

**FROM RIOTS AGAINST CAUCASIANS TO RIOTS AGAINST CENTRAL ASIANS: RUSSIA  
AND ITS OTHERS IN 2010-2014**

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## Preface

Reading news became an integral part of millions of humans. Sometimes it turns into a morning routine or becomes a supplement to many other habitual activities throughout the day. For me personally reading news turned into a habit three years ago and a subscription to online newspapers became an essential part of my life in order to be up-to-date on what is happening in Russia, the major power in Central Asian region. Last year I came to realize that much attention was paid to the issues of illegal migration along with constant reference to Central Asian migrants. As coming from Uzbekistan, I know how vital it is for local population to have a possibility to go to Russia for work. Moreover, members of my own family were working migrants in Russia and I basically grew up among people who were constantly travelling to Russia to earn money; half of my neighborhood comprised of women and children waiting for their men (husbands, brothers, uncles, fathers, and sons) to return from Russia or send some money. While conflicts between migrants and locals have been happening from time to time, which is not an exclusively Russian phenomenon, it was commonly known that the greatest tension existed between Russians and Caucasians (both external southern and internal northern).

The conflict that erupted in one of the Moscow regions in October 2013 was an unpleasant surprise as it led to quite shocking consequences. Local resident was stabbed in Moscow suburbs. Quite a domestic crime attracted so much attention that two days after it happened a public demonstration took place in the area where the crowd demanded to arrest the murderer and shutdown the local vegetable warehouse where, in their opinion, the murderer was hiding. Next day protests escalated into riots and mayhem with slogans “Russia for Russians, Moscow for Muscovites” and “We are Russians, we are at home”, just to name a few. And although the (Azeri) murdered was not identified yet, migrants were named to be responsible for the murder. As a result, hundreds of people looted local shopping center and the vegetable warehouse looking for migrants. The situation escalated so much that the Head of the Russian Migrants Federation urged the representatives of national minorities to remain at home. The murder in Biryulyovo provoked many violent anti-migrants raids among nationalists as well as ordinary citizens.

Unlike similar conflict in 2010 when nationalists gathered at Manezhnaya Square in Moscow to protest against strangle of Caucasians (after a football fan was stabbed), the participants of protests in Biryulyovo were ordinary people convinced that all evils were coming from migrants. The anger became so uncontrollable that in the following days Central Asian migrants were found dead in several

regions of Moscow.

Thus, my personal concern with the situation around Central Asian migrants in Russia and observed change of the 'enemy' from Caucasians to Central Asians turned into present Master's Thesis. I am increasingly grateful to the department of Nationalism Studies and Luca Varadi in particular for guiding me through the process of developing ideas and thesis framework.

## Abstract

The aim of the current work was to contribute to a continuing research on the role of the Other in Russian society. Throughout the 2000s, Russia saw an increase in xenophobic moods and movements directed against Caucasians – the nationals of Southern and Northern Caucasus. One of the biggest conflicts between Russians and Caucasians erupted in 2010 in Moscow when a fan of the Moscow football club was stabbed. As a result of the ethnic conflict, slogans like ‘Stop feedings Caucasus’ and ‘Russia for Russians’ became popular among the population. Taking into consideration the dangerous nature of such claims and a possibility of further separatism, the current work illustrates that the enemy within the Russian society has been changed from internal Caucasians to external Central Asian migrants, the othering of whom is less dangerous for the sovereignty and unity of the Russian Federation. Consequent media content analysis of the official newspaper of the Russian government was used at the main research methodology which shows how the discourse initiated by the government has transformed from focusing on Caucasians and turned to Central Asian migrants.

Key words: Central Asian migrants, media analysis, the other, Russian nationalism.

## 1. Introduction

The feeling of fear and insecurity compels people to seek the enemy - an alleged culprit of own failures. Unfortunately, some political forces are trying to 'navigate' instinctive phobias in the direction of their interest and by so increase the tension in a society. And persistently formed image of the "enemy", or the Other, in reality might be a propaganda myth or a political ploy designed to distract people from real issues and present them fictional perpetrators of their plight. Therefore, the image of the enemy can in reality be a political and social construct that is based on interests and desires of some political groups to expand their influence, to retain or seize the power. Such an image absorbs traditional prejudices against members of certain nationalities and countries through imposition of artificially created associations and long existing stereotypes. It is often present in the political sphere while the means and intensity of its inculcation in the mass consciousness varies depending on the 'tasks'. The ideology of totalitarian societies, for example, not only implies the existence of the main mortal enemy, but also explains all the mistakes and failures of the regime by the presence of that enemy in the country. As the result, the search for the "internal enemies" turns into a "witch hunt", or as the example of Russia will illustrate, the search attracts civil participation to participate in raids and denunciations that are promised to be rewarded. Often, the image of the enemy is created by politicians and then supported, replicated, and implemented in the public consciousness by the media.

Conflicts between migrants and receiving countries are not a new phenomenon and, unfortunately, became quite common worldwide. Migrants are often faced with negative attitudes and negative stereotypes, which often turn into discrimination and violence. The role of the media in creation of stereotypes was mentioned by Allport who described stereotypes as 'socially supported, continually revived and hammered in, by our media of mass communication - by novels, short stories, newspaper items, movies, stage, radio, and television'<sup>1</sup>. Media discourse also often relates economic

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<sup>1</sup> Gordon Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1954), 200.

and political threats to immigrants<sup>2</sup> while such public debate is then reflected in individual attitudes and behavior toward migrants<sup>3</sup>. Therefore, media portrayals of out-groups are often associated with the creation of prejudices and stereotypes about them as for many, in the absence of real contact, media remains the only source of information. Therefore, when there is no actual contact between in-group (Russians, *rossiyane*) and external other (Central Asian migrants), media remains one of the most reliable sources of information about the Other.

Among other important factors which influence societies' attitude toward migrants are political elites who have a power to influence national attitudes toward other groups of the society<sup>4</sup>. Blumer (1958) claimed that the perception of immigrants as a threat is often due to more indirect influence and social narratives rather than a direct interaction<sup>5</sup>. Constant focus on immigration and migrants (and troubles they brings to a society) emphasizes their salience and differences while the national ingroup cohesion and feelings of belongingness are created<sup>6</sup>. And such potential influences can be studied and analyzed though the analysis of the rhetoric and discourse created with the means of media.

Migration issues, especially illegal migration, are reported, discussed, exaggerated and politicized to a great extent by/in media and often becomes a major election issue (especially fight with illegal migration). Often acting as a 'mouthpiece' of political parties or other powerful groups, media discourses have been shown to be increasingly influential in constructing migrants as 'others', 'criminals', and/or 'undesirables'. Particularly such a focus on migrant criminality creates stereotypes which are very hard to get away from. Rosello (1998) described such a cooperation between media and politicians as "a dangerous tautology between two supposedly separate realms: that of representation

<sup>2</sup> John Dovidio et al., *The SAGE Handbook of Prejudice, Stereotyping and Discrimination* (London: SAGE, 2010), 368.

<sup>3</sup> Ulrich Wagner, Oliver Christ, and Wilhelm Heitmeyer, "Anti-Immigration Bias," in *The SAGE Handbook of Prejudice, Stereotyping and Discrimination*, ed. by John Dovidio, et al. (London: SAGE, 2010).

<sup>4</sup> John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1993).

<sup>5</sup> Herbert Blumer, "Race Prejudice as a Sense of Group Position," *The Pacific Sociological Review* 1, no. 1 (1958): 3-7.

<sup>6</sup> John Dovidio et al., *The SAGE Handbook of Prejudice, Stereotyping and Discrimination*, (London: SAGE, 2010), 368.

and that of policy making”<sup>7</sup> which is often used for the construction of identity (through explicit or implicit exclusion of ‘the other’ - migrants, refugees, Muslims, etc.). At the national and local level such representation and exclusion might lead to victimization and demonization of certain immigrant groups.

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<sup>7</sup> Mireille Rosello, ‘Representing illegal immigrants in France: from clandestins to l’affaire des sans-papiers de Saint-Bernard,’ *Journal of European Studies* 28 (1998): 137-151.



## 2. Literature Review

### 2.1 Nationalism, Nation-building, and National Identity

Behind all processes of nation-building and national identities stays the 'nation', which was symbolically defined as an enormous system of blood relatives by Eriksen<sup>8</sup> and as an imagined community<sup>9</sup>. In such a way, belonging to a nation could only be determined through birth, which in turn put nations in a special position predetermining its extremely intricate relations with the state. Moreover, nations were claimed to be a constitutive part of the humanity which, in turn, was perceived to 'naturally' become divided into nations with 'ascertained characteristics'<sup>10</sup>. Later on, the idea that nations (and also cultural and religious communities)<sup>11</sup> should be 'congruent' with certain territories and political bodies was introduced by Gellner<sup>12</sup>. It was generally anticipated that nations would form states and thus become 'national entities'<sup>13</sup>. At the same time, restricting the idea of the nation to common ancestors, common history, or common territory is logically counterproductive unlike the interpretation that this status can be claimed by any group that considers itself a nation. However, most descriptions of nations mention its link to a particular territory and the presence of a special identity. Discrepancies among researchers begin when it comes to political aspects of it and, thus, different interpretations of nationalism exist. While it would be too simple to assume that all states can consist of members of one single nation, the fate of persons who are not the part of the dominant group is to be 'inferior' to those who are<sup>14</sup>. Consequently, such differentiations between the members of a dominant group and 'inferiors' lead to the emergence of outsiders within the society and the formation of in- and out-groups (others).

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<sup>8</sup> Thomas Eriksen, 'Ethnicity versus Nationalism,' *Journal of Peace Research* 28, no 3 (1991): 263-278.

<sup>9</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London&New York: Verso, 1991).

<sup>10</sup> Oliver Zimmer, *Nationalism in Europe, 1890-1940* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

<sup>11</sup> Thomas Eriksen, 'Ethnicity versus Nationalism,' *Journal of Peace Research* 28, no 3 (1991): 263-278.

<sup>12</sup> Ernest Gellner, 'Nations and Nationalism' (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 6-7.

<sup>13</sup> Henk Dekker, "Nationalism, Its Explanations, and National Socialization" (presentation at the second Dutch-Hungarian Conference on Interethnic Relations, 1998).

<sup>14</sup> Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and The Last Man* (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1992), 17.

The formation of nation-states and processes of nation-building are widely associated with nationalism. It is the process which is continuously developing and maintaining national consciousness and national identity, the protection and (re)definition of which is essential for the nation-building; through the process of nationalism citizens become loyal to the state<sup>15</sup>. According to Habermas (1992), nationalism represents 'collective consciousness ... which spreads only via the channels of modern mass communication'. It arises from a desire to 'preserve or enhance a people's national or cultural identity when that identity is threatened' or to 'transform or even create it where it is felt to be inadequate or lacking'<sup>16</sup> and has a 'double-edged' character as identifies who belongs to the nation and who does not. Therefore, it is argued that nation-building processes require a definition of a distinctive identity so that the nation can differentiate from others. The main concern is, however, whether such differentiations might lead to ethnic and national conflicts besides uniting the nation. Such an inclusive-exclusive nature of nationalism and nation-building policies, while arising from a desire to have a nationally homogeneous state, often comes or brings along ethnocentrism and xenophobia.

Nationalism can also be referred to an ideology when nationalist orientation is adopted by leading political leaders and further used in their speeches and statements. As such, they can be in favor of restriction of immigration as well as create and promote negative enemy images<sup>17</sup>. Arousal of nationalist orientation is often noticed during the times of economic declines and crises when minorities and migrants might become the scapegoats of all misfortunes as the most salient groups. Once such negative attitudes are developed, it is a matter of time when out-group hostility or 'in-group amity' will be formed. Competition for resources is not the only 'danger' that migrants are perceived to bring along. Among other insecurities are: different cultures, languages, traditions, ways of life, insecurity, and many others.

<sup>15</sup> Jan Penrose and Richard Mole, "Nation-States and National Identity," in *The SAGE Handbook of Political Geography* (London: SAGE, 2008).

<sup>16</sup> John Plamenatz, "Two Types of Nationalism," in *Nationalism, The Nature and Evolution of an Idea*, ed. Eugene Kamenka, (Canberra: ANU Press, 1973), 23-24.

<sup>17</sup> John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1993).

## 2.2 National Identity and the Other

Triandafyllidou (2001) claimed that Othering isn't a 'natural order of things' but rather produced with a specific intention. First, it could be provoked by sociopolitical order of the state and comply with certain political or economic purposes as legitimizes 'direct or indirect exploitation of non-natives'. Second, othering provides a 'source of security' for the ingroup. Third, the role of the othering is enormous when it comes to national identity of a state as it has a power to 'develop it or transform' through 'real or imagined interaction with Others'<sup>18</sup>. Imagined interaction with the Other is often introduced into the mass consciousness through journalistic texts, as well as the whole system of measures of agitation and propaganda. The image of the Other rallies society around the leader while temporarily weaken domestic conflict and compensates the errors of the ruling elite in economic and social spheres. And as the history Russia shows, activation of the Other in people's minds always strengthen the existing political system.

The complexity of the Russian situation is often described by the fact that Russians never had their own state<sup>19</sup> although Russian *ethnie* was formed during the 16<sup>th</sup> -17<sup>th</sup> centuries. The key myths that developed together with it were that of Holy Rus and the Orthodox Russian people. Another myth of the historical origin of the Russians proclaimed Kiev Rus (the union of Eastern Slavs) to be the first Russian state<sup>20</sup>.

Throughout its history, Russian nation-building was mainly implemented in three ways. First, in opposition to the West due to its partial location in Asia, where the former was portrayed as a 'constituent other'. Second, as a land-based multi-ethnic community through the integration of non-Russian elites into Russian ruling class. Third, as members of European Slavs with the origins in Kievan Rus while being in conflict with Ukraine over the interpretation of Eastern Slavic history. The presidency of Vladimir Putin brought certain changes to the nation-building orientation through

<sup>18</sup> Anna Triandafyllidou, *Immigrants and National Identity in Europe*, (London: Routledge. 2001), ix.

<sup>19</sup> Vera Tolz, *Russia: Inventing the Nation* (London: Arnold, 2001), 3.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 4-5.

engaging Russian diaspora from the near abroad. During the same period, since 2000s, Caucasian part of the Russian Federation became the main collective 'Other'.

For Russia, which has always been a polyethnic state, national issues traditionally had a special importance as all fundamental changes the country went through involved the ethnic factor. Nationalist mobilization played the key role in the collapse of the Russian Empire as well as the breakup of the Soviet Union. The process of ethnic mobilization during the last twenty years can be divided into two stages: regionalization in the 1990s and centralization since 2000. At the same time, the proportion of citizens supporting the claim that "Russia is for the Russians", according to opinion polls, has been constantly growing. The transformation of aggressive Russian nationalism into a systematic factor of Russian society will be a very dangerous trend, particularly when accompanied by xenophobia and prejudices.

While the question of belonging to the national community was claimed by some as still unanswered<sup>21</sup>, the analysis of Annual Addresses of Russian Presidents to the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation illustrates clear necessary conditions for being accepted to the Russian community. Those are neither ethnicity nor citizenship but values and cultural commonality<sup>22</sup>. The multiethnicity of the Russian state is always emphasized through the general term 'rossiyane', which entails the citizenship rather than through 'ruskiye' which implies Russian ethnicity. Course and Teper (2014), while analyzing ethnic clashes in Russia between 2006 and 2011, concluded that a collective 'Muslim other' existed in regard to 'newcomers' from Northern Caucasus<sup>23</sup> (although they cannot be defined as newcomers because the region is a part of the Russian Federation). At the same time, the 'Muslim other' did not suppose religious or racial factors, but ethno-cultural where the Russian nation was identified by 'culturally conditioned proper conduct' where the definition and conditions of such are defined by

<sup>21</sup> Vera Tolz, *Russia: Inventing the Nation*. (London: Arnold, 2001).

<sup>22</sup> Petr Panov, "Nation-building in post-Soviet Russia: What kind of nationalism is produced by the Kremlin?" *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 1 (2010): 85-94.

<sup>23</sup> Daniel Course and Yuri Teper, "Contesting Putin's Nation-Building: the 'Muslim other' and the Challenge of the Russian Ethno-Cultural Alternative," *Nations and Nationalism* 20, no. 4 (2014), 731.

the ethnic Russian core group<sup>24</sup>. I am arguing, however, that for the last several years the image of 'the other' became 'occupied' by Central Asian working migrants while 'Caucasian other' becomes less present. Although Central Asian migrants and Caucasians are grouped as Muslims, two groups are barely mentioned together in news. As it was defined by previous research, the distinction is made along different values and the mere fact of not fitting in. Such inconformity is often emphasized through criminalization taking place in the media and political discourse which bring forward Central Asian migrants and obscure Caucasians.

#### 2.4 Migration of Central Asians to Russia

Increased migration to the Russian Federation from the Central Asian region increased dramatically in the years following the breakup of the Soviet Union as Russia remains the most economically developed country in the region. Because no visa control between Central Asian countries and Russia was established (with the exception of Turkmenistan), it is claimed to be quite problematic to estimate the actual number of migrants in Russia. In 2013, the United Nations claimed that Russia had the second largest foreign migrant population in the world while the official statistics of the Federal Migration Service of the Russian Federation reports that over 10 million foreigners resided on the territory of Russia in January 2015.

The number of foreigners is especially high in Moscow and the region where the number of both legal and illegal migrants reaches up to 3 million people (out of 15 million of the whole population of the city). It is no wonder that Moscow is the most active in anti-immigrant sentiments and movements. While most of them were restricted to leaflets and demonstrations without significant use of physical force, one of the most striking conflicts happened in 2013 in Biryulyovo district of the Moscow region when the target of violence became Central Asian working migrants. This tragic event

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<sup>24</sup> Daniel Course and Yuri Teper, "Contesting Putin's Nation-Building: the 'Muslim other' and the Challenge of the Russian Ethno-Cultural Alternative," *Nations and Nationalism* 20, no. 4 (2014), 733.

demonstrated that a shift occurred in anti-immigrant moods - while the main target of violence were people from Caucasian part of Russia, in recent years the Central Asian migrants has replaced them. Or, internal other was replaced by an external one.

Such 'othering' is not a new phenomenon and absolutely isn't restricted to the Russian Federation. Indeed many European countries (and not only European) struggle to accommodate migrants and, at the same time, sustain the national identity. In Russia, in my opinion, the construction of identity is taking place through the discourse on immigration where nationals are opposed to immigrants. The means of the construction of identity, in this particular case, is the intertwining of media and political discourse which, first, creates the atmosphere of xenophobia particularly toward working migrants from Central Asia (with the exception of Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan), and second, in some sense legitimize anti-immigrant sentiments among population.

All these also lead to the argument made by the leading representative of critical discourse analysis Teun van Dijk (2000) - racist discourse exaggerates differences in appearance and culture, constantly sets boundaries between "us" and "them" and explains who are included in the concept of "us" and who are not. It also compares "their" norms and values with "ours" in favorable for "us" light, worries only about "our" resources (territory, income, housing, jobs, culture). Further it focuses on what "they" do wrong and what "we" do right and how "our" interests are threatened by "others"<sup>25</sup>. Therefore, the exaggeration of the differences between 'us' Russians and 'them' Northern Caucasians is dangerous as would set these ideas in the society and consequently lead to the breakup of the country along the boundaries of 'us' and 'them'. Othering of external Central Asian migrants is also less dangerous for the contemporary attempts to sustain the Russian national identity constructed along civil identification rather than ethnic. The means of constructing antagonism toward Central Asian working migrants are political discourse and the media. The latter, it is argued, establish prejudices and

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<sup>25</sup> Teun van Dijk, "New(s) Racism. A discourse analytical approach". In *Ethnic Minorities and the Media*, ed. by Simon Cottle (Milton Keynes, UK: Open University Press, 2000), 42.

xenophobia in the society.

### 3. Methodology

Mass media content has been the interest of research since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century; Max Weber described it as a tool for tracking 'cultural temperature'<sup>26</sup> of society while as a 'systematic method', media content analysis was originally introduced by Harol Lasswell to study propaganda<sup>27</sup>.

While content analysis is a technique that aims to describe what is said 'on a given subject in a given place at a given time'<sup>28</sup> with optimum objectivity and generality, it should be admitted that media texts can be interpreted differently and thus never fully objective. At the same time, Neuman (1997) described content analysis as a 'key non-reactive' research methodology; it is a technique for collecting and investigating the content of text where content is 'words, meanings, pictures, symbols, ideas, themes' and the text is 'anything written or spoken that serves as a medium for communication'<sup>29</sup> while the importance of the context should be taken into consideration.

The newspaper that was chosen for the media content analysis is *Rossiyskaya Gazeta*. According to Title Popularity Ranking (TPR), it remained among the top socio-political newspapers in Russia for the last few years and became the most popular in 2014<sup>30</sup> as the official newspaper of the Russian government. All issues of the newspaper were retrieved from the official webpage where they are stored in archives<sup>31</sup>. It was decided to cover the period of 2010 – 2014 to achieve greater generalizability and representation.

Media content analysis of the current thesis was performed both quantitatively and qualitatively. Quantitatively, the frequency of articles containing search words as well as articles emphasizing migration issues and mentioning Central Asian migrants per month and throughout the year were

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<sup>26</sup> Anders Hansen, et al., *Mass communication research methods* (London: Macmillan, 1998), 92.

<sup>27</sup> Jim Macnamara, "Media content analysis: Its uses; benefits and best practice methodology," *Asia Pacific Public Relations Journal* 6, no.1 (2005): 1.

<sup>28</sup> Harold Dwight Lasswell, et al., *The comparative study of symbol: an Introduction* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1952), 34.

<sup>29</sup> Lawrence Neuman, *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon, 1997), 272-273.

<sup>30</sup> <http://www.exlibris.ru/rejting-izdanij/>

<sup>31</sup> <http://www.rg.ru>.



counted within the given time period. Qualitatively, the context of articles 'within which a media text becomes meaningful'<sup>32</sup> was analyzed. In the first instance, therefore, using Ctrl-F each issue was searched for key words: migrant(s), gastarbeiter(s) and Caucasian(s), where the latter was both used as an adjective and a noun. All articles containing search words were stored and later counted in Excel. In the second instance, articles were carefully read to analyze the context and main theme of articles that contained the search words. If articles mentioned Central Asian migrants (Tajiks, Uzbeks, or Kyrgyz) or Northern Caucasians (Dagestani, Chechens, Ingush) articles were further analyzed for the context in which they were mentioned or emphasized while labels, adjectives, and verbs used in relation to migrants were also taken into consideration.

Consequently, two separate tables were created containing main topics associated with migrants and Caucasians and corresponding extracts from articles (when migrants or Caucasians were not the main theme of articles). No 'a priori'<sup>33</sup> list of issues and messages was composed before the analysis to increase the objectivity level and only detected issues were included in the final analysis. Thus, computer programs were used for storing and calculating articles, while scanning and the media content analyses were performed manually in Russian and translated into English for the current thesis.

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<sup>32</sup> Jim Macnamara, "Media content analysis: Its uses; benefits and best practice methodology," *Asia Pacific Public Relations Journal* 6, no1 (2005): 8.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 8.

#### 4. Media Analysis of Rossiyskaya Gazeta

Rossiyskaya Gazeta is the daily socio-political publications. According to a survey conducted by the Association of Managers, the relevance of the information in the "Russian newspaper" has the highest rating among other daily print media<sup>34</sup>. The status of the official publisher's legislation is a distinguishing feature of the newspaper. RG claim to be the first to inform its readers about all the important events taking place in the state bodies of the Russian Federation and the comments from legal and social points of view. According to the newspaper web page, it is daily read by 843300 people. Rossiyskaya Gazeta was established by the Government of the Russian Federation in 1990; it is published daily, except for Saturday and Sunday on 16 - 24 pages. The circulation of the newspaper is 160 thousand copies. Rossiyskaya Gazeta is daily printed in 41 cities in Russia and has regional offices in the CIS region.

##### 4.1. Migrants and Gastarbeiters

###### 4.1.1. Year 2010 - Manezhka

One of the most memorable events of 2010 was the killing of Egor Sviridov in Moscow and the riots that took place on the Manezhnaya Square on 11 of December. Few thousands of people gathered to commemorate the death of the football fan who was killed by a group of North Caucasians who were arrested but then freed. Such actions of law enforcement agencies were perceived in a society as the concealment of the suspects and thus provoked popular protests. Another sad event happened in March – two terrorist attacks were made in Moscow metro by two suicide bombers; responsibility for both attacks were taken by Doku Umarov, the leader of Caucasus Emirate.

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<sup>34</sup> <http://www.rg.ru/reklama/>

The overall number of articles published by RG in 2010 and containing the words ‘migrants’ and ‘gastarbeiters’ – 165 (chart1). Among the most popular subcategories are: archetype, broken rules, conflicts, comparison, corruption, dangers (physical, social, and economic), neutral-informative; numbers; migrants as victims; substitution.

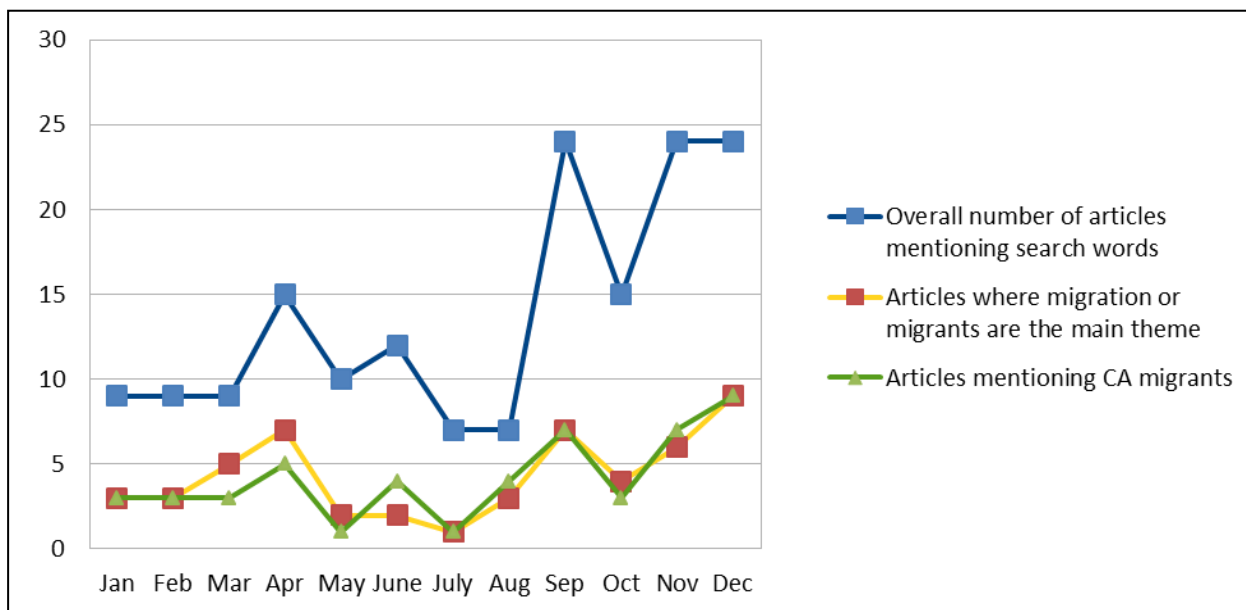


Chart1: Annual number of publications, year 2010.

*Adaptation and Integration:* opening of a vernissage with oil paintings of Tajik gastarbeiters to show that 'they are able not only to clean streets and lay bricks, but also do art'; migration should become legal and workers should live in normal conditions – ‘for that reason, dormitories for migrants will be built for migrants in different regions of St. Petersburg – no ghetto'; assimilation camps to be built for all gastarbeiters where they will be legalized, learn hygiene rules, learn language and Russian laws – study for 2 months, pass exams, and receive a migration card; technical lyceums for gastarbeiters to establish; important to work with migrants and teach them Russian language as well as Russian laws and constitution; Russian Orthodox Patriarch emphasized that ‘we should remember about hard life of foreigners and hard quality of work and life they have, they are humiliated because of non-Slavic

appearance – should give them a 'friendly hand' and adopt to culture and way of life';

Archetype: the image of gastarbeiters was used among artists – in the Theater of Nations, Romeo and Juliet were a Moscowite and a migrant; movie named Gastarbeiter was presented at a movie festival; prototype of Central Asian gastarbeiter in Royal Theater of Sweden in Moscow; short film about gastarbeiters “Moscow”; music festival – musician dressed as a gastarbeiter played on a bucket.

*Associations:* throughout the year, gastarbeiters were associated with caring hands; illiteracy; described as a brigade for renovation works; people who do not know the rules of a hygiene; ‘wherever construction works are happening, migrants are there’ and thus brought together with construction materials; service of gastarbeiters was often described as cheap and not associated with good quality; when apartments were robbed in buildings under construction – migrants were claimed guilty; they were described as those who insult girls and rob old ladies; live in uncivilized conditions; live in a paper box; ‘typical Tajik gastarbeiter without a work permit’; migrants were described as been settling in sub-basements as well illegals who live inside markets.

*Benefit:* since the arrival of hundreds of thousands of gastarbeiters, women have stopped doing the heavy job and thus did not suffer from diseases caused by hard work; Tajik gastarbeiters took the places where Russians did not want to work; migrants were described as needed for the decreasing demographic situation; According to Sobyenin, Moscow could not have survive without migrants while at the same time even legal flow of migrants should have been stopped until there was order in a country; migrants were also claimed one of the major sources of profit.

*Break rules:* gastarbeiters were described as breaking rules - all bus drivers were identified as gastarbeiters without a license; FMS was reporting to arrest 50 citizens of Kyrgyzstan who worked illegally; at illegal sewing factory 104 Vietnamese were arrested; four Kyrgyz and one Uzbek lived in a sub-basement with 20 people in a room.

*Comparison:* throughout the year, Tajik migrants were compared to alcoholics who do not need

much; Russians were compared to gastarbeiters where the former are the nation of philosophers and fighters while the latter, the lowest caste from cultures with different mentalities and values, are for managing business, agriculture or service; gastarbeiters from Ukraine and Moldova were compared to Central Asian migrants where the former drink constantly at the place where pioneers were giving an oath; the status of migrants was compared back home - where they are respected, and to their status while they were in Russia – second-rate people; Russian old people were compared to migrants in a way that old people were thrown out and not needed by anyone, but they, Russians, could survive somehow in Russia, but for migrants back home – life was much worse; ‘but there is no big difference between us’; gastarbeiters were compared to homeless and beggars; salaries in Russia, while being among the lowest in the world, were compared to those in Tajikistan and concluded that Tajik gastarbeiters like them because it has been even worse in Tajikistan; gastarbeiters were compared to students who jump over ticket barriers; when talking about labor and the reasons for hiring one over another, Russians were compared to migrants as ‘more expensive’ while migrants were described as ‘cheaper’; migrants from Russian cities and even those from Moldova spoke Russian, while ‘now all are from Central Asia’ and do not speak Russian; when compared to Russian workers, Central Asian migrants were described as more dedicated – ‘if cannot come to work, will send someone instead while if a Russian did not show up, he has a hangover’; taxi drivers from Central Asia (mainly Uzbekistan) were compared to Azeri taxi drivers – the former had newer Uzbek cars which were more comfortable and quiet drivers did not ask for extra payment, said ‘Thank you’; in comparison to Caucasians – ‘every Moscowite heard about poverty in Central Asia and their migration is not surprising, but Caucasians are not liked because they have job in the mountains’; during a Russian studio discussion someone said ‘they are overrunning our country’ and was asked to leave the studio.

*Conflicts:* mass fight between locals and gastarbeiters from Central Asia were happening during the year - in the quietest area of Volga, in Hot'kovo, a 'terminal base for Tajiks' in Moscow region –

conflict after Tajik stabbed a local. The reasons for conflicts were identified due to the equal number of Tajiks and Uzbeks and the number of Russians.

*Corruption:* police was accused of corruption as they checked only those apartments where gastarbeiters lived but 'closed eyes' for few thousand rubles; migrants were hired because they could be paid less while no taxes were needed to be paid; housing maintenance offices were also hiring migrants to pay in cash and less; consultants in shops were also hired for lower salaries even when they did not speak Russian.

*Dangers:* the newspaper also wrote about various dangers that could be brought by migrants - people tend to receive notifications to pay phone debts after buying sim-cards - many were previously used by gastarbeiters who call home; two citizens of Uzbekistan were sent to jail for trying to steal children; citizen of Uzbekistan was arrested in Moscow for robbing women; Tajiks robbed Chinese for 250,000\$; 'marshrutkas' (taxi mini-buses) were described as the source of increased risk because mainly gastarbeiters drove them and did not follow the schedule of work and rest; after migrants assimilated, they started drinking as locals, tease girls and provoke guys - they live for years without women and can do whatever; gastarbeiters worked in the most famous medical center in Moscow without even an elementary school degree; inter-national relations were described to worsen because the number of migrants was increasing and predicted to 'burst' sooner or later; every third crime in Moscow was claimed to be committed by illegal migrants and Russians as stabbed and robbed; only three migrants out of ten left the country after identified as infectious while others 'disappeared'; migrants were described as causing the damping of salaries; 70% rapes were on migrants – five times more crimes than by Russians; migration was equaled to extremism; migrants bring poliomyelitis.

*Migrants as Victims:* a lot in 2010 were written about migrants who burned inside or together with buildings - 104 gastarbeiters died and caused the fire; two citizens of Tajikistan killed in Moscow region in a dormitory room; skinheads were sent to jail for killing people with Asian facial features

(usually gastarbeiters); Moscow can eat people – citizen of Tajikistan killed himself and two children after losing job as Cherkozivsky market was closed; massive executions of gastarbeiters to prevent them from coming to Russia and show that officials are not preventing mass; illegal disposal of chemicals was executed by gastarbeiters who risked their health by doing that; employers did not pay salaries to gastarbeiters; citizen of Tajikistan hung himself at factory; bus driver from Uzbekistan was shot during a 'serious talk' with the employer who was not paying salaries; gastarbeiters were taken to forest from markets to cut trees for a firebreak; gastarbeiters worked in Sochi 10h/day without days off and were not paid for 3 month; three policemen were arrested for baiting a Tajik migrant who was hospitalized; 370 extremist crime acts against gastarbeiters were committed during the first half of the year.

*Neutral-Informative:* Tatarstan increased quotas for migrants as they worked where locals refused to – unique positions;

*Numbers:* leading money transfer countries in 2010 were Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Ukraine; a lot was reported on increased numbers of migrants – ‘wherever you look in parks or courtyards – everywhere see a figure of a gastarbeiter who paints fences or you see the results of works of guests from Asia’; in private sector worked 3-4 million of foreign citizens who were legal, registered, but did not have a chance to work legally; between 700,000 and 1 million of working migrants lived outside of Kyrgyzstan; the majority of service personnel in markets were guests from Central Asia; Russia was predicted to need 1,235,000 gastarbeiters; 11,1 million left the country in 2010 while 12,3 million came – every tenth was a foreigner; 7 million foreigners worked in Russia while 4 million were illegal, according to Federal Migration Service (FMS) of Russia; nobody really knew how many migrants were in Moscow – the Msoyr Sobyenin was saying 2 million, FMS were saying 10 times less and still the number of migrants was planned to be reduced as they were not needed; Russian Patriarch introduced some numbers as well – according to him, since the breakup of the USSR, Tajik diaspora increased by 12 times, Chechen – by 7 times; Vietnamese – by 14 times; Chinese – by 35 times; number of illegal

migrants was claimed to reduce by 3 times because of a tougher migration regime and eased legalization process (to attract more Ukrainians and only then – Uzbeks, Tajiks, and Kyrgyz.

*Policies:* after being identified by police and given a notice not to work, it was proposed to be put migrants in jail for 15 days; introduction of patents for working migrants and benefits for qualified specialists to legalize gastarbeiters; in places where migrants work and live, hiring organizations should have had private securities.

*Substitution:* first news about a necessity to substitute migrants instead of bringing them endlessly - pay more to those who should be retired but would continue to work.

*Survey:* half of Moscowites felt thankful and sympathetic towards migrants while in general – not better or worse than to each other, kind feelings increased with years – 61% in 2010 felt pity for migrants, 30% felt respect, dark-skinned workers were disliked by 22%, afraid of migrants were 41%. Old women were the friendliest toward migrants while men between 18 and 24 were the most aggressive.



#### 4.1.2 Year 2011 – Asymmetrical answer of Russia

One of the main events that affected the relations between one of the Central Asian republic with Russia was the capture of Russian pilots who were later imprisoned for illegally landing in Tajikistan.

The overall number of articles mentioning migrants was 266 (chart 2)

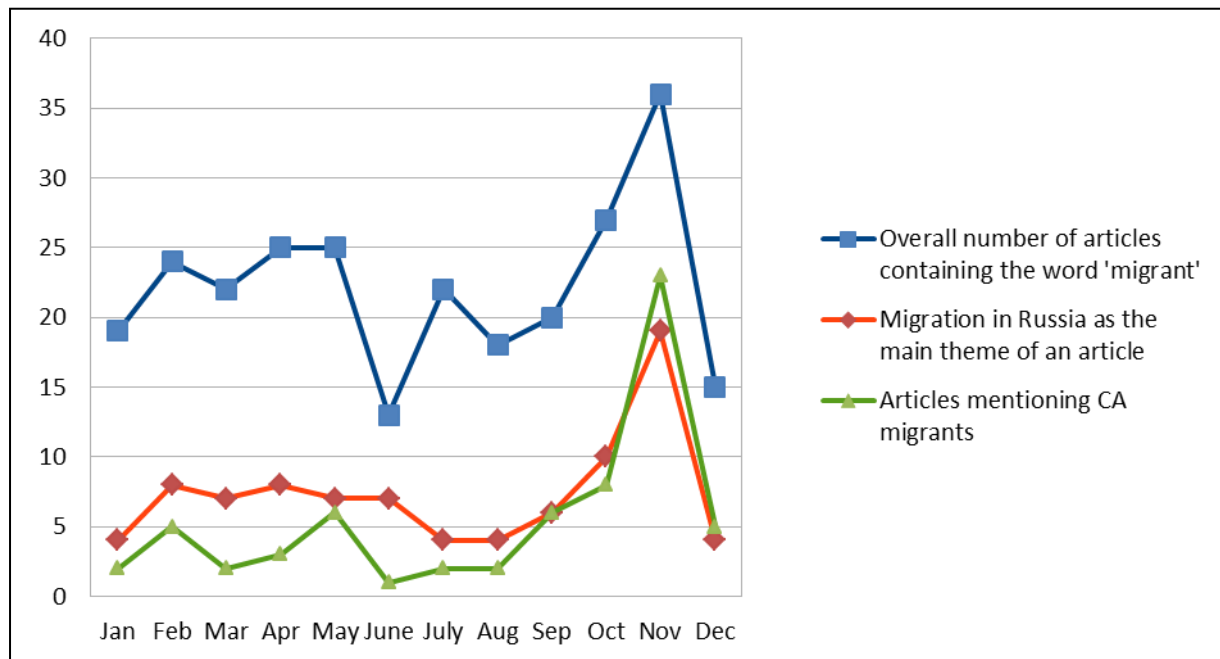


Chart 2: Annual number of publications, year 2011.

*Adaptation and Integration:* the only possibility to achieve public understanding was through the knowledge of the language, culture, and dominant religious traditions (Patriarch); adaptation centers were started to be discussed as an increase in men from Central Asia wanting to stay and learn Russian was noticed but there was no place to go; Moscow colleges were to start to cooperate with employers to promote educational integration of working migrants into Russian society; new dormitory was opened for migrants and 11 more were planned to be built with security guards; it was planned to organize migration promotional centers and spend the money that were planned to be spent on poorest

countries on preparation of migrants (800million); children of migrants were thought of going to ethnic schools to adapt them through their culture while supplementary classes for foreign pupils were also discussed; entrance Russian test for migrants in Moscow schools and special courses for those who did not speak Russian well; newcomers were encouraged to feel like home but were asked to remember they were guests – respect culture, language, and traditions; integration was claimed to be necessary for highly qualified migrants; Russian courses were to open for gastarbeiters in Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan to supply educated workers; Russian Orthodox Church claimed that migrants should have been given a legal job and introduced to Russian culture; new specialized institutions for children of migrants where they were to learn Russian language, culture, and traditions but at the same time it was emphasized that the process of integration should have started from families and homelands of migrants; 40% of all crime acts were committed by foreigners and half of them were from near abroad; new methodology for teaching Russian to migrants was planned to be developed for 154,5 million; children of migrants were claimed to be the future citizens of Russia and thus it was necessary to make them learn the language and culture; program for learning Russian and courses of intensive language preparation were developed for Moscow schools and kindergartens where 28,000 children were without Russian citizenship and 15,000 did not speak Russian; classes of tolerance in big companies of Moscow were supposed to reduce hatred toward migrants among youth.

*Archetype:* best female actress from the drama 'Gastarbeiter' was chosen at the Eurasia film festival; 'An Occasion in Metro' in one act where 16 people thought the Asian was a terrorist; film festival in Russia presented a film on a child with HIV and whose parents were gastarbeiters; the theme of gastarbeiters was one of the leading in theater festival.

*Associations:* crowds of mad and hungry gastarbeiters; unaware of Russian laws; Moscow as the shelter for gastarbeiters; like soldiers; gastarbeiters instead of an excavator; to become a member of the Movement against Illegal Migration, one needs to bring an ear of a Tajik; drunk Tajiks; wield a gang of

gastarbeiters.

*Benefit:* those who give apartment for rent earn money on gastarbeiters; 7,9% of GDP was due to migrants while it was claimed that GDP could not grow when population was reducing – migrants were needed as well as adequate migration system; Dean of the Higher School of Economics claimed that between 5 and 10 million of working migrants in Russia paid taxes for pensions but eventually would leave the country and leave the money – thus, they would have paid for Russians; migrants covered positions that were unpopular among Russian citizens (citizens were even described as having their 'own Tajik or Uzbek'; work for migrants was told to always be found even if all unemployed were engaged; more migrants were needed as they paid for patents that brought over 3 billion rubles in 9 months; there were places that were not popular among locals and it was claimed to be a myth that gastarbeiters occupied the places of Russians; birth rate increased for the last 23 years because of migration.

*Break rules/laws:* in few hours, the FMS officers were described to be arresting over a hundred of migrants as well as distributors of fake documents at a railway station, one of the most popular spots of illegal migrants in Moscow; renovating the State library gastarbeiters were caught stealing folios; 20 migrants lived in a sub-basement of the Kievskiy railway station while working illegally; fight between workers and security because unqualified migrants from CIS and near abroad tried to bring alcohol to the territory of the APEC;

*Comparison:* 'faces of Central Asian nationality' in Russia were compared to the way African-Americans were treated in the US; labor migration from Uzbekistan was described as an objective process – 'we have a demographic decline and they have a surplus of 'work hands''; migrants were hardworking and did not drink but brought no benefit to ordinary people; Putin described migrants in Europe as alien elements while 'we all are the children of one mother – Russia'; Russians and migrants were claimed to become equal in rights.

*Dangers:* illegal dump sites were a part of everyday St. Petersburg as gastarbeiters and their employers saved on trash pickup; crash of a building was blamed on Tajik migrants who broke the bearing wall in the apartment while renovating it; division into ethnic groups was described as the first step to state's collapse because Moscow never experienced such 'quantitative changes' and explosive growth of different cultures and confessions; marshrutkas (taxi mini-buses) were participants of car accidents more and more and often because of their drivers gastarbeiters who did not know Russian and worked for 15 hours without a break; migrants were bringing destructive social orientations; organizer of a drug trafficking was ethnic Uzbek from Kyrgyzstan; migrants with HIV and hepatitis were claimed to often get fake medical cards but at the same the readers were notified that it developed out of 'sleeping' hepatitis after migrants move to a humid Petersburg; WHO reported that every third in human's surrounding was infected by a micro-bacterium of tuberculosis. Therefore, when one gets severely sick, does not eat properly, lives in bad conditions – disease can “wake up” while companies sell fake medical cards to migrants from Uzbekistan claiming they are healthy; the daughter of the top-manager of LukOil was kidnapped, raped and killed by 3 gastarbeiters; legislative framework was not working in Russia and anyone could become a bus driver even without a license; playing grounds were dangerous for children and were later replaced – migrants were blamed for fixing them improperly, 'those who clean streets and do not know how to hold a hammer'; all abandoned buildings were promised to be checked for migrants and homeless people; rapes and ritual killings in front of children in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky forced locals to move migrants to a separate village to reduce the crime rate; every 5th student had no place to 'lay his head' as dormitories turned into hotels for gastarbeiters; migrants were repairing roads but damaged them instead; Sobyenin associated increased migration with the reasons of criminal situation – gastarbeiters pretended to be tourists and hung around Moscow doing nothing – 80% of them were not registered; expansion of the Moscow area was associated with more migrants; Central Asian migrants were changing marking on expired products to take back to

shops; migrants from Central Asia were portrayed as those who could be used by terrorists as there has been no visa regime between the countries; migrants were cautioned to be medically examined as they often got sick but did not go to hospitals; explosion in an apartment in Moscow where migrants from Uzbekistan and Moldova were making renovations; 3 workers from Uzbekistan were arrested in Petersburg for killing a Zenit fan; Medvedev talked about migrants as they were suppliers of criminal acts as well as that “everyone who come, should possess Russian language, register and integrate”; most crimes were committed by Tajiks; most migrants resided in Russia illegally; Tajik migrants increased HIV and tuberculosis infections and should have been temporarily prohibited (Minister of Health); migrants were depicted as participating in drug-trafficking but at the same time the solution to reduce it was not in eliminating migrants but starting paying them their money and respecting their working rights; 4 Uzbeks were arrested in Moscow for organizing a terrorist attack while also selling drugs; migrants were revealed as illegally cutting Christmas trees in Moscow region to sell them; migrants became allowed to donate blood but was resisted by the population.

*Justification of aggression from Russians:* if citizens saw that migrants lived in sub-basements and attics, broke laws, created a nuisance and threatened safety – of course the reaction was negative; tension happened under radical changes in usual environment – mass migration or movement within country; 'let's be honest, criminality of migrants is one of the factors causing extremism. Migrants' criminal has been stably increasing in the last years'; youth was portrayed as never the inventor of radical opinions and views as it was always done by adults who write handbooks of nationalists; all books about migration talked about risks and nothing positive while politicians used migration for gaining votes; no profit from migrants for ordinary people – they did not pay taxes; to change the mentality of youth, it was important to prevent ethnic gangs of migrants; those areas where migrants were working became least developed when compared to developed countries; increased migration was defined as a deadly injection for national modernization; in relation to the case with captured pilots –

'what kind of conclusion can ordinary Russians make in relation to completely innocent Tajik migrants?'; moreover, asymmetrical answer led to deportations of hundreds of migrants and quotas for Tajikistan for terminated; 70% of crimes were claimed to be committed by migrants from Tajikistan and Uzbekistan and they should have been prevented from entering the country again until they 'respect us and until our wives and children will not be afraid to walk on streets'.

*Numbers:* potential readers of 'Petersburg.uz' newspaper were claimed to be 850,000 people while only 120,000 registered. Thus, all others were counted as illegal; 49,000 crimes were committed by foreign citizens; 95-96% of foreigners resided in the capital legally, but only one out of ten worked legally; in 2010: 116,000 of foreigners received a work permit, registered at FMS – 1,875,000, worked legally – over a million, 10,000 foreigners were deported; in 2011: 1,039 of marshrutka drivers worked illegally without any work permit or driving license; population of Petersburg increased by 4%, in the region – by 2,6% because of migration; not surprising that 60% work illegally (out of 4-5 million people, only 1,754,000 were given work permits); there were regions where up to 25% did not speak Russian; Out of 5 million migrants in Russia, 4 million are illegals; by 2025 – working population was anticipated to reduce by 17%, or 10 million people; the number of migrants, including illegals, decreased; In 2010 – 10,000 were deported, 1,008,000 thousand of foreign citizens registered in 2010, in 2011 – only 700,000; between 7 and 10 million migrants lived in Russia; since the breakup of the USSR, Tajik diaspora increased by 7 times and has been growing, every third was not returning home bue married Russians while still having wives in Tajikistan; 90% of Tajik gastarbeiters stayed in Moscow; number of migrants in Moscow should have been reduced from 200,000 to 60-80,000; out of 2 million, 80% were not registered; every third migrant in Russia did not speak Russian (out of 9,1 million foreigners, only 29% did not speak Russian) and that prevented them from fully adapting in Russia but instead becoming the targets of criminals; out of 16 million of migrants in Russia, 9 already received citizenship; FMS claimed that most migrants reside in Russia legally; there were 5-7 million

illegals in Russia; 400,000 were illegal in Moscow.

*Penetration:* in Moscow appeared schools where half of pupils were migrants; nannies and nursery teachers in kindergartens were foreigners who barely spoke Russian; migrants lived in tents near cemeteries; Bolshoy Theater was repaired by gastarbeiters; too many Muslims could not fit in mosques – if illegals were not attending, all Moscow Muslims and legal guests could fit; illegal migrants were on the territory of oldest Moscow airport – 400 Uzbeks; migrants lived on the territory of a military base;

*Other:* “Movement against Illegal Migration” has been banned. Seldom experts come to a consensus so fast; fight between migrants from Uzbekistan and Tajikistan because of the line in a cafe; gastarbeiters lived in abandoned buildings; protests against illegal construction near the Monastery in Moscow where gastarbeiters worked over weekends; Russian Orthodox Church stated that skinheads should have been given an opportunity to 'legally stand against crime' to solve the problem of extremism.

*Policies:* migrants from CIS regions should have bought medical insurance themselves or their employers to cover the treatment of infectious diseases including family members; 'against, first of all, gastarbeiters from CIS' who register at shell firms but even specialist were prohibited to register at their work addresses; fees were increased for owners of taxi companies when their drivers worked without work permits or cars were not technically appropriate; press-conference, Department of Labor – Russian citizens should have been prioritized when applied for jobs but foreign workers were also needed for the capital as some position remained unattractive; FMS planned to cancel quotas and residence permits for foreigners and abandon quotas to reduce the number of unqualified working force; all migrants in Moscow were proposed to be registered as there was no other way to solve the migration issue as they did not pay taxes and insurance; new changes – migrants were suggested to be checked more often and then deported if diseased; employers who hired illegal workers without

qualification were offered to be harshly punished; required finger printing for migrants was introduced; legal residence of migrants were obliged to present a document proving their knowledge of Russian language (school or university certificate received in USSR before 1991 or in Russia after 1991); thoughts on introduction of visa regime were discussed; Medvedev proposed to regularly deport gastarbeiters who break migration laws.

*Substitution:* it was offered to pay college students for working as janitors in colleges instead of migrants.

*Victims:* rights of migrants have been absolutely violated but either they did not know where to go or were too scared; police blamed migrants for the rise of criminality but not always was it their fault as employers used their lack of knowledge of Russian laws and threw to streets without paying. That is how working migrants were turning into criminals - to find money for life and buy a return ticket; hung gastarbeiters can scary residents during roof testing or fell down; Central Asians became the target of fraud; official did not work with migrants – they did not teach them Russian and did not help to find a job. Thus, criminal started evolving; fire in Moscow in a destroyed building – illegal Tajik migrants were settled there by an HR agency; illegal settlements were organized by a former prisoner who settled migrants; General Consulate of Tajikistan talked about oppression and massive attacks of Tajik migrants in Petersburg as migrants were paid less than stated in contracts.

*Survey:* 29% of people in big cities were irritated by people of different nationalities (33% in Moscow) but at the same time 70% were ‘not yet irritated’ and did not express any hard feelings; migrants were liked in all regions of Moscow except for the rich areas.



#### 4.1.3 Year 2012. Overall number of published articles – 269 (chart 3)

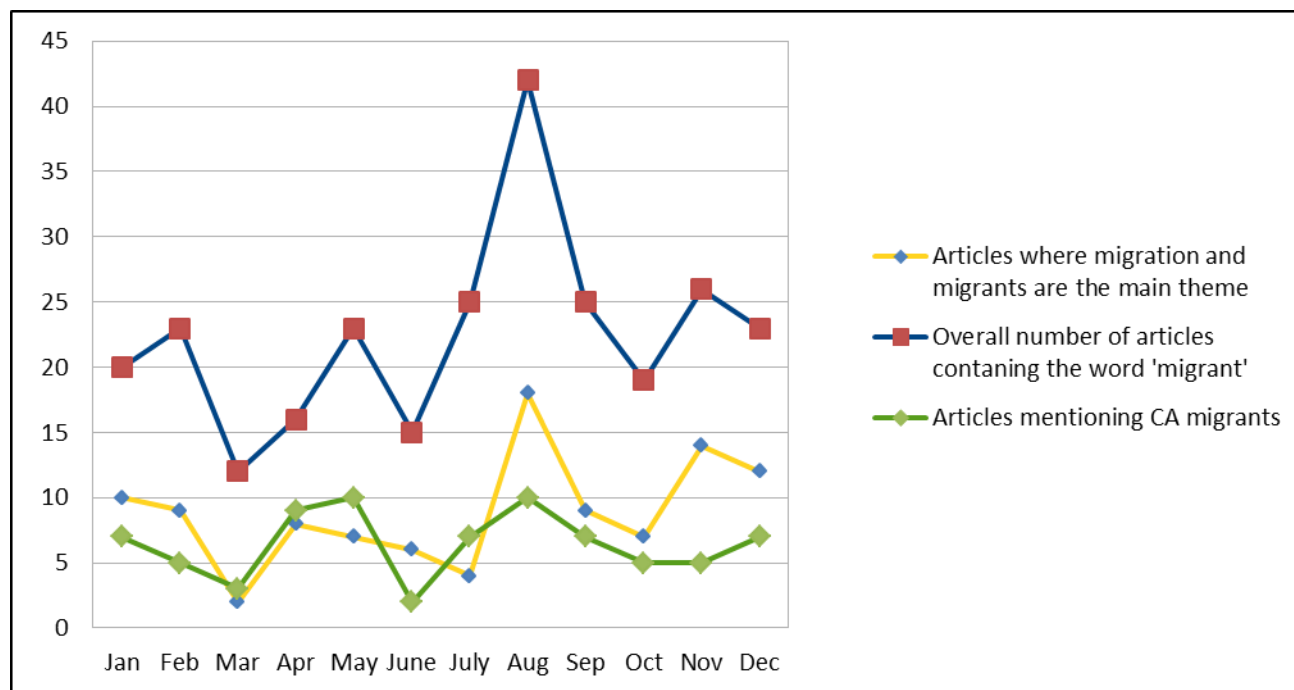


Chart 3: Annual number of publications, year 2012.

*Adaptation and Integration:* professionally oriented (cheaper and shorter) courses of Russian language for migrants as a considerable part of migrants want but cannot assimilate, legalize, and find a job; Putin proposed to adapt migrants through exposing them to national culture; career fairs were organized for legal migrants at Zil factory; three million were spent on new methods of teaching children of migrants the Russian language as well as new active forms of social, cultural, and language adaptation of children of migrants; 100 million rubles were planned to be spent on 'humanizing' the image of migrants through social campaigns (videos about foreigners in the capital) to promote friendly inter-ethnic relations in Moscow; absence of adaptation programs for children of migrants in Petersburg – if the government decided to work on tolerance, they should not have isolated our city from migrants'; language adaptation program introduced classical poetry for proper Russian; correction of TV programs – broadcasting of Navruz for Uzbekistan and Tajikistan; new strategy of national politics –

NGOs were granted the status of national-cultural autonomies and opened integration courses (as well as language, history and culture classes) for migrants and their children; inter-national union helped foreigners to adapt to the region; 17 dormitories for migrants were planned to be built by 2025 far from the city center; cartoon 'world without violence' would teach children to be tolerant and polite.

*Associations:* low qualification; expect nothing worse than gastarbeiters from Tajikistan; gastarbeiters do not return home after finishing construction works; migrants live in animal conditions; substituting population come from CIS – unqualified and uneducated; gastarbeiters (Tajiks, Uzbeks, and Azeri) do not know the rules of conduct and moral norms – do not follow road regulations and grill in parks where it is prohibited (rules were written on a wall in three languages); Tajik troops; continuous flow; ready for any job; extremist organizations; speak less Russian; uncontrollable flow; stranglehold of migrants; overcrowded with migrants; trap and clean from migrants; uncomfortable; country of gastarbeiters; before garbage was sorted by homeless, now – migrants; ugly decorated Christmas trees – gastarbeiters; program 'Tolerance' sponsored by Russian government issued a 'Handbook of a working migrant' where migrants were depicted as tools – broom, brush, roller, and trowel; gold teeth; slaves;

*Archetype:* in a collection of stories - 'Tajiks built a factory... they ate all rats, cats, and all insects and birds – those are Tajiks, and here is the normal person'; poem 'The Hero of the Second Level' – dormitory for Uzbek construction workers in a cattle yard, in a separate section – short Kyrgyz (bought by wholesale, best street cleaners in the entire world); joke – put few thousand Tajiks to screw pumps as an alternative source of energy; mass inspection of bus drivers – illegal migrants and illegal bus drivers worked without work permits and registration.

*Benefits:* majority of Russian citizens agreed that migrants are needed for Russian economy; government states that without migrants, working population would decrease by 10 million by 2025; net migration compensated the decrease of population by 1%.

*Break rules:* the problem of illegal settlements (in the center of Moscow in an abandoned building lived 60 people including five children without any gas or electricity; in 2011 – underground city of illegals was found with 150 people; another underground city was found in the forest with 100 settlers); illegal gastarbeiters were revealed at a construction site; inspection of apartments and shops revealed illegal migrants (6,500 people were deported while 1 billion fees were paid by employers).

*Corruption:* former FMS officers were arrested for illegally selling work permits.

*Comparison:* Uzbeks about Russians – 'they are wild, do not even know the names of neighbors'; migrants are needed but in construction and service areas Russians could compete.

*Dangers:* use of gastarbeiters was described as leading to less positions as well as smaller salaries for Russians; a terrorist attack on FMS office in Vladivostok (furthest point of Russia) was prevented – nationalists planned to explode the office together with migrants; more and more migrants were found infected and drug addicts among them; throughout the year the question was often posed – why do Russians need so many migrants if agriculture was underdeveloped, regions were suffocating because of unemployment and instead of helping own citizens, indefinite number of Tajiks, Uzbeks, and Kyrgyz were brought; main sanitary inspector revealed the main reason for tuberculosis spread – migrants who lived in inadequate conditions and spread it; migrant-driver of chain stores was found to have tuberculosis; heroin was found in a car of a Tajik; Uzbeks and Tajiks were identified as 'enforcers' at local markets; gastarbeiters from Tajikistan organized dormitory in an abandoned building, turned to be members of a terrorist organization who kept photos of a Moscow bridge; reasons of any conflicts – working migrants as they often do not manage to assimilate and live in enclaves; infections were determined to spread among migrants; Uzbek criminal gang were arrested in Moscow, their target were women – killed three, kidnapped and robbed; construction of dormitories was associated with conflicts and killings; Tajikistan citizen took hostage and threatened with a terrorist attack while asking to prolong his residence permit; considerable part of crimes were determined to be committed by

Caucasians and migrants who eventually manage to escape because of diaspora protectionism and their pressure on police; a common base of migrants' diseases was planned to be created to decide whether to give them work permits; money for the treatment of migrants were claimed to be taken from state budget – money of Moscowites; majority of migrants were from Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Ukraine and Moldova and crimes were committed by them; the rise of crime was due to the increase of migrants who organize ethnic gangs; migrants from Central Asia were portrayed as spreading infections; 140,000 migrants were medically examined – 600 cases of HIV and tuberculosis revealed; gastarbeiters, although a cheap labor, were described as not working properly and damage roofs; Kyrgyz gastarbeiter stabbed a journalist after negative words about Islam; migrants were coming as a 'continuous flow', organized criminal organizations and facilitated corruption; MIA claimed to create a black list for migrants as half of crimes were on them; the question of eased acquisition of citizenship for compatriots was discussed and feared that millions of culturally and socially unadapted Central Asians would increase criminality; many Russians were described as not ready to live in a country of gastarbeiters and preferred to left; migrants tried to impose their customs that were inappropriate in Russia – they could not cut sheep in the city center, should have respected Russian culture; high criminality among migrants who rob and rape; uncontrolled flow of migrants to Northern capital caused ecological problem; infections in cafés where migrants eat; stop-list for migrants with HIV – Moscowites were inform about infections among migrants; Novyi Urengoy associated increased criminality and drug trafficking with an uncontrollable flow of migrants; space of Russian language was described as narrowing within Russia because migrants come without speaking the language (20-40%); Red Square at New Year's Eve was mostly covered by migrants and brought an uncomfortable feeling; migrant fraternities as the center of criminality.

*Numbers:* five gastarbeiters died in a constructing building because of alcohol and food toxicities; 2,000 migrants were claimed to live in sub-basements in every region (250,000 in total) –

they were settled there by executives; in 2011 – 10-11% more foreigners entered Moscow region and 30-50% more received residence permits; it was reported that it was absolutely impossible to count migrants as they have come as a flow, few millions a year; migrants living in Moscow region and those who received residence permits increased by 335% in 2011 (in comparison to 2010), in Moscow – by 148%. In general – 10% more foreigners entered Moscow and the region; 9,5 million foreigners resided in Russia, 1,3 million were legal and 3,8 million were guests or studied, 4,4 million were identified as a risk group; 3.5 million were working illegally; foreigners who received work permits in Moscow increased six times; Petersburg population was increasing every year by 50,000 people because of migrants; FMS claimed that every year about 13-14 million foreigners enter Russia; during three months of 2012, 106 complains were received about Central Asian migrants' gatherings in subways and inadequate behavior; 36 illegal migrants were arrested in Moscow restaurant; in some regions of Moscow, 70% of children did not speak Russian – children of Tajik, Uzbek, Kazakh migrants - up to 50% in schools; migration decreased by 47% in 2011 but the number of migrants did not change as illegal migration increased; entered 13.6 million foreigners, qualified – 27,400, illegals – 3-5 million, leading countries were Ukraine and Uzbekistan; net migration compensated the decrease of population by 1%; Petersburg exceeded the gastarbeiters quota and 94% of all migrants in the city were unqualified; 60% of Petersburg residents were anxious about migrants as their behavior was the threat of safety; limits were almost over – those who wanted to come already did; number of migrants were to be decreased two times next year and would continue decreasing; five millionth Petersburg resident could be born in a migrant family; 60-80% of migrants worked illegally; 4 million foreigners were coming to Moscow every year where 500,000 – tourists, and others were migrants.

*Other:* Tajik migrants worked in Sochi at waste deposit instead of new technology; national question should have been dealt by nationalists – Uzbek taxi drivers 'tyr-syr' instead of Russian, started asking for more money than agreed; gastarbeiters were used against ecologists-activists - shouted

Churka; inappropriate cleaning of streets during winter because private companies hire gastarbeiters without equipment - gastarbeiters as preventing modernity and technology; internet resource was developed for Moscowites to inform about illegal apartments; movement 'People's Cathedral' asked to grant Petersburg the status of a border city and initiate access control to order illegal migration; Nationalist troops together with FMS were raiding Moscow region to deport illegals – trap migrants and clean the region.

*Victims:* illegal migrants burnt at Moscow building supplies market, which could have happened almost at every market; Uzbekistan citizens killed by STSI inspector because did not stop the car; five Tajik gastarbeiters died at the oil factory (have not a proper qualification); explosion at a bakery at the military base where migrants from CIS were working.

*Policies:* company executives were fined for migrants living in sub-basements and attics; Putin granted more power to police and migration offices; necessity of introducing Russian language tests (as well as literature, law, and history); introduced required finger printing as crime acts committed by migrants remain unsolved because it is impossible to identify the criminal; put in jail for fake registration and no entrance to Russia for 5-10 years if deported; Medvedev appealed to fight illegal migration by toughening the punishment for crossing the borders illegally; priority was claimed to be given to Moscowites when searching for construction workers; points system for migrants applying for residence permit (age, education, Russian language, relatives in Russia, work experience in Russia) was discussed; pre-migrations training for graduates of vocational institutions of Central Asia was introduced; first law of the newly chosen president was to create a union of inter-national relations to prevent inter-ethnic conflicts and criminal responsibility for breaking migration laws; migrants without documents would be taken to special centers, if commit an administrative crime – deported; renowned Department of Organized Crime Control would be composed of ethnic Tajiks, Uzbeks and Ukrainians; occupations where migrants are needed would be identified and then only quotas issued to those areas;

employers would have to provide medical insurance to working migrants and conduct annual medical examination; highly qualified migrants would be paying less taxes; migrants would be deported if humiliate citizens with their attitude; foreign pilots were claimed migrants; when migrants are planned to spread territorially, local population should be taken into consideration; FMS were granted more power – no court decision to check organizations for migrants, for organized illegal migration – felony; countries that are not in the Custom Union would need external passports to enter the country; obligatory Russian test for those planning to work in housing and communal services as well as trade and public services; businessmen hiring illegal migrants would be charged with criminal liability; camps for migrants who come for work to prevent from communicating with population to avoid conflicts and also to check all migrants for dispositions to conflicts and criminal.

*Survey:* Only traffic was claimed to be worse than migrants;

#### 4.1.4 Year 2013. Overall number of published articles – 358 (chart 4)

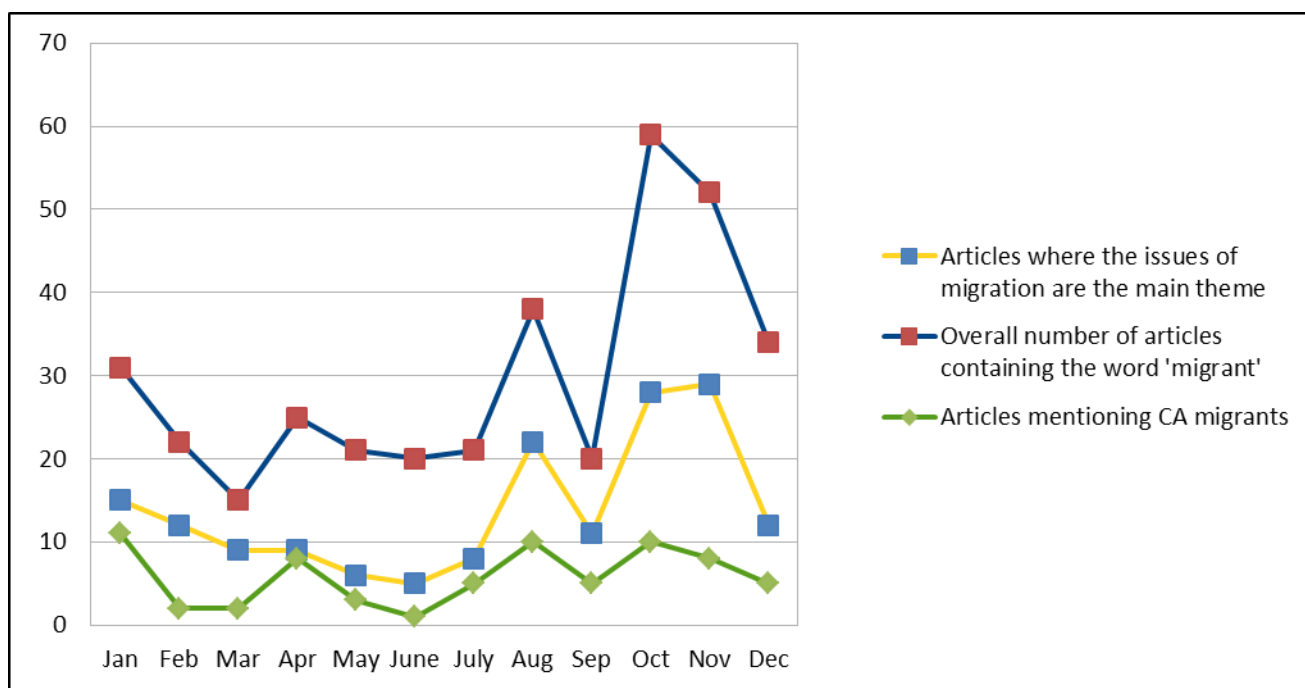


Chart4: Annual number of publications, year 2013.

*Policies:* quotas for migrants were reduced to 186,000; more requirements to migrants who want to live and work in Russia; pilots claimed not to be highly-qualified workers; Communists claimed the importance of visa regime with Central Asia; graduates of Russian universities would be given preferences when apply for citizenship; countries should pay for their deported migrants and their residence in centers; migrants would not be allowed to drive in Russia until they pass an exam on Russian traffic rules; the ambulance became paid because of migrants – Moscow have been wasting 2-2,5 million on migrants without medical insurance; exam introduced for bus drivers for the knowledge of streets of the capital; international specialists in economics, education, culture, and science will have eased visa procedures; after being fired, work permits would become illegal; laws are not going to work if there is no harsh punishment – control should be strengthened and raids should be regular; law to divide migrants into categories – businessmen became a different type of migrants; development of



migration codex to order the required documents – visa, residence permit; offer to introduce a 5-year moratorium on patents for foreign unqualified migrants; the main task of the government in relation to crime was claimed to fight illegal migration and the crimes illegals commit; employers who hire migrants should be punished; cancel all tax benefits for migrants and their employers; eased citizenship for those who received education in Russia to attract highly qualified work force; introduce visa regime and external passports to stop unregulated income of migrants; employers hiring migrants from Central Asia would pay two times more of social fees; required Russian test for migrants to develop by 2014; reject children of migrants in schools and kindergartens until they pay taxes – more places for Russians; CIS citizens will have to buy medical insurance as free medicine for foreigners cost hundreds of millions of rubles of Russian taxpayers; make migrants work while residing in camps for illegal migrants to reimburse deportation money; increase exclusion years to 15 years; deportation after one administrative fine; slavery work was legalized for construction of objects for World Championship 2018 – must not to pay more for working during the night time and on weekends, foreigners as volunteers in any number without notifications; Ministry of Economic Development: authorized body would decide the questions of sale and rent of apartments to prevent ethnic enclaves; cancel moratorium on death penalty for migrants in certain cases; mini United State Exam for migrants to reduce migration (20 million are allocated to realize the project); no entrance for 25 years after committed felony in Russia; zero quota for migrants to work in retail; an idea was discussed to force migrants speak only Russian at work, otherwise – punish and deport.

*Survey:* number of people supporting death penalty is decreasing. Moscow is the most blood thirsty, Northern Caucasus – the least; most gastarbeiters in Moscow were from Central Asia, 76,1% did not plan to stay in Russia; 62,4% of working migrants had no contracts, 31% did, 78,9% were not registered anywhere; 86% would have come anyways even if knew about the conditions they would live in; 61,5% felt irritated and afraid of Caucasians and Central Asians, 62% - sure that ethnic conflicts

would continue, 71% supported the 'Stop feeding Caucasus' and 73% supported deportations of migrants, 78% thought migration should have been restricted, 66% support that 'Russia is for Russians'.

*Archetype:* experimental spectacle in a theater – main hero was a gastarbeiter with an Uzbek accent who sat in a hole, later on he got out and started to rage - 'It is my city! I built it!'.

*Comparison:* former prisoners are like gastarbeiters – not paid and can be lawfully fired; what to learn from Russians – they cannot defend their rights nor support each other; pivotal point is strained to the limit – we are not against migrants but when they follow our rules, respect our culture and traditions; we are against caddish behavior and lawlessness of migration.

*Adaptation and Integration:* Union on International Relations propose to establish a private agency that would promote the objectives of Russian national strategy and values that would unite the country, trace the level of tolerance in press and propagate international peace. Strategy was developed in 2012 with the aim to develop a common Russian civil consciousness, preserve and develop poly-cultural diversity, harmonize inter-national relations as well as socially and culturally adapt internal and external migrants; argument over special campuses for migrants – to force them to adapt to Russian life? When come to Russia, migrants would be put into a settlement outside the town and examined for socially dangerous diseases, checked whether have any contacts with employers, whether know Russian language. If not – would stay in campus until learn the minimum and deported if no employers become interested; Russian Orthodox Church received 5 million to realize the project of adaptation centers to teach Russian language, history, and culture for free; children of migrants started learning Russian in kindergartens to prepare for schools – 3mln from state budget; SMS-notifications for migrants to remind and inform about legal information – in Uzbek, Tajik, and Kyrgyz languages; program 'Museums for migrants' which aimed to tell about the history and culture of Moscow was closed because was not supported by gastarbeiters who asked for money to go;

*Other:* over 1000 street cleaners are needed in Moscow; representatives of Muslim

organizations asked to build mosques in 8 cities in the Moscow region; built dormitories are not popular among migrants; dormitories in 'New Moscow' will be built near dumpsites of sand and gravel as well as near storages of liquid chemicals; migrants were not let to the Red Square during New Year celebrations; raids against illegals – their children are left homeless; organizations that used illegal migrants will not be hired for state projects; women from Central Asia give birth in Moscow and Petersburg because it is for free and good conditions; gastarbeiter from Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan worked on a restoration of a fortress of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and caused damage; companies refuse to hire migrants; outdated and expired trains can be used as cabins for migrants; large battle between migrants and representatives of a civic organization raiding the places of residence of illegal migrants – 'Shield of Moscow'; activists fighting illegal migration – battles near dormitories;

*Stereotypes:* Russia became a maternity clinic for Central Asian migrants who want to register their children as Moscowites; rightless migrants; horde of gastarbeiter; half-slaves; Russia and Central Asia is like North America and Latin America – Eden for migrants; cities are full of people wearing home clothing – the fashion brought by migrants; working migrants equal to chaos; migrants are wild; devils who should be destroyed;

*Victims:* there is no single policy regarding migrants and migration – everyone has to decide themselves how to treat migrants based on fears and there is a place for chauvinism. Police can arrest any Tajik and accuse of a murder; chauvinism is still there as many consider themselves more important than Tajik janitors; Uzbek and Azeri migrants killed in revenge acts.

*Numbers:* 10 million illegals worked unregistered while could be bringing money to economy; 12,5 million migrants live in Russia (Ukraine is leading, then – Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and Tajikistan); 10,500 foreigners were deported in 2012 (65% more than in 2011) and 30 million were spent on deportations; commercial companies were fined for using foreign workers – 14,000 in 2,000 organizations; 500 million for inter-national consolidation and adaptation of migrants (spend on events,

forums, Russian language courses); 3,5 million illegals lived and worked in Russia in 2012 – mainly from Central Asia and Caucasus; stop lying about numbers – we go outside and see the situation; FMS: 10,5 million foreign citizens in Russia – 2,5 million are from Uzbekistan, 1,1mln from Tajikistan, and over 500,000 are from Kyrgyzstan; out of 2mln migrants only 150,00 are legal; 2,5 million of illegal migrants from Central Asia are in Moscow; treatment of migrants annually cost 2,5mln that are not reimbursed; 8mln work unofficially; 150,000 per person to deport; 50-55% of all janitors in Moscow are migrants; only 2-3% of construction workers in Moscow are Russians.

*Dangers:* involve 300-400 people's guards to raid illegal migrants; migration leads to conflicts; street cleaner from Uzbekistan broke jaws of a teenager but residents of the neighborhood where he lived wrote a letter to protect him; bloody New Year holidays – Moscow and the region were overwhelmed with murders – half of them are citizens of the CIS; gastarbeiters commit crimes 2 times more often than Russian citizens; too many migrants; published extremist books, 'Nation' series for understanding of real storied from life – links to news on crimes committed by migrants and Caucasians; fight between migrants who were playing football and youth – Moscow area is being built and thus cheap labor is hired. You go to the lake to dream and think but instead see 200 migrants who wash and swim in the lake – they take your place. Not a reason for pogroms but changes your life; private cleaning companies to replace hospital cleaners (300 people) in Moscow with gastarbeiters – Tajiks and Uzbeks. Cheap labor but the quality of work and themselves do not correspond to sanitary conditions; Sobyenin: Moscow will be the most law-abiding city without migrants. People we know nothing about should not hang around; if we do not control migrants, they will start controlling us; our task is not to keep them, but send them back home; wild migrants on our streets are driving potential tools of mass murder; Russians cannot compete with cheap migrants, their work is losing value; migrants cause pressure on social institutes as they do not come alone, but bring 10 people along who cause issues of cultural and language adaptation; Moscow turned into an entertainment center

paralyzed by traffic jams and with uncontrolled flows of millions of migrants, with everyday shootings, brutal murders, and car accidents, life-threatening public transport and total lawlessness on roads; Moscow region is attractive for migrants and thus cause high level of criminality; dangers of ethnic enclaves in Moscow where even police would not be able to enter without armored vehicles; 2 days of decriminalization events in Moscow – 1,000 people are arrested; depressing to live in Moscow – uncontrollable migration and city becomes 'alien' both to migrants and Moscowites and leads to emigration of Russians; danger of bubonic plague from Kyrgyzstan; if there are new job opening in the city – they will be taken by migrants; because of too many migrants from Muslim CIS countries, there is no enough space to locate everyone in mosques – open areas for prayers organized in green areas of Moscow; raids on Moscow markets after a fight at Matveevsky market when a policemen was beaten up – the biggest market Sadovod, 400 illegals arrested; 1000 arrested during decriminalization days in Moscow; illegal migration cause corruption; Eastern Moscow is the most populated by migrants area which makes it non-prestigious and uncomfortable for Moscowites; terrorist attack in Volgograd – crimes of migrants from CIS comprise 30%; fear and rage – two emotions of October; migrants have no desire to socialize – earn money to support families; migrants have no reasons to adopt as very attached to diasporas and know they will be protected; migrants are out of control, second Manezhnaya square; too many migrants, our economy cannot digest everyone and thus appear excessive people who cannot return home; enteric fever brought by migrants; the problem of Moscow is in the number of uneducated migrants who cannot speak Russian, there is no point in integrating seasonal migrants. If they live here, they should try to assimilate and follow our rules of conduct and we should not run after them;

*Raids:* nationalists started working with police; 'There should be no single place where illegals could hide'; NPO organization sheltered illegal migrants in the center of Moscow – 1000 gastarbeiters were arrested; 2000 apartments near market with illegals; meeting against migrants to close the market

and strengthen migration policies;

*Substitution:* why not use homeless instead of migrants from Central Asia? Otherwise millions of our compatriots will be dying on our streets and sub-basements; hire ex-prisoners instead of migrants; free re-training for those who lost their jobs – janitors, cooks, guards, workers, porters; use alcoholics for compulsory work instead of migrants from Central Asia; graduates of special schools should be educated those professions where intellectual work is not needed and replace migrants; student of high schools can replace migrants in housing service; more benefits to organizations hiring disabled and pensioners instead of migrants;

*Corruption:* housing and utilities services use migrants instead of buying new equipment; former FMS officer was selling work permits; police accused of organization of illegal migration;

*Benefit:* no drug addicts among migrants – instead of 200 rubles, had to pay 1,500. Thus, the city earned 650,000 rubles; migrants brought 33bln to the budget BUT because of many illegals – 2-3 times more were lost;

#### 4.1.5 Year 2014. Overall number of published articles – 207 (chart 5)

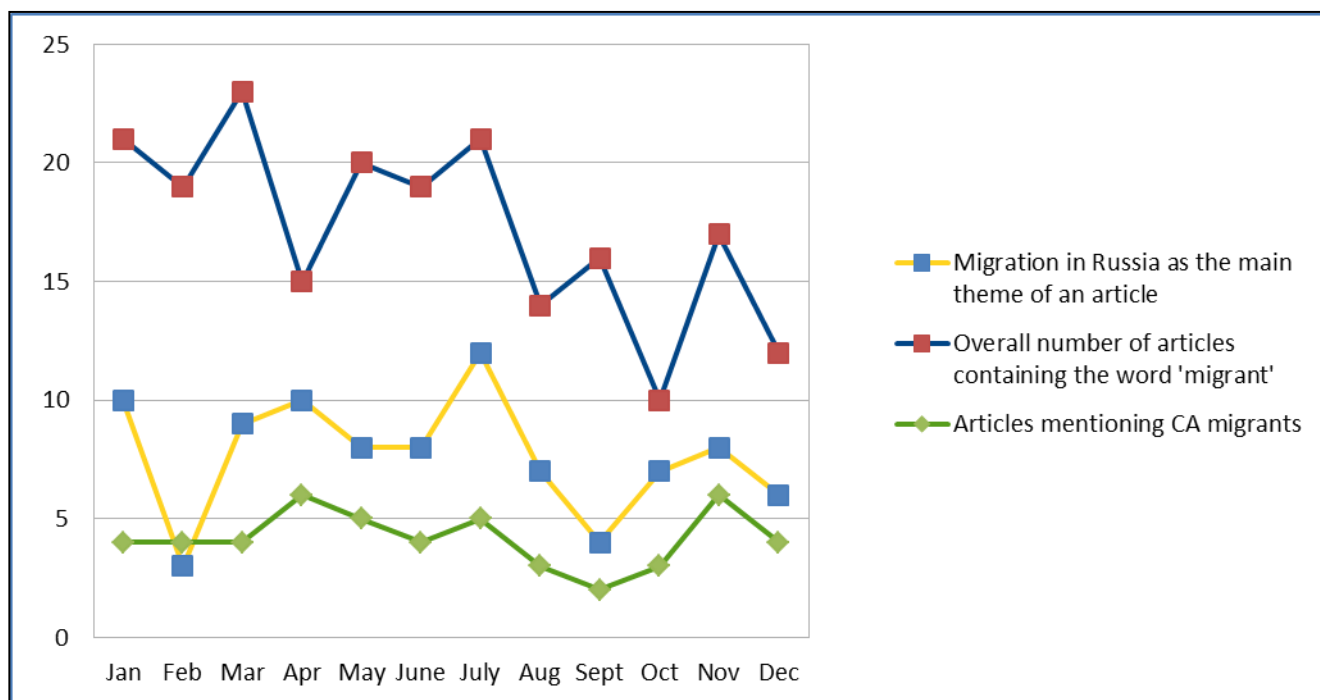


Chart5: Annual number of publications, year 2014.

*Adaptation:* School of migrants' languages to open in Moscow to promote tolerance; center of adaptation and labor to open for migrants when they will be taught Russian language and Law (diasporas should pay for it); Russian Orthodox Church to open centers for migrants in churches in Moscow and plan to work with diasporas; Christian-historical contemporary films will be translated into Tajik, Uzbek and Kyrgyz so that migrants can learn culture and religion of Russia and feel our friendliness; migrants should first adapt and integrate in adaptation centers and then will be given citizenship; migrants as police officers to help more effectively fight with criminology among migrants as well as translators in MIA to promote tolerance but citizens are not ready for it and there are cultural and language differences; 10 million to spend on football games between migrants in Moscow region to increase the level of tolerance; important to talk to residents to avoid inter-national problems – what are they not satisfied with?; migrants will be taught Russian language at workplaces to decrease the possibility of social tensions – Russian is the key to increase tolerance and decrease corruption. Those

who did not learn Russian in schools need support; Moscow resumed the program of cultural adaptation of migrants – visit museums and events with discount or for free; free Russian courses in Mosques; Russian Orthodox Church work on a program for social and cultural adaptation; national cultural centers will become NGOs and participate in migrants' adaptation and integration and help to sustain an inter-national peace; famous Russian writers will conduct 'Literature evenings' with migrants so they better understand Russian culture and feel more comfortable in a society; extra place for migrants during Uraza-Bayram; Adaptation law – 2 million migrants will learn Russian in 2015; should consider all newcomers as each of them is a potential citizen who can work and pay taxes. Those who leave take rich Russian culture with them; Ministry of Labor – to create a roster of available positions for gastarbeiters to choose a legal employer to avoid slavery while FMS will control the number of migrants; new books for children of migrants – special textbooks to learn Russian language and literature for those whose native language is not Russian, also to consider national cultures and languages of migrants' countries; migrants will give master-classes where they would teach their neighbors-Moscowites to cook traditional eastern dishes while locals would share the secrets of their recipes; Russian Orthodox Church prepared a handbook for migrants containing the rules of conduct in public places, on relations between men and women, traditional Russian holidays and cuisine – to help to understand Russian culture and make no mistakes when communicate with native population;

*Benefit:* growth of population for the first time in 20 years because of migrants (plus 300,000 people per year); migrants from Central Asia will remain cleaning streets of Moscow BUT those will be invited who were liked by Moscowites;

*Comparison:* appreciate communication between themselves, live in close communities, spend their last money to call home, their only cultural time – eat in local store; male migrants continue to follow the norms of their native countries and the personal space of women – they have no clear idea at what age girls start sexual life; differences in mentality and nuances in cultural and ethical integration



of Central Asian migrants; in conflict situations – do not use force and do not threaten, dialogue, calm down or you will be perceived as an enemy to fight with; national holidays are loudly celebrated but on an average day – loud music and companies are bad as they bother people, Russian women highly respect themselves and demand respect from others;

*Corruption:* classmate of the president uses gastarbeiters illegally; Minister of Labor to check to resells quotas for migrants; bribes are paid by migrants themselves and drivers – hard to fight corruption with the migration situation like in Russia; Sochi was built by migrants and they were not paid – where 50mln are?; military towns and buildings will be checked for illegal migrants (penetrate everywhere – even military); 30 illegal migrants from Tajikistan and Uzbekistan worked on the territory of the Ministry of Defense; housing services fire gastarbeiters and pay them less than they should; the head of Izmaylovo market organized slave and illegal migration of 1,500 people; illegal migrants found in a sub-basement of Moscow subway – the usual place of their mass concentration; 4 businessmen in Biryulyovo accused of organization of illegal migration; a millionaire was accused of organizing illegal migration at Izmaylovo market; out of hundred illegal migrants arrested during Biryulyovo conflict – only 6 are left; Moscow authorities will be checking concession stands unexpectedly so that employers would not have time to prepare and change migrants working without medical cards and work permits;

*Dangers:* migration situation is perfect for inter-national conflicts; Moscow region is attractive for migrants and therefore – high criminology in the region; pensioners to get a security when receive pensions as often attacked by migrants and drug-addicts; illegal hotels for migrants; foreign drug addicts to be added to a black list and blocked from entrance; local population is afraid of increased level of criminology and inter-national conflicts; not enough places in dormitories of Russian higher education institutes – 500,000 students have no place to stay – given to gastarbeiters; migrants do not pay fees so often that Muslim mufti were approached to talk about paying debts in prayers; Central

Asians should not be granted citizenship as they do not speak Russian and do not know the culture and traditions of Russia but cause very big tension; there are specific migrant diseases – tuberculosis; location in centers is paid by the local and regional budgets as well as medical costs; complicated political and economic situation in country is caused by migration and increase the anger of local residents; migrants with HIV will leave finger prints and be deported; Moscow region Golyanovo as one of the most dangerous places on earth – place where migrants settle; retailers lost 600mln because of shop thieves (considerable part of thieves are migrants); Klin – 42 criminal acts in 6 months, 1138 people were accused; visa regime with Europe is no abolished because Europe is afraid of Central Asian migrants that could flow into Europe; children in kindergartens will be checked for lice every week as contingent there is not safe – often migrants live in overcrowded apartments and do not always follow the rules of hygiene; 3D indicator boards to install in Moscow school to show children how to get home safely and avoid disposal dumps where homeless and gastarbeiters gather as well as criminal places; dead bank offices found dead - suggested to be killed by a gastarbeiter from a construction site nearby; legalization of hostels would bring no good to anyone – there would be hostels for gastarbeiters where no sanitary and fire norms will be regulated – nobody would be happy to have neighbors like that; GTA gang of murdered and robbers from Moscow area are migrants from Central Asia – kept their guns in the house of the head of Prosecutor-General office; crime committed by migrants in Moscow area higher than official statistics say -60-70% of all; air transport service should be prohibited for gastarbeiters as their possible penetration into the sphere can lead to human toll;

*Conflict:* migrant from Uzbekistan killed a football fan in Pushkino – provoked march on streets and raid in Moscow region -130 captured in Golyanovo, 70 illegals were captured in Lubertsy, and 40 in Odintsovo.

*Numbers:* 9.8 million rubles are needed to count migrants and develop transport infrastructure accordingly; in 2013 – 3,6 million illegals resided in Moscow; main money transfers are to Central

Asia – 55% to Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Kyrgyzstan, 500\$ is the average; in 2013, Ukrainian gastarbeiters earned 20 billion in Russia; money transfers reduced by 2 times; 11,5 million migrants in Russia – 3,5 are illegal; 1 million migrants in Moscow region, 300,000 are illegal; black lists in FMS to distance blocking of entrance – 800,000 are included into the list (200,000 from Moscow); in 2011 – 300,000 people were registered at 6,6 million addresses; over 1mln migrants in Moscow area – 300,000 are illegal; 250,000 Tajiks and 1,35 million Uzbeks are in Moscow; police arrested 700 migrants at Moscow constructions; 3839 people were arrested from June 3-9 and will be checked for criminal acts; 200 million to build immigration removal center; over 800,000 people were added to black list and will not be able to enter the country (1/3 are from Moscow); 120,000 illegal migrants; 130,000 illegals are deported; 1mln 276,877 acts of broken rules; around 4,3 million illegal migrants in Russia – suspicious people will be checked near Mosques during celebrations; there are 3 million of legal migrants in Moscow and around 10 million of illegal migrants – every year the city budget pays 5 billion for migrants who call the ambulance; money transfer dropped for the first time since 2013 – unemployment and leave of migrants;

*Other:* FMS gave present to migrants kept at the migrants removal center; residents in Moscow region protested against the construction of a dormitory for migrants, although Russians, and asked for kindergartens instead; Tajiks work in animal shelters and feed animals in a slipshod manner; locals are not satisfied with the conditions where migrants are kept and their behavior; catch migrants during Victory Day celebrations;

*Policies:* common migration codex to be developed and deportations to be cancelled as are too expensive – 40,000 rubles per person, migrants should know the law; replacement if migrants with Russians in Housing and Communal services; employers must pay for a sick leave in case pregnancy – less to migrants; from 'rubber' flats to deportation; migrants to be deported for sexual harassment; not to give citizenship to all Russian speakers- 'we ourselves will destroy Russian nation' – 'do not want

those Tajiks to become our citizens'. Ukraine and the Baltics – yes, but Central Asia should be constrained; positions will be kept for Russians for a month and then advertised for foreigners – the policy of replacement of migrants; imprison those who allow illegals live in dormitories and create 'rubber apartments'; dormitory for Russian street cleaners to be built for 2,5 million rubbles – politics of migrants' replacement; those who leave countries without paying fees will not be let in again; give citizenship to migrants after they serve in Russian army; control over extremist sayings in Mass Media and blogs because of complicated situation within the country; Moscow authorities to get rid of employers who do not pay their foreign employees; introduce entrance fees when entering Russia so that in case of deportation they will be used – 40,000 per person; 40% of Tajik migrants will be unable to enter Russia because of their passports; migration center will be relocated to outskirts so that loud and anti-hygiene migrants do not bother residents; Ministry of education – 7 levels of Russian language, migrants need to have at least 1-4, know 1300 words if apply for citizenship and 850 if apply for work permit; test – self-preparation centers will be organized for migrants but ideally preparation should take place in sending countries; transfer payment to bank accounts instead of cash; test – 46 hard questions were removed from the history of Russia section; fingerprinting of migrants to protect the guests considering the crime they commit; test – migrants will have to learn basic freedoms and rights of Constitution of Russia (spend 3 years and 20mln for realization); reform of 2013 – migrants who lived in sub-basements should be replaced by Russians; test – movies which should be watched by migrants are patriotic and war films; migrants from the EEU will be able to get pensions even if they worked not in their country – to make migrants legal; test – discount for those who legally work in Russia for over 3 year; test – opened intensive 2day preparatory courses in Moscow; test – to receive a work permit, migrants will need to answer only 30% of test questions, or 6 out of 20; test to contain question regarding Russian labor law as the most important is to protect migrants as they should know types of contracts; deport migrants at the expense of employers who derive profit from 'slave labor' of

migrants; mobile police stations to receive complains about migrants; test – books will be translated into Tajik, Kyrgyz, and Turkish; test – check those who passed the Russian language test and literature exams for the existence of fake certificates; test – migrants will be able to pass the test at workplace together with special mobile groups of teachers; toughening of responsibility of individuals for the use of illegal labor; restrain migrants from working in transport, agriculture, and construction sectors and Russian citizens should have a priority; test – the number of questions in law and history were reduced as even Russians do not know the history of the country; felony will become the reason for prohibiting the entrance to Russia; compose a list of students from the CIS region; Russian government refused to reduce the number of migrants in construction area where they can comprise 100% of personnel, but there is a ban on pharmaceutical and retail spheres;

*Civil participation:* those who report 'rubber apartments' will be awarded a certificate and notes will be put in all buildings; private security organizations to participate in identifying illegal migrants;

*Associations:* director of a film was stopped at the border 'like a Tajik' – first and second quality of migrants; Tajiks selling fast food; anti-sanitary; multi-million army; semi-literate; occupation of migrants; migrants are cheaper than Russians;

*Substitution:* migrants from CIS region should be replaced by Russian citizens; during summer holidays, pupils (starting from 14yo) were able to work as street cleaners to replace migrants; use student for work in kindergartens instead of migrants;

*Victims:* officers of Moscow metro did not pay migrants for a year BUT impossible to help as they were illegals; nationalists who beheaded a Tajik migrants in under investigation; when migrants are left without a payment – they have no possibility to survive and go back home, so they turn into illegal migrants. Logical continuation – increasing criminality among migrants;

## 5. General Analysis and Discussion

When commenting on the conflict that took place at the Manezhnaya Square, president Putin addressed the nation with the following words: “Migration leads to inter-national conflicts as ethnic balance changes in many regions. Such changes are deadly dangerous for Russia as bring conflicts”. Since 2010, the number of articles mentioning migrants was increasing and reached its peak in 2013 during Mayoral elections in Moscow (chart 6). 2010 was the year of too many immigrants – the society was claiming to suffocate from their numbers while civil society was attracted to solve the issues of illegal migration through creation of web pages where anyone could report illegal 'rubber apartment' and places of migrants' residence and even nationalist groups were attracted to raids together with police and FMS. 2011 was, probably, the year when Tajiks became the target of hatred out of all Central Asian migrants because of the captured Russian pilots. Was it the reasons of their extreme visibility or not, but until present they remain the most mentioned among all migrants. Moreover, justification of aggression and examples of migrants' penetration to various areas, like military and kindergartens, became widely reported. 2012 was the year when migrants started being used in poems as inferior beings that eat rats and cats while Kyrgyz were ‘bought by wholesale’. In 2013 the conflict in Biryulyovo happened and by then the number of reported dangers and contradicting numbers of illegal migrants in the Moscow particularly were high.

In 2014, news started prevail with information on Russians being excluded from positions while migrants were reported to being used everywhere because of their cheap labor and their rightless position. At the same time, it is visible that the government is accommodating migrants through establishing their legal status through language tests and tests on laws and types of contracts. Through retrieved articles, many comparisons are noticed. For instance, the example of how Uzbeks were described as taxi drivers in 2010 – quiet, do not speak Russian, do not ask more money than agreed, and in 2012 – 'tyr-syr' instead of Russian and ask for more money than agreed.

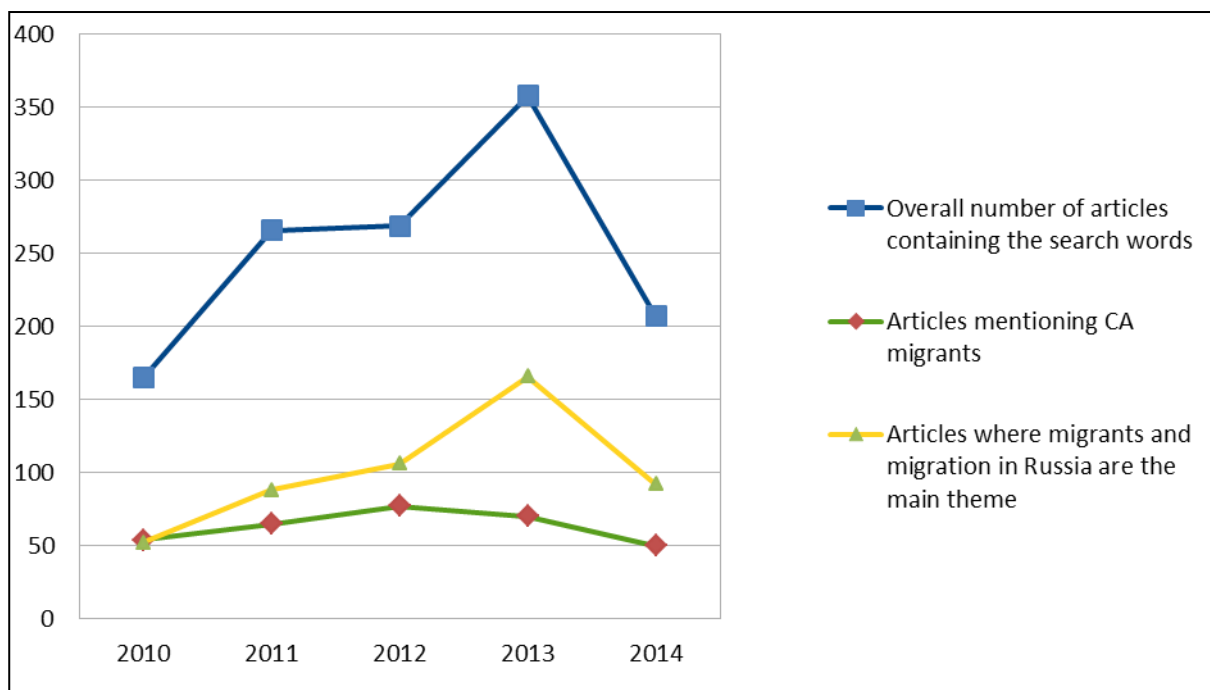


Chart6: Comparison on the number of publications, years 2010-2014.

If compared to the number of articles that were written on Caucasians, it is clearly seen they started decreasing since 2010 (chart 7).

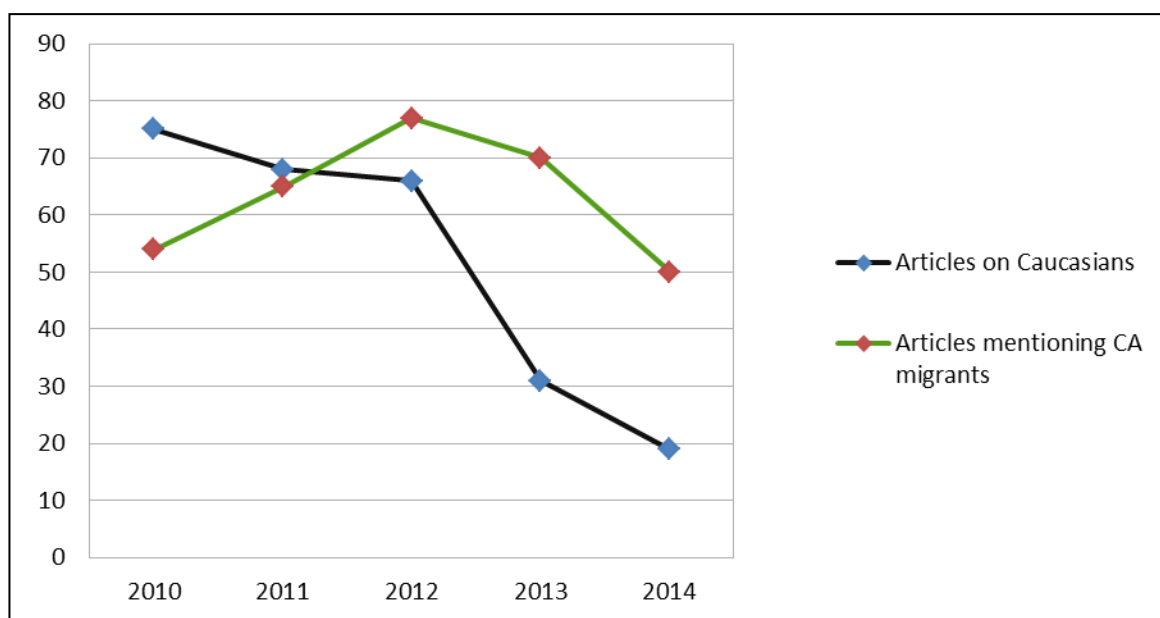


Chart 7: comparison of the number of publications on Caucasians and Central Asians, years 2010-2014.

## 6. Conclusion

In today's Russia, the rise of xenophobia and intolerance is visible to the naked eye. Racial, national, and religious conflicts are multiplying but they are not always caused by real contradictions. Where the hatred in Russian society does originate from? Who are its subjects - migrants, Caucasians? Is it the result of mass media propaganda or political orientation of the government? These were some of the questions I tried to look at through the media content analysis of the main governmental newspaper of Russia. The analysis of the Governmental newspaper already suggests that its content creates discourse that is approved, if not initiated, by the governmental bodies. The analysis of the Rossiyskaya Gazeta illustrated quantitatively through the number of articles on migrants and Central Asians was increasing while qualitatively news became more dangers- and policies-oriented emphasizing the number of illegal migrants within the country and their inability to assimilate until they learn the language. And required language test as well as exams on Russian law illustrate that the work on migrants' accommodation increased significantly since 2014.



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