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Russia as immigration country: policy response to refugees and internally displaced persons

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Russia as immigration country: policy response to refugees and internally displaced persons

Abstract: The problem of people's forced displacement refers to the most acute. People displaced by conflict, persecution or other human rights violations are the most vulnerable groups in the world. The question of how to regulate migration in such a way as to enhance its positive effects, reducing the negative ones is one of the most important in countries. Russia, like other industrialized countries, attracts migrant. However, there are significant differences between European countries and Russia. The aim of the paper is to investigate the problem of refugees and internally displaced persons in the Russian Federation in international legal, political and social aspects and possible ways for its solution. The article reflects general condition of refugees and internally displaced persons, taking into account the specifics of the political socialization process in Russia.

Keywords: forced migrants, refugees, internally displaced persons, process of socialization

JEL Classification Codes: F22, F660, J61, J24

Introduction

In the Russian Federation, the problem of regulating the population migration is one of the most acute, since the development of migration processes takes place in specific and severe forms. The disintegration of the USSR did not stop the conflicts between the peoples, but merely transferred them from the internal affairs of one country

to the sphere of interstate relations¹. The aim of the paper is to investigate the problem of refugees and internally displaced persons in the Russian Federation in international legal, political and social aspects and possible technologies for its solution.

The authors give an overview of the peculiarities of migration situation in the dynamics, from the Soviet Union to the Russian Federation in the past three decades. The difficulties and mistakes in the regulation of forced migration processes are considered. The authors give an overview of existing approaches to the problem of forced migration. It is shown situation of migrants, new laws, new policy, problems and challenges after change in the first decade of 21th century. The recently arisen situation with forced migrants from Ukraine is analyzed. The conclusion about the low efficiency of the migration policy of the stated period is made. The authors conclude that it is necessary to simplify the acquisition of Russian citizenship for Ukrainian migrants, who are identical ethnically with the Russians and can be easily integrated into Russian society. The materials of Russian authors and specialized agencies are used, new laws of the Russian Federation are given, and the experience of foreign authors in the field of migration policy and especially forced migration was used.

1. The general condition of refugees and internally displaced persons and formation of their problem in modern Russia

The refugee process is part of the entire migration process, taking place both in Russia and in the world as a whole. At the same time, refugees are defined as forced migrants. Such an important criterion as “forced” allows refugees to be identified in the general large flow of migrants, and determines the nature of such migrations.

That is, refugees are that category of migrants who leave their places of permanent residence not on goodwill, but because of some objective reasons that do not allow them to stay. The official appearance of

1 L. Rybakovsky, 'Problem migrations of new time on the post-soviet space' (chapter 3), in: *Transformation of migration processes in the post-soviet space* (collective monograph), 2011, <http://rybakovsky.ru/migracia3b4.html>.

the concept of “refugee” can be said since Russia’s ratification of the 1992 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees.

However, the official definition of the term “refugee” in the Russian Federation was received with the adoption in 1993 of the Law “On Refugees”². According to the Law “a refugee” is recognized as a person who arrives or wishing to come to Russian Federation territory, who does not have the citizenship of the Russian Federation, who was forced or has the intention to leave his place of permanent residence in the territory of another state due to violence or other forms of persecution against him or a real danger of being subjected to violence or other persecution on grounds of race or nationality, religion, language, as well as belonging to a particular social group or political beliefs.

As for the other category of forced migrants – *internally displaced persons* (IDP) or “resettlers”, according to the Law on Forced Migrants³, a citizen of the Russian Federation who has been forced or intends to leave his place of permanent residence in the territory of another state, is considered to be a forced migrant, either on the territory of the Russian Federation as a result of acts committed against him or members of his family, violence or harassment in other forms, or a real risk of being persecuted for reasons of race or nationality, religion, language, membership of a particular social group or political opinion; connection with the conduct of hostile campaigns in relation to individuals, mass violations of public order and other circumstances, which substantially infringes on human rights.

Both, refugees and IDP, leave their places of permanent residence, breaking up the established foundations for years, throwing their material assets. *Refugees* are characterized by suddenness, stressfulness of the situation, unpreparedness for departure, uncertainty of a new place of residence, lack of necessary links and information on job opportunities⁴.

2 Federal Law of 19 February 1993 No. 4528-1 “On Refugees” (as amended and supplemented), <http://base.garant.ru/10105682> [2018-09-05].

3 Law of the Russian Federation of 19 February 1993 No. 4530-1 “On Forced Migrants” (as amended and supplemented), <http://base.garant.ru/10105693>.

4 M. F. Chernysh (ed.), *Socio-Economic Factors of Inter-Ethnic Tensions in the Regions of the Russian Federation*, Moscow: The Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 2015, p. 107.

The “resettler” is a person who, albeit necessarily, moved from one place to another. It is assumed this person has a place where he had settled, more or less prepared by an economic basis, the decision on relocation, as a rule, extended in time, etc⁵.

The only difference between the concepts of “refugee” and “forced migrant” is that the latter is characterized by the presence of Russian citizenship. The separation of these two concepts confirms the existence of two different laws – the Russian Federation Law “On Refugees” and the Russian Federation Law “On Forced Migrants”. However, in practice, both concepts regulate a single sphere of relations⁶. The scope of the rights of refugees and IDP, according to the provisions of these laws, is the same. Therefore, the division of categories of refugees and IDP seems artificial, and therefore unnecessary. Forced migrants can be referred to, as a certain kind of refugees – the so-called “internal refugees”⁷.

In practice, there is no pure category of refugees considered in classification. Individual refugees can be considered simultaneously from the positions of different groups and species. Therefore, for example, refugees from Chechnya can be both leaving, internal, refugees “from violence”, permanent or temporary. Refugees from Latvia – coming, external, political, permanent or temporary.

This important circumstance requires from the migration policy of the state adequate differentiation and flexibility of its measures. The peculiarity of the process of forced migration is, that the refugee problem is of a massive nature, but at the same time this process for each person is individual and is determined by its subjective opinion on this or that situation, its reaction to a specific problem.

There were actually enacted a number of democratic laws in the first two years of existence of the independent Russian state. The laws were created according to Western standards, but rather expressed the desire of the country’s leadership to ensure international recognition of Russia as a civilized European state than a serious intention to create a legal field in the country.

5 Ibid., p. 112.

6 Ibid., p. 113.

7 S. Andrejso and M. Kazankova, *Legal problems of refugees in the context of forced migration processes*, St. Petersburg: Med. press, 2005, 136 p.

There were not followed adoption of the next laws by corresponding by-laws of the executive power, which would give the law a practical opportunity to be realized. In addition, the emergence of new forms of property and new legal relations was not supported by the legislative base. So, in the vast state, which is post-Soviet Russia, there were ample opportunities for the development of arbitrariness in all spheres of Russian society life⁸.

The non-working new legislation combined with the old practice of volitional decisions, taken centrally in the past, leads to the fact that the criminal world “right”, in which an alien person, is unprotected, is gaining more and more.

2. Formation of the problem of refugees and internally displaced persons in modern Russia

The new economic and legal situation required the support of at least the poorest part of the population. However, the system of any effective social protection was not created. At the beginning of 1998, according to official data, more than 32 million people were living below the poverty line, that is, 22% of the Russian population. This figure increased significantly after subsequent crises⁹.

Largely, the state of complete legal and social insecurity is characteristic of forced migrants: migrants and refugees from the countries of the former Soviet Union that have poured into Russia from the fireplaces of armed conflicts and ethnic tension. As well as to refugees from third countries who were in Russia at the time of the USSR collapse or arrived to Russia in the hope of implementing here the 1951 Convention and Russian Federation Law “On Refugees”. It should be noted that in Russia there is *no law on repatriation*.

Who asks for asylum in Russia? – It is, first, our former fellow citizens – from hot spots and then however, in the absence of a law on

8 E. Mamontova, ‘The problem of forced migration in Russia at the present stage’, *Historical, Philosophical, Political and Legal Sciences, Culturology and Art History. Theory and Practice*, no. 8(3), Tambov: Gramota, 2015, ISSN 1997-292X, <http://www.gramota.net/materials/3/2015/8-3/34.html>.

9 Russian Federation State Statistic Service, http://www.gks.ru/wps/wcm/connect/rosstat_main/rosstat/en/main/.

repatriation, all of these people have to apply for refugee status or for forced IDP.

Most of the refugees from the so-called third world also have a direct bearing on Russia's policy. About 100,000 Afghans cannot return to their homeland after the Russian troop's withdrawal from their land and the fall of the Najibullah regime. These refugees from North Korea and other countries.

The situation of the Chechen war victims is not regulated by any law, since there is not and cannot exist a law determining the situation when the state destroys its own cities and its citizens, in the name of the Constitution or any other abstract idea¹⁰.

In 1997 the situation began to change for the better. Resolution of the Government of the Russian Federation No. 510 "On the procedure for paying compensation for lost housing and property to citizens affected by the resolution of the crisis in the Chechen Republic and who left it irretrievably" was adopted on April 30, 1997. It does not provide for any measures to compensate the lost to those who remained in Chechnya. However, even among families "irretrievably" left, only 7.5 thousand families received that meager compensation for lost housing and property, which the Russian Federation Government agreed to pay them¹¹.

Forced migration is a complex, multidimensional phenomenon that is not adequately studied in the scientific literature of Russia and other Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) countries.

According to demographers, the Russian population outside of Russia grew significantly faster than inside it. Between the censuses of 1959 and 1970 – three times faster, and between 1970 and 1979 – twice. By the time of the census in the USSR in 1989 in the Union republics were already lived 25.3 million Russian¹². In most of the republics, they occupied the second place in number among the nations inhabiting them, at that in some republics the titular nation was slightly more than half of the total population¹³.

10 Information portal of the Federal Migration Service: <https://ufms-russia.ru/> [2018-07-15].

11 Ibid.

12 Report on the results and main activities of the Federal Migration Service for 2013 and the planning period 2014-2016, www.fms.gov.ru/about/statistics/plans/details/ [2018-07-18].

13 Ibid.

The refugee problem in Russia was practically unknown in the Soviet period. The collapse of the USSR dramatically changed the migration situation in the post-Soviet space. The ongoing processes of ethnic demarcation and discrimination in rights forced millions of Russian and Russian-speaking people living in former Soviet republics to move to Russia¹⁴. In addition, after the removal of the “iron curtain” came the flow of non-CIS citizens who sought asylum in Russia or trying to move through the territory of Russia to the West. Despite the severe economic crisis, the country had to solve urgently complex issues of ensuring the rights of forced migrants.

The adopted laws of the Russian Federation “On Refugees” and “On Forced Migrants” of 19.02.1993, established two legal statuses for forced migrants: a refugee and an internally displaced person (IDP) which gave migrants a number of advantages in comparison with the refugee status. Citizens of the former USSR could easily acquire Russian citizenship, which enabled them to obtain the status of forced migrant.

The citizens of Russia, compelled to leave the regions covered by the riots (internally displaced persons), could also claim the status of the forced migrant. Citizens of the far abroad, who could not easily acquire Russian citizenship, could claim only refugee status.

In May 1993, Russia joined the UN 1951 Convention, which imposes on its obligations to ensure the rights of forced migrants at the proper level. However, in the conditions of the economic crisis and a powerful flow of IDPs from the former union republics, was quickly revealed the impossibility for refugees and IDPs to receive most of the declared benefits.

The period of 1992-1997, which characterized by the highest heat of nationalism, ethnic and social conflicts in most of the former republics, became the biggest migratory wave of displaced people in Russia – 3319.3 thousand people. The difficulties of their arrangement in Russia led to the fact that in the next ten years the flow of IDP began to decline rapidly, facilitated by the decline of nationalistic sentiments and the gradual adaptation of Russians to life in the newly independent states.

14 E. Mamontova, *Features of contemporary migration situation in Russia*, 2013, <http://vernadsky.tstu.ru/pdf/2013/08/15.pdf>.

In the years 1992-2007 net migratory gain of the Russian population due to forced migrants from CIS and Baltic countries amounted to 5101.9 thousand people. The influx of refugees to Russia also began to decline rapidly¹⁵.

The Russian Federation Law "On Refugees", adopted in 1993, did not fully take into account the existing socio-political realities in Russia. Therefore, changes and amendments to the law "On Refugees", adopted in June 1997, were dictated by the need to protect primarily the national interests of the Russian state. The new version of this law provided for very strict restrictions on the granting of refugee status. As of January 1, 1998, 235.1 thousand people had refugee status in Russia, and in 1997, out of 1100 people from 52 countries applying for refugee status received only 63 people. In 1998, 510 people received refugee status, while 106.7 thousand refugees were withdrawn from the register due to "ordering registration" (A. G. Vishnevsky, 1998).

During the period 1992-2002, 60.1% of internally displaced persons and refugees have lost their status due to various reasons, the main one being the expiration of the status.

The high rate of removal from the register of forced migrants (despite the fact that many of their problems were not solved) clearly demonstrated the desire of authorities at all levels to relieve themselves of the burden of caring for forced migrants.

Obtaining the status of a refugee or an IDP did not give special advantages to those who arrived, since the state chronically failed to fulfill its obligations to its owners (especially in terms of providing housing – the issue most painful for immigrants). Most immigrants did not apply for status, but a significant part of immigrants, especially the first wave, managed to obtain the status of refugees or internally displaced persons.

Since the second half of the 1990s, the legislation on refugees and IDP has become tougher, obtaining a corresponding status is seriously complicated. The influx of forced migrants, sharply declining in the second half of the 1990s, towards the beginning of the new century is running out: if in the mid-1990s hundreds of thousands of people received the status of refugee or forced migrant each year, in 2003 –

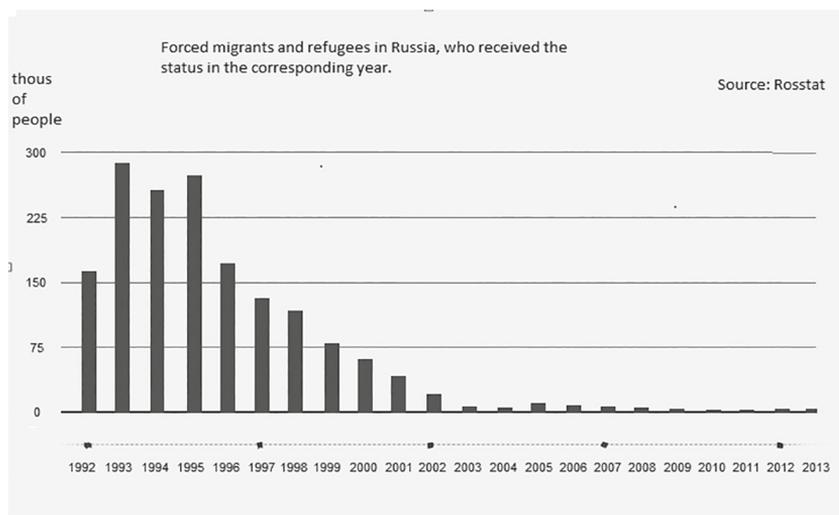
15 I. V. Plaksina, *Constitutional and legal regulation of migration processes*, Moskva 2001, p. 21-22.

only 4,700 people. Most of the forced migrants who arrived in Russia in the second half of the 1990s – people from Central Asian countries who do not intend to return and who are striving for the earliest adaptation in Russia, which is facilitated by the presence of Russian citizenship or the status of forced migrants.

In contrast to the past forced migrants, most of whom were persons evacuated from areas of armed conflict, they have had the opportunity to prepare for the migration to Russia, including the export of property and sale of real estate, acquisition of citizenship. In fact, it is difficult to prove their forced nature of migration, as required by law.

In the 2000s, the flow of forced migrants completely dried up: one or two hundred people received refugee status per year; a dozen people forced to move in other places, and one or two thousand – temporary shelters. At the beginning of 2014, the refugee status were 632 people, displaced people status – 30834 person¹⁶.

Fig.1 Forced migrants and refugees in Russia, who received the status in the corresponding year



Source: Russian Federation State Statistic Service, http://www.gks.ru/wps/wcm/connect/rosstat_main/rosstat/en/main/.

¹⁶ Levada-Center, *Intolerance and Xenophobia*, 2016, <http://www.levada.ru/2016/10/11/intolerantnost-i-ksenofobiya/>.

However, in 2014 the problem of forced migration again found itself in the spotlight due to the arrival of hundreds of thousands of refugees from the east of Ukraine. This situation required urgent measures to provide all-round assistance to forced migrants from Ukraine, for which adopted a number of legislative acts¹⁷.

On July 22, 2014, the Government of the Russian Federation adopted resolution No. 690, according to which applications of citizens of Ukraine for temporary asylum in the territory of the Russian Federation considered in a simplified procedure. According to the FMS of Russia, from April 1, 2014 to April 8, 2015, on the territory of Russia entered 953981 citizens from the southeast of Ukraine, who left the country in an emergency and mass order. Among them, 5,919 people applied to the migration service for the grant of refugee status, for the provision of temporary shelter – 331582 people, for granting citizenship of the Russian Federation – 78481 people, for a temporary residence permit – 180372 people, for a residence permit – 36826 people, for participating in the State program of resettlement of compatriots – 96436 people. 11 billion rubles have been allocated for the support and humanitarian assistance to Ukrainian refugees¹⁸.

It is obvious that the majority of Ukrainian refugees unwilling to give up Ukrainian citizenship and will return home when the situation improves. However, more than 170 thousand people have already decided to become citizens of the Russian Federation. The internal political situation in Ukraine is unlikely to stabilize nearest future. Simplification of the procedure for obtaining Russian citizenship will help speed up the move to Russia for those who want it (most of them are ethnic Russians living in the territory of modern Ukraine). In addition, more than one million Ukrainian citizens live on earnings in Russia, often on an illegal basis. The overwhelming majority of these labor migrants are natives of the southeast of Ukraine, who are spiritually and ethnically identical to Russians (natives of the western regions prefer to go to work in the countries of the European Union). The majority of Ukrainian labor mi-

17 Council for Development of Civic Society Under the President of the Russian Federation, *The Consolidated Report on Measures for Provision of Help to Persons Who Were Forced to Leave the Territory of Ukraine and Placed in the Territory of the Russian Federation*, 31 October 2014, <http://president-sovet.ru/documents/read/282/>.

18 Information portal of the Federal Migration Service: <https://ufms-russia.ru/>.

grants have families at homeland, but they are often afraid to go home, fearing possible problems if they return to Ukraine. Many of them also would like to stay for a permanent residence in Russia and take advantage of the simplified procedure for obtaining Russian citizenship¹⁹.

Thus, Russia has the chance, with minimal economic costs, to replenish its population at the expense of an ethnically related people, which can easily integrate into Russian society. The government needs to be pragmatic and far-sighted and not repeat the mistakes of the late 1990s, when the imperfection of migration legislation and the difficulties of settlement sharply inhibited the influx of Russian and Russian-speaking people from the post-Soviet space to Russia.

3. State policy in the field of forced migration in Russia

The migration policy of the 1990s was adequate to the challenges of that time. Formed in 1992, the Federal Migration Service was forced to deal with the development of legislation, migration programs, the organization of reception and accommodation of forced migrants, information support, and many other things, including those that are uncharacteristic (for example, housing construction).

After a decade and a half, the scale of the problems that needed to be solved from scratch becomes clearer. Already by 1994, a harmonious system of legal foundations, organizational support, instruments for the implementation and financing of migration policy was created. In 2000, the migration policy of Russia underwent significant changes: From restrictive in the beginning of the century, when the fight against migration was under the flag of combating illegal migration, to liberalization in 2005. Then, in the aftermath of the crisis period of 2008-2009, was undertaken an attempt to understand the challenges, goals and tasks facing the country and the role of migration in solving these problems²⁰.

19 E. S. Olenitskay, 'From Ukraine in the Territory of Russia: Problems and Experience of Crisis Phenomena Management in Intercultural Communication', in: *Russia in the Period of Transformation: Crisis Communication and Anti-Crisis Management*, Yaroslavl: Academy MUB&NT, 2014, p. 160.

20 On Amending the State Program to Promote Voluntary Resettlement in Russia of Compatriots Living Abroad, approved by Presidential Decree No. 637 of 22 June 2006, Presidential Decree No. 531 of July 25, 2014, <http://graph.document.kremlin.ru/page.aspx?3646159/>.

The adoption of the Russian Federation Concept of State Policy for the period up to 2025 (2012), an action plan for its implementation stopped heated debate about the prospects and the role of migration in the development of Russia. However, the policy reversed, innovations introduced into the legislation and practices of its implementation often come into conflict with goals and objectives.

The administrative and legal foundations of the Russian Federation's migration policy reflected in two blocks of norms. The first block (material group) should include the norms establishing the rights and freedoms of two categories of subjects: citizens and not citizens of the Russian Federation. These norms used to establish the limits of the restriction of the persons' rights with respect to whom the migration policy implemented

The second set of norms (procedural group) establishes requirements for the state bodies' activities on the implementation of its functions in general and in the sphere of migration in particular.

Migration policy serves different categories of people who have their own independent goals. The provision and maintenance of the refugees and IDP status conditioned by the country's acceptance of humanitarian obligations. The state should use the labor potential of this people' category. At the same time, the pace of living standards in the world, and especially in Russia, outpaces the pace of population migration, which only confirms the leading role of living standards in modern migration. The standard of living is a generalizing indicator that reflects almost all socio-economic changes taking place in the surrounding world. Many modern phenomena are a consequence of migration processes. For example, according to N. Rimashevskaya globalization origins arise from population migrations, including those related to population growth and the development of new territories²¹.

In the scientific literature, various positions characterize the migration policy of Russia. There are opinions about the absence of migration policy, and immigration policy is considered specific and divided

21 N. Rimashevskaya, 'Globalization and the World Population: Sociodemographic and Ethno-Demographic Changes', in: *The Boundaries of Globalization: Difficult Issues of Modern Development*, Moskva 2003.

into stages. However, most likely, one cannot say about the absence of Russia's migration policy or, on the contrary, about its final formation. Initially, Russia's migration policy with respect to refugees was not based on the principle of protecting refugees, but on protecting the state from refugees. Not to observe people and their problems is the main tactic of the Russian government. Naive hope that all in some way "will resolve itself".

Considerable attention was paid to forced migration in the 1990s when there were significant movements of forced migrants across the territory of the post-Soviet space. During this period it was received basic laws on forced migration, created a migration service, primarily focused on solving the problems of refugees and IDPs. NGOs and their networks involved in solving the problems of forced migrants are emerging, and UNHCR is starting to work in Russia (agency of the United Nations set up in 1951 to aid, protect, and monitor refugees). The conflict in Chechnya has a significant impact on internal displacement in this period.

In the 2000s, the emphasis in regulating migration processes shifted to regulation of labor and counteracting illegal migration. Statistics data are very indicative: if in 1997 the number of recognized refugees was about 240 thousand people, then in the 2000s it was 500-800 people. Yes, many of the refugees returned to their country of origin, some of them have taken Russian citizenship, some left for third countries. But not all. In the same period, European countries, which have adopted a huge number of refugees, are beginning to tighten their legislation. Russia enters this period in a similar way.

The situation changed the events in Ukraine, which began in 2014, but there is a significant influence of politics. It is curious that the policy of granting asylum has not changed with regard to citizens of other countries, but by reorienting the system of admission of citizens to the reception of citizens of Ukraine, the FMS made it difficult to grant asylum to citizens of other countries, they were pushed into the background. It is also worth noting that the EU countries encountered in the 2000s with a much larger influx of IDP than Russia (FMS, 2015). Moreover, the social guarantees provided to refugees and asylum seekers in the EU are much more significant than in Russia. Excessive obstacles in obtaining refugee status in Russia, given the very modest social guarantees, do not give tangible savings to the budget.

Moreover, most often provided temporary asylum status also contain a smaller list of rights.

The above suggests the existence of prohibitive and restrictive (de facto) policy for the reception of forced migrants in Russia. At the same time, due to arguments presented above, such a policy is unjustified from both humanitarian and economic positions. It should be remembered that a large part of asylum requests are submitted by the able-bodied male population, who often know Russian, who have been trained in Russia, which greatly facilitates the integration and assimilation of asylum seekers in Russia. It can be argued that the declared by Russia migration policy in the field of forced migration corresponds to international standards, but in fact prohibitive installations in granting asylum prevail. Despite the declared readiness to grant refugee status (asylum), Russia makes it very rarely and reluctantly.

Speaking of internally displaced persons from Ukraine in 2014, it should be noted that Russia did not have legal acts providing for such a mass movement in such a short time. These events, have enriched Russia with practical experience in the sphere of mass reception of forced migrants, should become the basis for the development of interdepartmental regulatory and legal acts regulating the reception, placement, granting of status to forced migrants. Asylum seekers placement decisions was made at the federal level in terms of redistribution by regions, and there was no heavy opposition from the regions to the admission of forced migrants. However, this circumstance should not be encouraging in the future²². Such unanimity and success in the reception of asylum seekers were due to a number of specific circumstances:

- Ethnic, religious, linguistic and historical proximity of the population of the east of Ukraine to the population of Russia;
- Common border, absence of visa regime;
- Political situation in Ukraine;

22 Information on the situation regarding citizens of Ukraine and stateless persons who left the country in an emergency and mass order, data of the Federal Migration Service of the Russian Federation of 8 April 2015, http://www.fms.gov.ru/about/statistics/info_o_situatsii_v_otnoshenii_grazhdan_ukrainy.

- The decision on the admission Ukraine citizens and their assistance supported personally by the President of the Russian Federation V.V. Putin;
- A significant part of refugees who moved to Russia did not apply for asylum, but stayed for three months, after which they received a temporary residence permit;
- Costs for social integration of the state have been reduced due to the presence of relatives in Russia from a significant proportion of the people who moved to Russia.

In addition, due to the activity of civil society, citizens of Ukraine were provided with material and organizational support through charity.

- Active support provided to help citizens of Ukraine in the media, in speeches of representatives of state authorities, religious associations, especially the Russian Orthodox Church.

Describing the actions of the Russian authorities to attract Ukrainians seeking asylum in 2014, a number of circumstances can be noted.

- There was a terminological confusion about this category; they were called “refugees”, “forced migrants”. Citizens of Ukraine were not given a detailed explanation of the status in the media, but later the notes to “citizens of Ukraine” explaining the procedure for granting refugee status and temporary asylum were posted on the Internet resources of the FMS. However, the main burden of placing the arrivals Russian authorities from the very beginning tried to shift to relatives – citizens of Russia.
- Moscow and St. Petersburg quickly introduced the so-called. “Zero quota”, that is, they ceased to accept applications for temporary asylum and refugee status, respectively, citizens of Ukraine who could not obtain a temporary residence permit (TRP) in these entities were required to apply in other regions. For example, from St. Petersburg they offered to go to the Arkhangelsk region and the Republic of Karelia.
- Distribution by Federation’s territorial subjects is quite interesting – in fact, it was an attempt to send asylum seekers to the most economically unsuccessful regions. It is quite understandable and saving the budget – in such regions it is cheaper to provide social housing, and the approach is not new – the distribution according to the program “compatriots” looks similar. The re-

sult was predictable: a significant number of asylum seekers refused to go to the specified subjects, some of them returned to the more economically developed regions of Russia. This is another example of the difficulties in regulating migration flows.

The problem is that if there is a massive movement of forced migrants from another country and under other circumstances, the situation may begin to develop in a completely different scenario. Indicative is the situation with the reception of Afghan refugees in Russia, when no political decision was taken and only a few hundred thousand Afghan citizens were granted refugee status or temporary asylum.

In order to improve the migration policy in the field of forced migration, it is necessary to:

- amendment of administrative regulations on granting refugee status, political asylum and status of forced migrant;
- adoption of a separate document on the implementation of policies on the regulation of forced migration, asylum;
- expansion of rights and social guarantees for asylum seekers, as well as for those who have received refugee status, forced migrants, political and temporary asylum;
- addressing the issue of the status of so-called “environmental migrants”;
- clear division of responsibilities in the area of migration between the Russian Federation and its subjects;
- the establishment of the Office of Asylum in the central office of the Federal Migration Service;
- Improvement of professional training and retraining of personnel working with forced migrants.

It is also possible to adopt a Federal Program on forced migration, which will include a set of measures to receive, accommodate, and social adaptation of forced migrants.

Conclusions

Forced migration is a complex, multidimensional phenomenon that has not been adequately studied in the scientific literature of Russia and other CIS countries. Forced migrants can be referred to as a certain kind of refugees – the so-called “internal refugees”. In practice, there is no pure category of refugees considered in classification. Indi-

vidual refugees can be considered simultaneously from the positions of different groups and species. This circumstance requires from the migration policy of the state adequate differentiation and flexibility of its measures.

The collapse of the USSR dramatically changed the migration situation in the post-Soviet space. The ongoing processes of ethnic demarcation and discrimination in rights forced millions of Russian and Russian-speaking people living in former Soviet republics to move to Russia. Citizens of the former USSR could easily acquire Russian citizenship, which enabled them to obtain the status of forced migrant.

The citizens of Russia, compelled to leave the regions covered by the riots (internally displaced persons), could also claim the status of the forced migrant. Citizens of the far abroad, who could not easily acquire Russian citizenship, could claim only refugee status. However, in the conditions of the economic crisis and a powerful flow of IDP from the former union republics, it was quickly revealed that it was impossible for refugees and IDPs to receive most of the declared benefits. In the next ten years the flow of internally displaced persons began to decline rapidly. However, in 2014 the problem of forced migration again found itself in the spotlight due to the arrival of hundreds of thousands of refugees from the east of Ukraine. Thus, Russia has received the chance, with minimal economic costs, to replenish its population at the expense of an ethnically related people, which can easily integrate into Russian society.

The reality suggests the existence of prohibitive and restrictive (de facto) policy for the reception of forced migrants in Russia. At the same time, due to arguments presented above, such a policy is unjustified from both humanitarian and economic positions. The declared migration policy of Russia in the field of forced migration basically corresponds to international standards, but in fact prohibitive installations in granting asylum prevail. In order to improve the migration policy in the field of forced migration, it is necessary to introduce a number of amendments to it. It is also possible to adopt a Federal Program on forced migration, which will include a set of measures to receive, accommodate, and social adaptation of forced migrants.

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