-makers is limited. In Poland, on the contrary, the third sector's impact in extricating migration-related problems can hardly be overestimated.

Nevertheless, the experience of the Polish state – including that of cooperation between government bodies and NGOs – in fostering tolerance towards migrants may be applied in Russia. In the following part of this paper I will analyse this experience, structuring the information gathered according to the above-outlined drawbacks of the Russian state's efforts to foster tolerance towards migrants.

Efforts of the Polish state and the third sector are concentrated on elaborating legislation and programmes aimed at promoting the integration of migrants

Thus, the new Migration Strategy (2012) and the Act of Foreigners (2013) were elaborated and recently carried out. Although these documents are not focused on the issues of the integration of migrants and fostering tolerance towards them, they tend to liberalise and facilitate regulations and procedures regarding migrants' entry to Poland, as well as legalisation of their residence in the country.³⁵ Summing up, it is currently not only easier for foreigners in

35 Foreigners coming to Poland no longer have to apply for work permit personally – their employers are allowed to do it for them. Moreover, a foreigner is not required to receive a new work permit every time he or she changes an employer. Work permit may be used during the whole period of its validity. In addition, the procedure of issuing work permits itself was facilitated. The period of legal stay in Poland for seasonal workers

Poland to obtain and retain legal status, but migrants also have incentives to stay in Poland legally rather than illegally.

Educational and cultural events aimed at “enlightening” the host society and educating its members on history, language, and culture of migrant groups are not often organised – neither by government bodies nor NGOs. At the same time, some NGOs attempt to foster tolerance towards migrants by disseminating information and organising cultural events (film screenings, performances, festivals) concerning migration-related problems and the issue of diversity. Nevertheless, this type of activity appears to be the least popular among government bodies and NGOs working in the sphere of migration. Theatrical performances, film screenings, festivals, and concerts aimed at fostering tolerance towards migrants take place rather irregularly. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that arranging various cultural events is not perceived by government bodies as well as the majority of NGOs working in the sphere of migration as the most important – or at least one of the most important – instruments of fostering tolerance.

Educational and cultural activities aimed at fostering tolerance towards migrants stipulate communication and interaction between migrants and host society members

The target audience of educational and cultural events aimed at fostering tolerance usually consists of both migrants and host society members. Moreover, these events provide some sort of a space for communication and interaction between migrants and host society members. The “Migrant Narratives” project by the Foundation for Social Diversity is a good example. Each of the “narratives” is a short film telling the story of a migrant. Most of these films are dedicated to refugees granted this status in Poland. The screening of these films usually takes place in the course of film festivals or other cultural events, and are followed by moderated discussions.

In the vast majority of various types of educational and cultural events aimed at fostering tolerance, the audience – both migrants and host society members – are active participants. For instance, the modus operandi of Warsaw Multicultural Center is to provide groups of migrants with a space where they can organise and hold cultural events – including events that promote contact between them and host society members – they are interested in. Some NGOs engage members of the host society in volunteering in favour of migrants. For example, the Association for Legal Intervention organises excursions for migrants where volunteers of the Association work as tour guides.

It is worth mentioning the Association’s initiative to engage migrants who are already well integrated in Poland in assisting migrant children at schools.

was extended from three to six months out of a year. Finally, three acts of abolition took place in 2003, 2008 and 2012 allowing illegal migrants either legalise their stay on the territory of Poland or leave the country legally.

These migrants work as both translators and mediators helping the newcomer children to successfully interact with their teachers and peers, overcome communication difficulties, and resolve problems and conflicts related to cultural differences and language barriers. Today, the amended Law on the Educational System (2010) encourages the administration of multicultural schools to hire such intercultural assistants (all expenses are to be covered by the local budget). Unfortunately, not many Polish schools use this opportunity (due to the lack of motivation to do so or deficit of information on the topic). In addition, it is not easy for a school administration to find a person capable of performing this job – mostly because the salary of such assistants is usually very low.³⁶ Nevertheless, NGOs, including the above-mentioned Association for Legal Intervention, attempt to promote the practice and help interested school administrations to find eligible employees.

Another important part of the activity of NGOs working in the sphere of migration is organising educational programmes aimed at developing intercultural communication skills of both migrants and host society members. Thus, the Foundation for Social Diversity holds four-hour-long discussions with members of the migrant community aimed at fostering mutual understanding and tolerance between migrants and host society members.

The target audience of the state and NGOs' efforts aimed at fostering tolerance includes various groups of people

The majority of educational programmes aimed at fostering tolerance towards migrants are designed for teachers and school managers, the Police and border control officers, and members of public administration – in other words those who work with migrants on a day-to-day basis. These educational activities – workshops, seminars, training sessions – may focus on intercultural communication skills, migration, and diversity-related issues, anti-discrimination practices, and human rights.

A plethora of educational programmes targeted at teachers and members of school administration are being designed and held by Polish NGOs. For example, the Foundation for Social Diversity works in long-term cooperation with multicultural schools and schools experiencing diversity-related problems. The Foundation holds 12-hour-long workshops on anti-discrimination (which includes studying mechanisms of exclusion, identifying practices of exclusion, and inclusion) and 16-hour-long workshops on intercultural communication (which includes identifying and discussing problems related to cultural differences and designing cultural activities and events). The Polish Migration Forum, along with organising educational programmes on working with refugees for teachers and school managers,

36 According to Adam Chmura from the Association for legal intervention.

holds workshops on diversity-related issues for children and parents. It also provides teachers and members of school administration with online support and disseminates efficient pedagogical tools and practices that concern working in a multicultural environment.

A large number of educational activities are targeted at members of public administration who work with migrants. Thus, the Association for Legal Intervention regularly organises training sessions on the newest migration-related legislation for employees of the Mazovian Province's Department on Affairs of Foreigners. Training sessions aimed at promoting cultural awareness and developing intercultural communication skills of the Department's employees are also held by the Association. The Foundation for Social Diversity provides the Police and border patrol officers as well as members of public administration with training sessions and workshops on intercultural communication and anti-discrimination.

The vast majority of efforts of the government bodies and NGOs working in the sphere of migration is targeted at migrants themselves. This includes the state- and NGO-run programmes aimed at promoting migrant integration. The state attempts to integrate migrants into Polish society primarily concentrate on asylum seekers and those granted refugee status. Thus, an Individual Integration Programme elaborated by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy and implemented by the County Centers of Family Support was issued as a part of the EU accession process. The programme includes providing refugees with direct social help, i.e., accommodation, health care, financial support, access to education, and Polish-language courses. In order to become a recipient of social assistance, a person granted refugee status is obliged to register at one of the country's County Centers of Family Support, attend meetings, and Polish-language classes. Among the disadvantages of this programme that are usually mentioned are the following: it only lasts one year – which is obviously not long enough to ensure a person's integration into Polish society; it is individual, which means it is too cost-consuming; and it puts too much emphasis on economic issues ignoring the cultural aspects of integration. In fact, in terms of this programme, cultural competence is limited to language competence and no communication between a refugee and host society members is provided. As for labour migrants from Ukraine or Vietnam, there are no state-run programmes aimed at their integration.

The activity of NGOs aimed at promoting migrant integration includes assisting migrants (including refugees and labour migrants) in legalising their status, providing Polish-language courses, and organising cultural events in order to help them perceive Polish culture better. Providing migrants with legal aid is the most widespread of NGOs' activities. NGOs assist asylum seekers, refugees, foreigners married to Polish citizens, and those applying for temporary or residence permits in the process of receiving the corresponding status. They also help labour migrants in legalising their stay in Poland and

assist foreigners when they are in danger of being deported from Poland. This type of work usually consists of individual counselling, assistance in filling in various application forms and other types of official documents correctly.

Cooperation between Polish government bodies and NGOs working in the sphere of migration is well developed

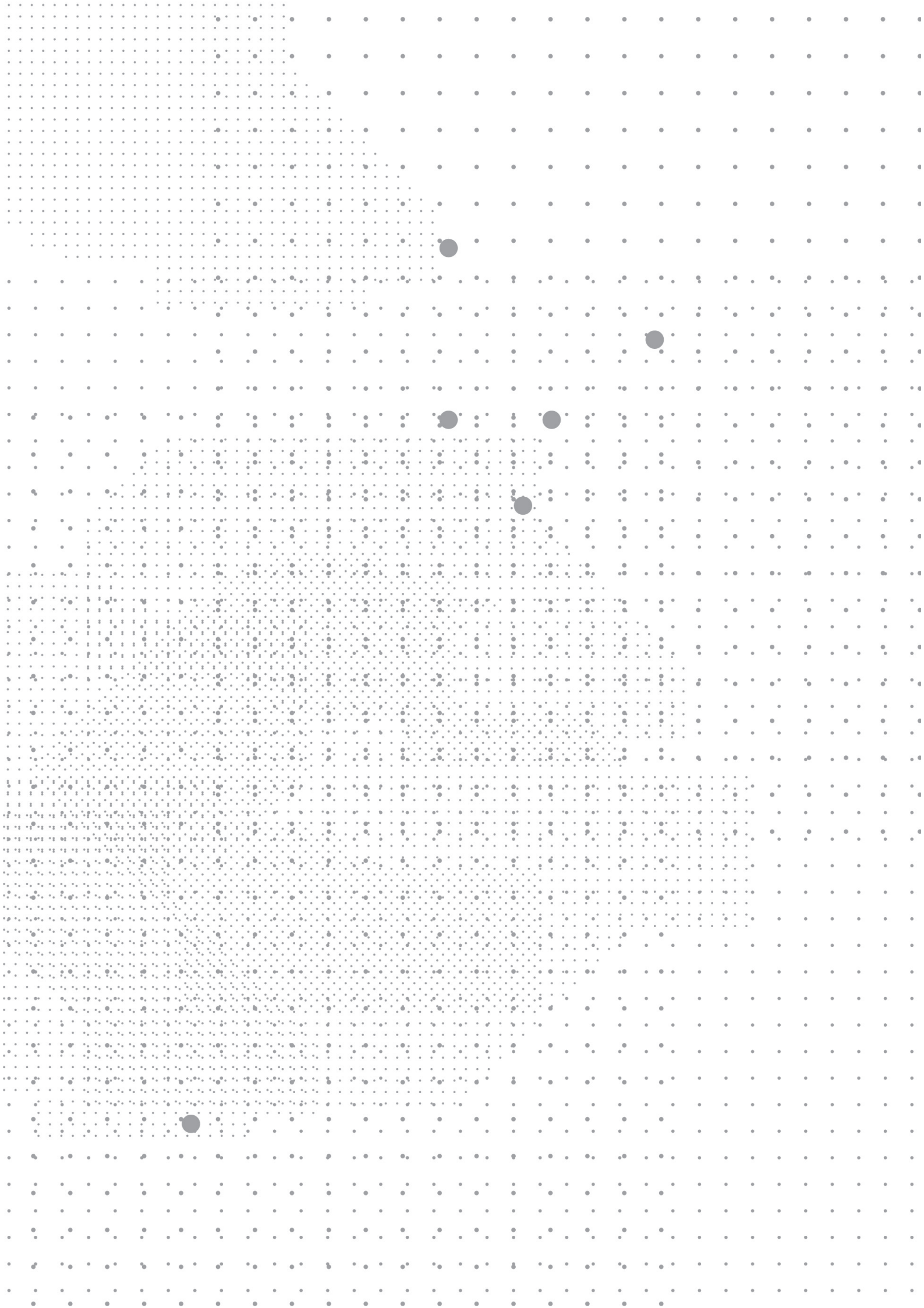
The most important of spheres of cooperation of the Polish government and the third sector is the development of migration-related legislation and programmes. Independent experts and NGOs are welcome to consult government bodies engaged in the process.³⁷ Thus, the new Migration Strategy (2012) and the Act on Foreigners (2013) that were recently adopted have been elaborated in cooperation with experts from NGO.³⁸ In 2007, a Working Group on the Integration of Foreigners aimed at designing the Migrant Integration Strategy was created. The group consists of officials from several ministries (led by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs), representatives of NGOs, and academia.

Experts from NGO observe and evaluate the activity of government bodies engaged in working with migrants. Non-governmental representatives are present at these government bodies' offices during working hours helping migrants to fill in the required forms, obtaining all the necessary information, and carrying out bureaucratic procedures. They also advise government bodies on ways of making their work more efficient and the procedures more comfortable for everyone involved. Another sphere of cooperation between government bodies and NGOs are educational activities. Experts from NGO design and hold various training sessions, workshops, and seminars on international and Polish migration-related legislation, tolerance and anti-discrimination, and migration- and diversity-related issues for members of public administration.

The suggestions and advice provided by NGOs are usually accepted with gratefulness. Thus, according to Michał Cichy from the Mazovian Province's Department on Affairs of Foreigners, NGOs help public administration executives perform their professional duties in the best possible way.

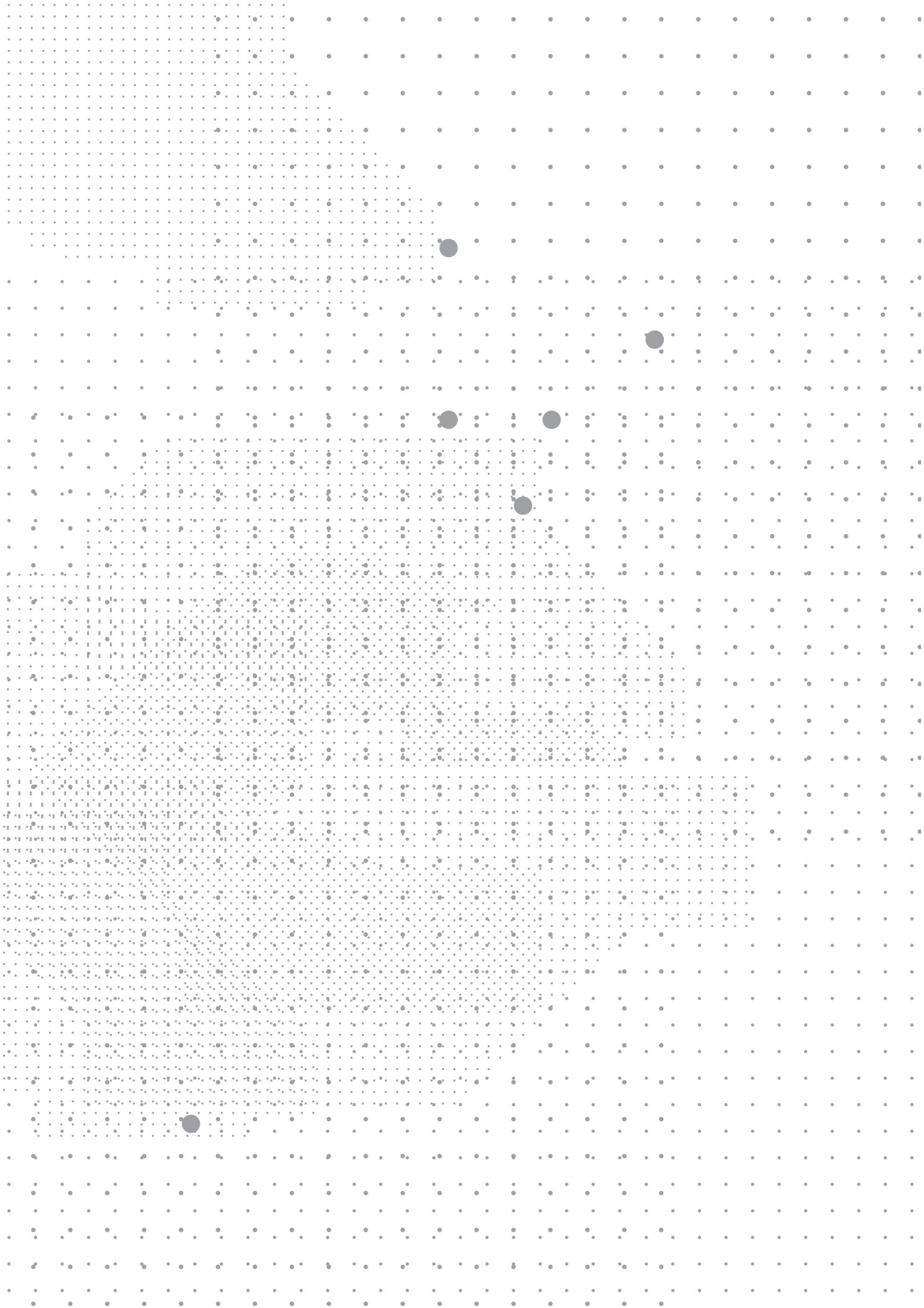
37 According to Adam Chmura from the Association for Legal Intervention, 80% of NGOs' suggestions were included in the final version of the Act on Foreigners.

38 Unfortunately, these documents are not focused on the issue of the integration of migrants and do not include sections related to fostering tolerance towards migrants among host society members.





While efforts to foster tolerance towards migrants in Russia concentrate primarily in the socio-cultural sphere, Polish government bodies and the third sector focus on elaborating – and lobbying – legislation promoting the integration of migrants. The majority of educational programmes and cultural events serving to foster tolerance that are held in Russia apply the “ethnographic” approach, emphasising cultural differences between migrants and host society members. In Poland, on the contrary, more attention is paid to promoting communication between migrants and members of the host society as well as developing intercultural communication skills of representatives of both these groups. Audiences of state-run programmes aimed at fostering tolerance towards migrants in Russia is limited; a large part of these programmes is targeted at children and youth, while activities for those involved in working with migrants on an everyday basis is insufficient. In Poland, on the other hand, the target audience of state and NGO efforts aimed at fostering tolerance includes the Police and migration service officers, government officials, teachers and members of school administration, and others who work with migrants. Moreover, while in Russia the cooperation between government bodies and NGOs is not sufficiently developed, Polish government bodies efficiently interwork with NGOs in the sphere of resolving migration-related challenges.





- ▶ Decision makers determined to foster tolerance towards migrants should pay more attention to elaborating and carrying out legislation aimed at providing both migrants and host society members with an opportunity to defend their rights, facilitating procedures of legalisation of a migrant's status on the territory of Russia, developing programmes targeted at promoting migrant integration.
- ▶ Educational programmes, cultural events, and media campaigns aimed at fostering tolerance towards migrants should be focused on the following issues: economic, social, and cultural benefits of migration; diversity and multiculturalism; tolerance and human rights; intercultural communication.
- ▶ Advocating for tolerance in the course of various educational programmes, cultural events, and media campaigns should be based on rational arguments rather than on appealing to humanitarian values. Migration itself should be perceived as an opportunity, not a problem, while the benefits – economic, social, and cultural – of migration should be stressed.
- ▶ Educational programmes and cultural events aimed at fostering tolerance towards migrants should enable members of the host society to interact with migrants. These programmes should be focused on developing skills of intercultural communication rather than on demonstrating cultural differences between various ethnic groups.
- ▶ The target audience of programmes aimed at promoting tolerance towards migrants should include those engaged in working with migrants on an everyday basis: members of public administration, the Police and Federal Migration Service officers, teachers, and members of school administration. Educational programmes on tolerance, anti-discrimination, and migration- and diversity-related issues – training sessions, seminars, and workshops – should be developed and held for members of these groups.
- ▶ Programmes aimed at promoting migrant integration should be elaborated and implemented. These programmes should include providing migrants with legal aid and organising free of charge Russian-language lessons. It is very important to not only engage children and youth in studying the Russian language, but also adults.
- ▶ Government bodies – including those directly involved in working with migrants – should be open to cooperation with the third sector. NGOs should have the opportunity to consult government bodies in the process of the elaboration of legislation and programmes aimed at fostering

tolerance towards migrants and/or promoting migrant integration; to monitor and evaluate the activity of government bodies that work with migrants; to develop and hold educational programmes (training, workshops, seminars) for members of public administration, the Police and Federal Migration Service officers, teachers, and members of school administration who work with migrants on an everyday basis.