

Anthropoflows and inter-ethnic cooperation at the area of the South-Russian region

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ABSTRACT

The urgency stems from the fact that in the post-Soviet period as a result of intense migratory flows on the background of natural depopulation, deformation of traditional ethnodemographical structure of society took place, which led to the occurrence of migrantophobia and distribution of local inter-ethnic clashes. The aim of the article is to study the influence of intensity and anthropoflows structure on the character of interethnic relations in regional society.

The study is based on the use of the following methods: analysis and interpretation of secondary statistical data and legal acts; the authors' study, in which 851 people were interviewed.

Representativeness of the conducted research procedures is ensured through the development and implementation of a multi-stage stratified sampling (type of settlement, the settlement area, respondent's gender, age subgroup, level of education, socio-professional and socio-economic status). The object of the study was population aged 18 years that are residents in the territory of the Rostov region. Territorial sample included the city of Rostov-on-Don, 9 cities and 8 districts of the Rostov region.

Key trends of anthropoflows are to reduce the number of Russian-speaking population of the region against the background of growth of the North Caucasus, South Caucasus and Central Asian diasporas. Factors that determine the state of relations between old residents, diasporas and migrants include: localization of migrants, history of diaspora presence, sub-ethnic and confessional structure of migrant communities, level of socio-economic development of recipient-territory of migration, niche of employment activity of migrants, character of motives have caused migration flow.

Comprehensive analysis allows forecasting the development of inter-ethnic relations in the next 10-15 years.

KEYWORDS

Precarization, social and labor relations, precarious employment, flexibility, informal labor, precariat

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1. Introduction

The present period of social development can be described as the era of global migrations, which involves most of the countries and regions of the world (Auswertung, 2011). This trend is accompanied by a transformation of the traditional ethnic structures and actualizes the problems of interethnic interaction of the host population and migrants, causing a crisis or the rapid growth of national identities (West, 2011). The South of Russia

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is one of the most densely populated areas of the country with a complex and multi-confessional mosaic multicultural population. Currently, more than 26 million people live in the subjects of the Russian Federation that are attributable to the South Russian region, representing more than 18% of the total population of the country, despite the fact that the area of the territory is only 5% of the area of Russia. Totally South Russia is inhabited by representatives of more than 150 ethnic groups and all the world religions. Regional education related to the South of Russia, can be divided into two groups of anthropoflow dynamics. The first group consists of regions with high levels of natural increase of the population (these are the republics of the North Caucasus). These regions are the donors of domestic migration. The second group includes regions with low levels of natural increase (these are regions of Southern and North Caucasian Federal District, as well as the Republic of Crimea and Kalmykia). These subjects are the recipients of domestic and international migration and donors of domestic migration of centripetal type. The Rostov region is a regional hub of the South Russian entity, whose state of anthropoflow and character of development of inter-ethnic relations is reputed to illustrate similar processes in other Russian-speaking regions of the South of Russia (for example, the situation in Stavropol or Krasnodar, Volgograd and Astrakhan region). Accordingly, the Rostov region is an indicative object for examination of anthropoflow state as a factor of development of inter-ethnic relations, and the results of this examination can be extrapolated to the general situation in the region in southern Russia.

2. Method

The study is based on the use of the following methods:

- analysis and interpretation of statistical data based on such sources as the collections of the results of the National Population Census (1979, 1989, 2002, 2010) and statistical collections of monitoring the population of the regional bodies of the Federal State Statistics Service;

- analysis of legal acts of the federal and regional levels, regulating the status of the migration process in Russia, the status of certain ethno-cultural communities, the nature of inter-ethnic relations in general;

- secondary analysis of the data of sociological surveys of the population of Southern Russia regions held by Russian and regional research centers and published in corresponding journals;

- analysis of the results of a sociological survey of the population of the Rostov region, the program and the tools of which are developed with the direct participation of the authors of the article. As part of the authors' study, 851 people have been surveyed, representativeness of conducted research procedures is ensured by the development and implementation of a multi-stage stratified sampling (type of settlement, the territory of the settlement, the respondent's gender, age subgroup, level of education, socio-professional status, socio-economic status). The object of the study was population aged 18 years that are residents in the territory of the Rostov region. Territorial sample included the city of Rostov-on-Don, 9 cities and 8 districts of the Rostov region.

3. Results

The population of the Rostov region in the post-war period was characterized by a steady growth, as evidenced by the five all-Russian population census data 1959, 1970, 1979, 1989 and 2002. (Fig. 1).

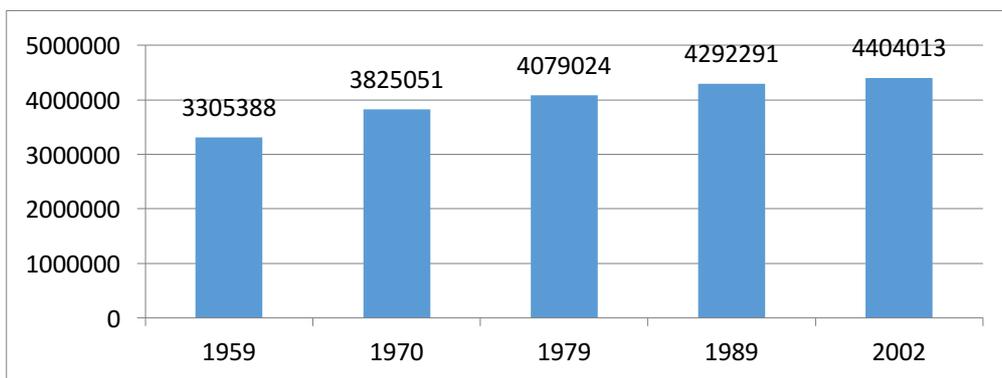


Figure 1. Population change in the Rostov region (Main results of census 2012).

The last post-Soviet census recorded 4,277,976 people in the Rostov region, which is 2.9% less than the previous result. (The main results of the National Census, 2012). According to estimations of Rostovstat, the population of the region as of 1 January 2015 was 4 242.1 ths. persons (Population, 2015), which confirms depopulation vector of demographic development of the Rostov region.

In the post-Soviet period the overall proportion of the regional ethnic structure of the population did not change significantly, but there is a noticeable change in the number of individual ethnic groups. In 2010, the vast majority of the region's population identified themselves as Russian: 3,795,607 people, representing 88.7% of the entire population and 90.3% of the population listed their nationality during census (Main results of the National Census, 2012). During the post-Soviet period, Russian population has declined in absolute numbers, but it has grown as a share. In 1989 (the last Soviet census) the number of those who identified themselves as Russians amounted to 3,844,309 persons (89.6% of the total population of the region), and in 2002 – 3,934,835 people (89.4% respectively) (Distribution of the population, 2005).

Russians accumulatively with the Ukrainians, Belarusians, Poles and Bulgarians form the Slavic segment of the population in the region. In total, these peoples in ethnodemographical structure of the population account for nearly 93% of the number of people who reported their ethnicity. However, unlike the Russians, representation of other Slavic ethnic groups in the post-Soviet period declined both in absolute and in relative terms (Figure 2).

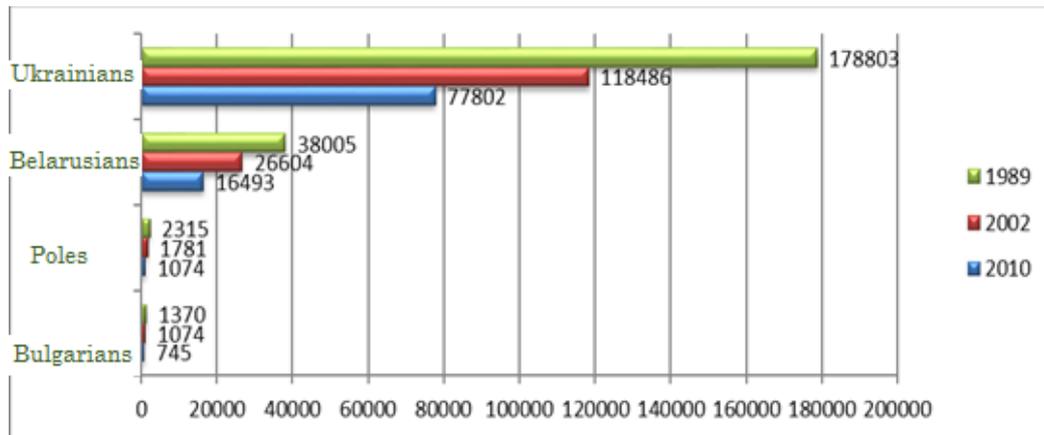


Figure 2. Population change of Slavic ethnic groups in the population of the Rostov region

Similar processes of depopulation in the post-Soviet period is characterized by all European ethnic groups (Germans -43.2%, Moldovans -34.9%, Greeks -9.4%) and the peoples of the Finno-Ugric language group (Udmurt -52.3%, Mordvinians -52,8%; Mari -41.6%, Komi-Permian -55.5%) and Jews (-69.2%), living in the region.

The only exception in the general depopulation dynamics of Slavic and European nations in ethnodemographical structure of the population of the region are the Cossacks (ethnic group considered as Russians). If 1989 census has not recorded persons identifying themselves as Cossacks in the region, then in 2002 their number was 87,492 persons, and in 2010 – 29,682 persons. Accordingly, now the Cossacks make up 0.7% of the region's total population and 0.8% of the persons referring themselves to Russians.

At the same time in the region the presence of the Caucasian and Central Asian ethnic groups has been expanded. The most important post-Soviet ethnodemographical leap was an increase in Turkish diaspora living in the region. In 1989, only 78 persons from the number of those living in the Rostov region identified themselves as Turks. In 2002 their number was 28,285 people, which meant a 363 times growth in the diaspora. In the future, the positive growth of the Turks (or Meskhetian Turks) continued, and in 2010 their number was 35,902 persons (+ 26.9%). Currently it is the fourth largest ethnic group in the region.

Along with the Turks the increase in the number of three more regional ethnic components of the population should be also noted: South Caucasian, North Caucasian and Central Asian. The South Caucasus component consists of three ethnic groups: Armenians, Azerbaijanis and Georgians. The number of Armenian diaspora of Don grow mostly in the early post-Soviet period. Thus, between 1989 and 2002, the number of Armenians increased from 62,603 to 109,994 people (+ 75.7%). Currently, the Armenian Diaspora has 110,727 people (+ 0.7%) and is the second largest ethnic group in the region, surpassing Ukrainians from this position in the last inter-census period.

In the post-Soviet period Azerbaijanis are also characterized by a steady growth, which peaked in the 1990s, but the overall positive character is preserved during the 2000s: 1989 – 10,215 persons; in 2002 – 16 498 persons (+ 61.5%); in 2010 – 17,961 persons (+ 8.9%). Demographic reproduction of Georgians in the post-Soviet years changed the trajectory: if in the period between 1989 and 2002 there was an obvious increase in the number of Georgians in the region, which amounted to 62.3% (from 6,554 people to 10,636

people), then in the 2000s there was a trend of depopulation and the population of Georgians was reduced by 32% and amounted to 8296 persons in 2010.

The North component of the regional population includes about a dozen ethnic groups, the largest of which are: Chechens, Dargins, Avars, Lezgins and Tabasarans (the last four groups belong to the peoples of Dagestan). The number of Dagestan ethnic groups is characterized by stable positive dynamics: the post-Soviet growth of Dargins amounted to +34.4%, +12.8% Avars, + 19.7% Lezgins, + 64.0% Tabasarans (Figure 3). However, it should be noted that the peak of inflows of peoples of Dagestan into the territory of the Rostov region was in the period between 1979 and 1989. (Average increase of 4.7 times).

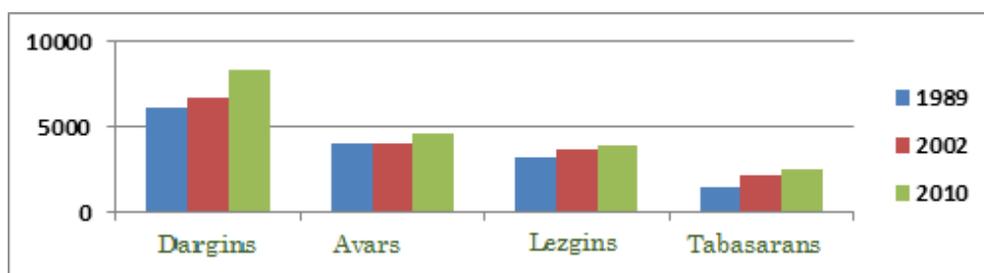


Figure 3. Population change of peoples of Dagestan in the population of the Rostov region

The Chechen population growth in the structure of the population of the Rostov region also took place in the late Soviet period (almost 2 times), but their presence on the territory of the Rostov region was declining in the post-Soviet period: in 2002 there were 15,469 people, which is 10% less than in 1989; in 2010 their number amounted to 11,449 people, marking a decrease of 26%. And vice versa, the number of Ingush residents is constantly increasing in the region: in 1989 – 1,033 people; in 2002 – 1,134 people; in 2010 – 1,520 people (+ 34%). At the same time, Ingushetia is a leader among migration donors of the Rostov region on the domestic level (Population migration, 2016).

Central Asian component in the region is represented by Uzbeks, Kyrgyz and Tajiks diasporas. Their demographic reproduction in the post-Soviet period is characterized by a kind of zigzag: downsizing in the 1990s and a sharp jump in its growth in the 2000s. Thus the number of Uzbeks in the region in 1989 was 2,174 persons, and by 2002, it declined by 26.3% and amounted to 1,820 people, and by 2010 had grown to 2,753 people (+ 51.3%). in the case of the Tajik diaspora there is similar dynamics: in 1989 – 1,238 persons, in 2002 – 898 persons (-37.5%), in 2010 – 1,681 persons (+ 80.2%). But the reproduction of the Kyrgyz diaspora looked most contrasting: in 1989 – 1,655 persons, in 2002 – 466 persons (-71.8%), in 2010 – 1,648 (+ 253.6%). The other Central Asian ethnic group is characterized by the most sustainable population in the ethnic structure of the region – Kazakhs, who are currently living in the region in a number of 3046 people, which is 0.8% more than in 2002, and by 21.2% less than in 1989 year.

The post-Soviet ethnodemographical transformations in the structure of the region's population are caused by different factors and in different ways reflected in the public perception of the inhabitants of the Don.

4. Discussion

Describing the overall dynamics of the demographic reproduction of the region, it should be noted that if in the Soviet period, population growth was associated with both

positive natural and positive migration growth, then demographic growth in the post-Soviet period was mainly driven by the migration factor.

The overall decrease in population of the region is due to, first of all, a negative natural growth, which cannot be compensated even by the positive migration flows. The dynamics of the migration growth of population of the Rostov region was unstable (Figure 4) in recent years.

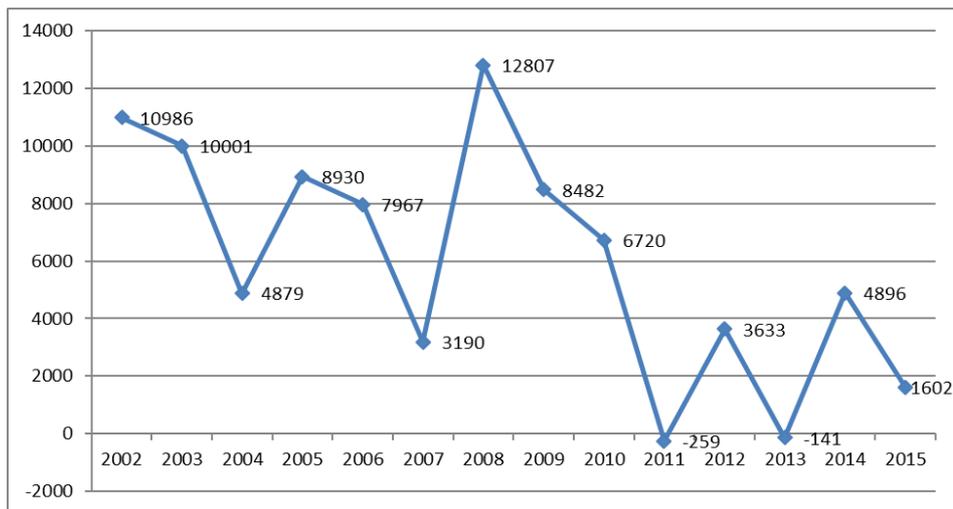


Figure 4. Indicators of migration in the Rostov region in 2002-2015, persons

The reduction of the number of Russians in absolute terms in the ethnic structure of the population of the Rostov region is due both to a low birth rate and the centripetal nature of migration of Russian-speaking population of working-age. On the domestic level, the Rostov region serves as migration donor for the Central Federal District (primarily Moscow and Moscow region). This migration trend covers more than 90% of out-migration, and its structure is formed by the urban population of the number of Russian and other Slavic and European ethnic groups. Thus, in 2014 domestic outflow of the population of the Rostov region outside of the Southern Federal District was 32,078 people, 14,808 (46.2%) of which left the territory of the Central Federal District. In 2015, the Russian domestic outflow of the population of the Rostov area outside of the Southern Federal District increased to 34,848 people, 15,888 (45.6%) of which also left the territory of the Central Federal District. According to expert estimates of employees of the Federal Migration Service of the Russian Interior Ministry, $\frac{3}{4}$ of those who left relate to the Russian-speaking population of the region. On the background of migration outflow of Russians and Russian-speaking population in the whole at the region, another factor of their statistical depopulation should be also noted. It is explained by the fact that in the last period between censuses filling in the “nationality” box was an optional item of the questionnaire. Jointly, in the Rostov region, 76,735 persons did not specify their nationality, among which may be ethnic Russians.

Depopulation trend of Slavic, European and Finno-Ugric ethnic groups is due to causes of not only of demographic characteristics (low birth rate, emigration), but also socio-cultural factors of their reproduction. This factor is reflected in the tendency to assimilate the Slavs, the Europeans and Finno-Ugric peoples: the substitution of its own ethnic identity for the ethnic identity of the people constituting the majority of ethno-cultural region – Russians. As the international experience showed, the assimilation trend is explained by the low level of social and cultural distance between the nations, a common

practice of mixed marriages, lack of native language and the possibility of regular use in the communication process, the real state of everyday human culture (Civilizational, 2007). In this case, assimilation is a natural and inevitable process that is exacerbated by the general trend towards modernization of social and cultural practices of their Westernization, leveling of cultural differences. In addition, the growing trend of assimilation in some cases (for example, Ukrainians and Poles) is provoked by a foreign factor. So in the face of the deteriorating bilateral relations between the national State and the State of nationality (Russia), many members of ethnic communities prefer to give up their primordial ethnic identity in favor of the general civil one identified with the identity of the people constituting the ethno-national (title) majority in this country. The reasons for this artificial assimilation may be both a national-patriotic nature and instrumentalist nature, in accordance with which the risks of inter-ethnic communication in the conditions of growing intolerance against specific ethnic groups against the backdrop of the politicization of international relations with their titular states was minimized.

The emergence of the Cossacks in ethnodemographical structure of the population of the Rostov region is not a consequence of development of their anthropoflows, but it is explained by the reasons of ethno-political characteristics. The post-Soviet era coincided with the processes of revival of the Cossacks and Cossack ethnic and cultural identity growth. RSFSR Law of April 26, 1991 №1107-I "On the Rehabilitation of Repressed Peoples", Article 2 determined the Cossacks as "historically established cultural and ethnic community of people" (Temmoyev, 2009). This legal fact gave rise to the Cossacks to claim the status of an independent ethnic community, which along with others has the right to national (including national-territorial) self-determination within the Russian Federation (Cossacks, 2011). In this connection, in the 1990s the Cossacks claimed to establish several Russian Cossack republics (including Don) as part of Russia and achieved the right to specify their ethnicity as "Cossack" during the census. However, forecasts of Cossack leaders on the results of the census, and the number of population of Cossacks each time were not confirmed by statistical data. Thus, in 2010, the military chieftain of Grand Don Army V.P. Vodolatskiy predicted 184 thousand persons of the number of Cossacks according to the results of the last census, considering that during the 2002 census "Not all Cossacks understood why it was necessary to write "Cossack" in the box of "nationality", or did not even know about such a possibility (Chieftain Vodolatsky, 2010). However, the census result was more than 6 times lower of originally claimed, that was explained again by imperfection of the census procedures. However, the Cossacks is an essential component of regional ethno-cultural structure of the population, who often acts as the only legally institutionalized subject of protection of the rights of the Slavic population of the region, and it is supported by the official authorities and the Orthodox clergy. At the same time, an exceptional status of the Cossacks confirmed by a number of federal and regional legal acts, among which the central place is occupied by Federal Law of December 5, 2005 № 154-FZ "On State Service of Russian Cossacks". The Act introduces a status imbalance in international relations, if considering the urgency of Cossacks claims to the status of an ethnic community, and provoke instrumentalist approach to human self-determination as a "Cossack", as it guarantees a series of benefits for the people of this social category.

Factors of demographic dynamics of Caucasian ethnic groups in the regional space have undergone a transformation from the migration to the natural and demographic trend. The massive growth of the South-Caucasian ethnic groups in the early post-Soviet period was due to the waves of immigration in the region, which almost came to ought in the 2000s. Thus, in the post-Soviet period the total increase of the Armenian diaspora of Don was 76.9%, and migration factors prevailed in the structure of growth. In general, there are three waves of migration of Armenians in the region of the South of Russia and the Rostov region that can be identified. Each wave is characterized by its basic factor in

the formation of the migration motivation. The first wave refers to the period of the late 1980s – early 1990s and it is associated with the earthquake in Armenia, the development of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, the events in Sumgait, Georgia and Uzbekistan. Accordingly, the first flow of Armenian immigrants of the 1990s was formed under the influence of stress factors and was of “evacuative” nature (Astvatsaturova, 2002). The second wave came in the first half of the 1990s and it was caused by the worsening economic situation in the neighboring states of Russia. It was formed at the expense of migrant workers (Hastyan, 2002). Despite the fact that today a dominant position in the territory of Rostov region is occupied by migrant workers in the Armenian migration structure, the gradual reduction of their migration growth allows considering the third wave of migration to the Don, which, unlike the previous two is characterized by a smaller volume of migration flows. As a result of population migration in the Rostov region in 2005-2006 a negative migration growth was recorded among Armenians. However, by the early 2010s positive migration gain of Armenians in the region was restored, and today Armenia as the main donor of the Armenian immigration at the same time is one of the main sources of external immigration growth of region. Thus, migration growth of the population of the Rostov region at the expense of immigrants from Armenia (mostly Armenians) was 744 persons in 2011, 921 persons – in 2012, 1,291 persons – in 2013, 1,250 persons – in 2014, and in 2015 it increased to 1,395 persons.

At the same time, the Armenians are characterized by clearly expressed local concentration of migrants around the centers of their ethnic diaspora: more than half of the Armenian population lives in in Rostov-on-Don (40.2%) and in Myasnikovsky district (19.5%). It is the city of Rostov-on-Don and Myasnikovsky district that became centers of migration inflow of Armenians in the post-Soviet period, in which the positive balance of migration from Armenia was recorded even during the total negative balance of migration in the Rostov region. It should be noted that Myasnikovsky district is the only municipality in the Rostov region, where Russians do not have a numerical majority, but more than half of the population are Armenians.

The rapid growth of the Armenian population of the Don could not but affect the structure of the social identity of the Armenian Diaspora, in which there was a split into the historical and new parts (Armenians of Southern Russia, 2011). Historical part of the community feels a great sense of ownership to the Russian-speaking population of the region, as more than 200-year history of the Armenian community of the Don was reflected in its daily household culture, specifics of genders relations, religious affiliation, perception of national traditions, expressed in the dialect of the Armenian language and its practice use. The historical part of the Armenian community was more integrated into the system of social interactions and could take prestigious position in it: public administration and local government, science, education, medicine, culture and the media, big business for it are available. Against this background, a new part of the Armenian community was forced to integrate into low-paid employment niches of little prestige, showed a higher level of social and cultural distance from the old residents, being the bearer of the traditional Armenian culture or rural type of social practices. As a result, the historical part of the community often tried to distance itself from the newly arrived migrants, considering that their risk adaptation strategies are projected onto the entire demographic population of Armenians, and are the causes of the spread of Armenian hating among Russian-speaking indigenous population (Denisova, 2012). This intra diasporic split caused notification of a number of alternative national-cultural associations of Armenians in the territory of the Rostov region, some of which represented the historical diaspora, and the other on the contrary defended the position of the migrant community. The evidence of the depth of the inter-community conflicts is sub-diasporization and, as its consequence, the requirement of its historical part to identify themselves during the census as “Don Armenians”.

The most numerous ethnic group among the North Caucasian ethno-cultural component of the structure of the Don population are Chechens, but their presence in the region is markedly being reduced. Thus, in 1989 they were the fifth largest ethnic group in the Rostov region; in 2002 they already occupied the eighth position, and in 2010 moved to the tenth line. Despite this fact, it is the Chechens that are more likely the subject of ethnophobia as compared to other ethnic communities in the region on behalf of the main part of the Don population. As evidenced by the results of a sociological survey of the population of the Rostov region, which was held in October-November 2015 by the Institute of Sociology and Regional Studies of the Southern Federal University, the prevailing ethnic phobia in the region is precisely Chechens hating (Bedrik 2015). Thus, 23.4% of respondents said that they felt a sense of fear or tension in situations where they had to interact with the representatives of the Chechen ethnos. Urgency Chechens hating is due, above all, the development of large-scale armed conflict in Chechnya and neighboring areas, associated initially with the separatist requirements of the Chechen elite, and at later stages – the spread of Islamic radicalism in the region and its terrorist activity in many Russian regions.

The growth of the demographic presence in the Chechen region (as in the case with the peoples of Dagestan) refers to the period of the late 1970s-1980s. Formation of the Chechen community was determined by an invitation to area of experts in the field of range sheep production (Belozerov, 2005). During this period, the number of Chechens in the Rostov region grew up to 88.7%. Later in the 1990s due to the escalation of the military-political conflict in the Chechen Republic and the introduction into its territory of the Russian Federation armed forces, a large-scale outflow of the population of the republic began (Dyatlov, 2015). However, if prior to 1994 mostly Russian and other non-titular nations of the republic had left, then from the second half of the 1990s the bulk of internally displaced were Chechens themselves (Khoperskaya, 2005). Following to the network mechanism of ethnic migration, anthropoflows orientation from Chechnya in this period was focused on areas in which Chechen communities were already introduced. In connection with it, distribution of Chechens on the territory of the Rostov region has distinct local specifics. The main area of their residence is in the south-eastern regions of the Don region: Zavetinskiy, Zimovnikovskiy, Dubovskiy, Remontnenskiy, Orlovskiy and Proletarian ones. The total population in these areas is more than 70% of all Don Chechens. However, even a local concentration of Chechens in the region has little changed ethnodemographical portrait of designated areas, although it coincided with the trends of centripetal migration of the working population (especially young people) in these areas, seeking to move to the Rostov agglomeration, to the place of study or work.

It should be noted that in a situation of socio-economic and ethno-political chaos of the 1990s, Chechen migration flows to the territory of the Rostov region at this time weakly succumbed to the statistical analysis, and even the results of the first post-Soviet national census, recording a reduction of the number of Chechens, were doubted (Bazhenova, 2015). The latest census results also confirmed the stability of trend of reducing demographic presence of Chechens in the Rostov region and in most other regions of the South of Russia, the main reason of which is Chechens' return migration. This trend is already interpreted as an objectively determined and is associated with changes in the political and socio-economic situation in the republic in which the possibility of employment and social guarantees from the state are expanding.

The investment policy of the federal center on Chechnya contrasting looks on a background of depressed socio-economic situation in the neighboring regions of the republic – Ingushetia and Dagestan. Complex of social and economic problems and, above all, youth unemployment caused the immigration flow of Ingush and Dagestani in the region. It is

the North Caucasian Federal District that is the main donor of domestic migration for the Rostov region in recent years (Fig. 5).

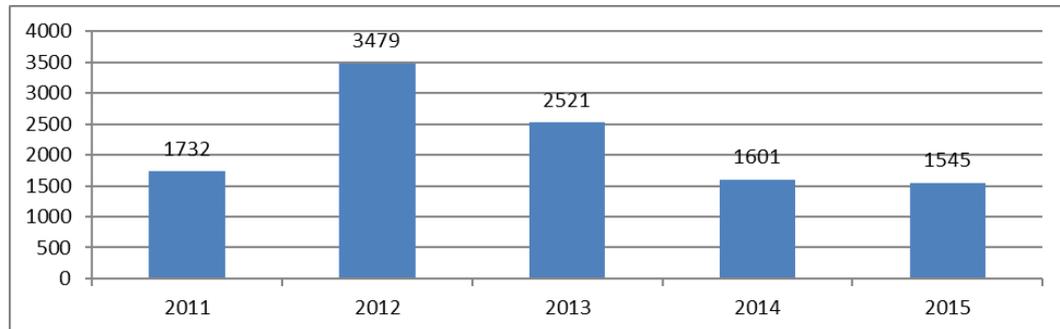


Figure 5. Net migration of population of the Rostov region from the North Caucasus Federal District, persons

75% of migration flow in the Rostov region from the North Caucasus Federal District is due to the population of republics of Ingushetia and Dagestan. As for the gender in the total population of immigrants from the marked republics, male segment of the working-age prevails (48%). In this case, youth under the age of 25 are nearly a half of all migrants. Immigration trend has mostly working and learning motivation. However, if the Ingush immigration circulates in the direction of the Rostov agglomeration, then the territorial distribution of migrants from Dagestan is dispersed and covers both rural and urban municipalities of the Don.

As it has been already noted, the main ethnodemographical deformation in the region's population was the inflow of Turks (or Meskhetian Turks) in the post-Soviet period. It should be noted that the representatives of the people identify themselves not as "Meskhetian Turks", but as "Turks". The new name came from the area of their historical settlement – Meskheta (historical and cultural region in Georgia), where their diaspora originated. Thus, the "Meskhetian" prefix is an exoethnonim that is used to differentiate this sub-ethnic community from the "classic" Turks (or the Ottoman Turks) living directly in Turkey. Currently, some members of this sub-ethnos took this identification category, but the vast majority of people still identify themselves as just Turks. This self-identity suggests the reluctance of Turkey to recognize this ethnic group of its diaspora and attributing it to the ethnic and religious group of Georgian Muslims, using a Turkish dialect (Meskhetian Turks, 2007).

Immigration of Turks in the region was of a stressful nature and in fact is an example of an incomplete migration, as unlike most other peoples deported in the USSR in the 1940s, but later rehabilitated with the restoration of territorial rights, Meskhetian Turks, for various reasons were not able to return to their homeland in the Meskheta-Javakheti. The Turkish community of the Rostov region was formed at the turn of the 1980-1990s by three anthropoflows. First, the forced emigration from Central Asia, especially Uzbekistan's Ferghana Valley, for reasons of ethnic harassment or factors close to them in 1989 and at the beginning of the 1990s. As a result of the ethnic conflict in the Ferghana region of Uzbekistan in 1989, many Meskhetian Turks were forced to leave their homes. According to rough estimates, more than 90 thousand Turks left Uzbekistan at this time because there was a real threat to their lives (Bedrik, 2007). Turkish migration to the Rostov region (as well as other subjects of Russia) was organized, as the authorities initially saw themselves aggression against the Turks in past events or regarded the Turks as a "party" of clashes. According to experts' estimates, the number of Meskhetian Turks in the mid-1990s in the Rostov region was about 11.7 thousand people. This indicator was the

largest among the other subjects of the Russian Federation. The second wave of migration of Meskhetian Turks to the territory of the Rostov region was formed by migration of the transit regions of Central Russia since the early 1990s and before the start of the 2000s and it was formed due social, economic and climatic factors. The third wave of immigration of Turks net migration is their repeated stress migration from the Chechen Republic during the exacerbation of the political situation and armed conflict in the region since 1994. To date, all three anthropoflows of Turks in the region almost came to naught, replaced by natural growth. The Turkish community in the region is characterized by the highest rates of natural increase: over the last inter-census period, it is due to natural reproduction that 4/5 of the total population growth of the group is involved in.

Monitoring surveys of the population of the Rostov region indicate that the ratio of the population to the old-Meskhetian Turks can be described as quiet. This perception of the Turks contrasts against the background of the situation in the Krasnodar region, where there was an acute interethnic conflict in the post-Soviet period, the subjects of which were Turks and the local Russian-speaking population. At the same time the number of Turks living in the Krasnodar region, is substantially less than in the Rostov region and amounts to 8.5 thousand persons. The reasons due to which the presence of the Turks in the region has become a significant factor in aggravation of interethnic relations is the nature of their location and the choice of an employment niche. The vast majority of Turks resettled in rural areas of the Rostov region – places that were actively left by Russian-speaking population (especially young people) in the post-Soviet period. The Turks settled in the countryside, mastered the niche of vegetable production and wholesale and retail trade of vegetables. In the Krasnodar krai, Turks settled in the densely populated and urbanized areas, thus competing with the local population for scarce labor places. At the same time Turks mastered the niche of shuttle trade in the local markets that have traditionally been associated among the ingenious residents with the shadow business and concealment of income (Ethnic migrants, 2005).

However, it should be noted that the current estimates of the Russian-speaking population of the Don against the Turks are deteriorated compared with the beginning of the 2000s. Thus, according to the results of sociological surveys in 2004-2006 only 12.6% of indigenous population respondents in the Rostov region experienced hostile or suspicious attitude to the representatives of the Meskhetian Turkish community. Mainly their aversion to the Turks at that time was expressed by the respondents living in towns and districts in which there were no Turks or their minimal percentage in the population. Accordingly, this negativism of respondents' estimates was imposed on general background of strained ethnic relations in the post-Soviet Russia, and not the actual practice of social dialogue with the Turks. As a result of monitoring in 2014-2015, the number of negative assessments of the respondents increased to 23.2%, and they characterize the population living in the immediate vicinity of the Meskhetian Turks. The reason for this negative trend is due largely to the fact that for 27 years of presence of Turks a whole generation of young people, for which Russia and the Rostov region are home, they are citizens socialized in the Russian secondary education and, as a consequence, focused on achieving higher property and professional status than their parents. According to these attitudes, Turkish youth reserves a niche of agricultural activities, learning trade, services, receiving vocational training in high schools and colleges of the Don, more and more speaking as economic competitors with the local indigenous residents. There occur cases of every day conflicts between the Russian and the Turkish youth. Faith requirements of Turks for the registration of Muslim communities and the construction of mosques and madrassas in the areas where they live in the Rostov region become a cause of deterioration of relations to the diaspora on behalf of the Don Cossacks. Considering the complexity of the Russian-Turkish international relations at the present stage, the deterioration of inter-ethnic

relations at the local level may increase as a result of the projection of international nature of the interaction at the domestic level.

Conclusion

Thus, the situation in the sphere of anthropoflow dynamics and their projection impact on the interethnic and interfaith interaction in the Rostov region according to results of statistical data analysis and monitoring of public opinion can be described as having a specific conflict-risk potential, which at this stage is leveled by historical and socio-economic factors. There is accumulation of negative potential in international relations, which in the future can be used for escalation of inter-ethnic clashes. Social tensions, establishing under the influence of economic and foreign policy factors, may at any time be re-oriented in the sphere of national relations (Kretsedemas, 2012).

Despite the fact that the ethnic structure of the population of the region, surviving numerous ethnic inclusions, remains predominantly monocultural, some rural south-eastern regions over the past two decades have been formed as pronounced multicultural. Conciseness of time and the speed of the formation of multicultural communities are responsible for the emergence and preservation of inter-ethnic tension in them that requires adopting of an active policy aimed at monitoring the nature of inter-ethnic interactions (Ercüment, 2013). In addition, indicators of economic performance and social development of the Rostov region provide it a fairly high position in the ranking of Russian regions and cause its attractiveness for migrants, increasing ethnic and cultural diversity of urban districts.

The main areas of the Rostov Region Government policy in the field of harmonization of interethnic interactions should be: creating the conditions for constant interaction of administrative bodies, public organizations and experts in the field of regulation of inter-ethnic relations; support of the Cossacks as a stable historical and cultural sub-community of Russian people traditional settling in the areas of the Rostov region and preserving its cultural identity and forms of self-organization; creating a culture of inter-ethnic solidarity and tolerance through the education system; legal control in the sphere of prevention of manifestations of ethnic extremism and violations of migration legislation. The proposed measures have been internationally tested and can be successfully implemented in condition of multicultural nations (Weiss, 2013).

Review of the facts of interethnic interaction and religious situation shows the relative success of the existing system of regulation of interethnic interactions. This is evidenced not only by the absence of significant numbers of participants in the events, in which mechanism of ethnic mobilization and group confrontation would be manifested, but also by sufficient cohesion of the population in a situation of external challenges. In particular, such solidarity manifested itself in a situation of political crisis in Ukraine and a large flow of internally displaced persons from the war zone, which was adopted by the population of the Rostov region.

Consolidating potential for inter-ethnic relations in the region are the attributes of civic identity – a common state, common history and territory, language and culture (ThisImmigrant ..., 2014). Strengthening the civil population, while preserving the identity and state support of traditional national cultures and religions, are a major tool for the prevention of inter-ethnic tensions at the present stage (Barkov, 2013).

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