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**INTERETHNIC CONCORD IN THE MOSCOW METROPOLIS AS A RESOURCE OF THE  
EFFECTIVENESS OF INTEGRATION PROCESSES IN THE EURASIAN ECONOMIC UNION**

**Dr. Galina Ivanovna Osadchaya**

Russian Academy of Sciences (ISPR FCTAS RAS), Russia

ORCID ID: 0000-0002-2597-9724

osadchaya111@gmail.com

**Dr. Tatyana Nikolaevna Yudina**

Russian State Social University (RSSU), Russia

ORCID ID: 0000-0001-7785-8601

JudinaTN@rgsu.net

**Dr. Irina Valeryevna Leskova**

Russian State Social University (RSSU), Russia

ORCID ID: 0000-0001-6083-6692

leskova.i@yandex.ru

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Russian Academy of Sciences (ISPR FCTAS RAS), Russia

Russian State Social University (RSSU), Russia

ORCID ID: 0000-0002-5441-0430

yegorkireev@gmail.com

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**Abstract**

Relying on the results of the research conducted within the framework of the project “The socio-political dimension of the Eurasian integration”, the article provides an assessment of the condition of interethnic concord between citizens of the member states of the Eurasian Economic Union that live and work in the Moscow metropolis. The assessment is based on the analysis of the ideas about the goals and results of functioning of the Eurasian Economic Union, interest in the further development of integration processes, civic identity, interethnic attitudes, intergroup differentiation, and readiness to cooperate with citizens of the member states of the Eurasian Economic Union in professional and informal spheres. The article characterizes the real state of interethnic concord as a stable nucleus of the integration process and shows the problems and contradictions that reduce ethnic complementarity of interethnic relations, empathy, and support for integration processes in the Eurasian Economic Union.

**Keywords**

Eurasian Economic Union – Interethnic concord – Interethnic relations – Interethnic attitudes



Interethnic concord in the Moscow Metropolis as a resource of the effectiveness of integration processes... pág. 02

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## Introduction

### Definition of the problem

Positive consolidation and solidarity of citizens of member states belonging to the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) around the EAEU integration goals based on interethnic concord are the essential prerequisites for the formation of a new integration association of former Soviet countries. From this perspective, Moscow is a city with a vivid interethnic flair, where the Russian majority interacts with people coming from all member states of the EAEU<sup>1</sup>, both those who have settled down and those who have come recently and are looking for a job. The capital of Russia represents a specific model of real interethnic relations between citizens of the developing integration association. Comprehension and assessment of the condition of the interethnic concord between citizens of the member states of the EAEU will be useful to improve the effectiveness of integration processes and stability of the socio-political situation in each country and prevent potential disintegration risks.

### Methods

Interethnic concord between citizens of the EAEU member states has been studied in the broad social context through interethnic orientations towards interaction, evaluations, and judgments about the integration processes, social mood, and social well-being. In the course of the development of the methodology, methodological strategy, and research methods, we used the ideas of dispositional personality theory<sup>2</sup>, the social distance scale<sup>3</sup>, and methodological approaches to studying the potential of interethnic concord proposed by L.M. Drobizheva<sup>4</sup>.

A specific feature of this research is the usage of a methodological strategy involving a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. Analysis of interethnic concord between citizens of the EAEU member states in the Moscow metropolis is based on interviews of such citizens.

1. “Interethnic relations between citizens of the EAEU member states”. The survey (semi-structured interview) was conducted in June 2018 (project supervisor: G.I. Osadchaya). Selection of informants (citizens of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and

<sup>1</sup> Although in the new conditions of labor movement within the EAEU, there are no reliable statistics after 2014, according to expert estimates, citizens of the EAEU member states constitute a significant share of the 3.9 million people who moved to Moscow in 2017. Kyrgyzstan and Armenia are among the top five contributing countries.

<sup>2</sup> G. W. Allport, *The nature of prejudice* (Cambridge, MA, Perseus Books, 1979); G. Hodson, and M. Hewston. *Advances in Intergroup Contact*. (New York: Psychology Press, 2013) y T. F. Pettigrew y L. R. Tropp, “A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory”, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol: 90 num 5 (2006): 751–783.

<sup>3</sup> Emory S. Bogardus, “Social Distance in the City” *Proceedings and Publications of the American Sociological Society*, num 20 (1926): 40–61.

<sup>4</sup> L. M. Drobizheva, “Potentsial mezhnatsionalnogo soglasiya: osmyslenie ponyatiya i sotsialnaya praktika v Moskve”, *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya*, num 11 (2015): 80–90; L. M. Drobizheva, *Mezhetnicheskoe soglasie kak resurs konsolidatsii rossiiskogo obshchestva* (Moscow: The Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 2016) y L. M. Drobizheva, “Mezhnatsionalnye (mezhetnicheskie) otnosheniya v Rossii v zerkale monitoringovykh oprosov FADN i regionalnykh issledovaniy”, *Vestnik Rossiiskoi natsii*, num 4 Vol: 56 (2017): 107–127.

Kyrgyzstan) was carried out with the help of the snowball method based on one requirement — people who moved to Moscow after 2000. A total of 520 people were interviewed (130 informants in each group). Selection of native or long-residing Moscow residents – citizens of the Russian Federation, was conducted based on multistage territorial stratified sampling with quota sampling at the final stage. The sample size was 453 units. The statistical error amounted to +2.5%.

2. “Immigrants from the EAEU member states in Moscow: problems of interethnic interaction”. The survey (individual focused interview) was conducted from October to November 2018 (project supervisors: G.I. Osadchaya and T.N. Yudina). A total of 152 people were interviewed: 38 respondents from Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan each selected with the help of the snowball method based on one requirement — people who moved to Moscow after 2000.

The focused interview was based on a questionnaire, which provided a deeper interpretation of the results of the quantitative research into interethnic relations between citizens of the EAEU states in the capital of Russia.

For the purposes of verification of the correctness and quality of implementation of all stages, the obtained data were compared with the results of previous quantitative and qualitative research<sup>5</sup>.

## Results

### Values and evaluative judgments about integration processes shared by citizens of the EAEU member states

An essential component of international concord between citizens of the EAEU member states is a set of commonly shared axiological meanings of life, a vision of the future of the EAEU, and evaluative judgments about integration processes.

Our research showed that both immigrants and Muscovites stick to common principles, life rules, and ideas about work-life balance, which encourages overcoming ethnic one-sidedness, consolidation of citizens of the EAEU member states, and

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<sup>5</sup> “Immigrants from the EAEU member states in the Moscow labor market”. The survey (semi-structured interview) was conducted in June 2015 (project supervisors: G.I. Osadchaya and T.N. Yudina). A total of 100 immigrants were interviewed: respondents from Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan selected with the help of the snowball method based on one requirement — people who moved to Moscow after 2000. “The lifestyle of immigrants coming from the EAEU member states in Moscow”. The survey (individual structured interview) involving 100 immigrants from each of the EAEU member states was conducted by the Institute of Socio-Political Research of the Russian Academy of Sciences in June 2016 financed by a grant from the Russian Foundation for Basic Research (project no. 16-03-00841, project supervisor: G.I. Osadchaya). Selection of informants (citizens of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan) was carried out with the help of the snowball method based on one requirement — immigrants from Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan that moved to Moscow after 2000. “Social well-being of immigrants from the EAEU member states in Moscow”. Individual focused interviews were conducted from January to February 2017 (project supervisors: G.I. Osadchaya and T.N. Yudina). 58 respondents from Kazakhstan and 58 respondents from Kyrgyzstan were interviewed. The respondents were selected with the help of the snowball method based on one requirement — people who moved to Moscow after 2000.

achievement of interethnic unity. 60% of the respondents in both groups of informants believed that “one should receive as much from society and people as they give to them”. 26% thought that “one should give society and people more than they take from them”. On the other hand, 14% of the respondents were guided by another instrumental value, “one should try to get from society and people as much as possible while giving them less”. More than a half believed that “one should work in moderation to provide for oneself and their family with all the necessary things” while about 40% of the respondents thought that “one should work a lot and earn a lot”.

However, when it comes to evaluation of integration processes in the EAEU and civic identity of the informants, there is no appropriate interethnic concord, consolidation, or aligned response to the tasks set by the EAEU or evaluation of the effectiveness of their implementation. Immigrants from the EAEU member countries showed a more positive attitude to the creation of the union in the post-Soviet space. Among the immigrants, there were 15% more of those who approved of the creation of the EAEU in the post-Soviet space and 20% more of those who expected positive changes in their life in this connection. It should be highlighted that the difference in the answers of Muscovites who thought that the establishment of the EAEU “will lead”/“will not lead” to positive changes in their lives had a negative value while the share of those who were undecided constituted a third of the sample (Table 1).

| Expecting positive changes as a result of the creation of the EAEU | Citizens of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan | Citizens of the following countries: |         |            |            | Citizens of the Russian Federation (Muscovites) |
|--|--|--------------------------------------|---------|------------|------------|---|
|  |  | Armenia                              | Belarus | Kazakhstan | Kyrgyzstan |   |
| Yes + Rather yes than no   | <b>54.6</b>  | 47.0                                 | 56.1    | 61.6       | 53.8       | <b>34.3</b>                                     |
| Rather no than yes + No  | <b>19.6</b>  | 20.0                                 | 18.5    | 17.7       | 22.3       | <b>34.6</b>                                     |
| Difference   | <b>+35.0</b>   | +27.0                                | +37.6   | +43.9      | +31.5      | <b>-0.3</b>                                     |
| Undecided  | <b>25.8</b>  | 33.1                                 | 25.4    | 20.8       | 23.8       | <b>31.1</b>                                     |
| Total  | <b>100</b>   | 100                                  | 100.0   | 100.0      | 100.0      | <b>100</b>                                      |

Table 1

Do you think that the creation of the EAEU will lead to positive changes in your life?  
(% of the total number of the respondents)

Evaluations of the results achieved by the EAEU provided by Muscovites are given below. The share of those who believed that the EAEU was a unified state that created favorable conditions for the stable development of economies was 9% lower than that of the immigrants with the same views. The share of those who thought that each member state of the EAEU was guided by its own interests was 17% higher.

Comparison of judgments about the degree of the friendliness of the policies implemented by the EAEU member countries in respect of source countries is of interest in terms of evaluation of interethnic concord. In our opinion, they are indicative of trust/lack of trust in political institutions of these countries and evaluations of how leaders and elites comply with the agreements set forth in the Treaty on the EAEU and how they perform their functions.

It should be noted that the vast majority of the respondents from Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan (over 80%) believed that the other EAEU member states implemented friendly policies in respect of their countries. They especially emphasized the friendliness of the Russian policy (over 90%). The evaluations given by Muscovites to policies practiced by the EAEU member states were more moderate: 80.5% thought that Belarus and Kazakhstan pursued a friendly policy towards Russia, 76.0% said the same about Armenia, and 69.2% — about Kyrgyzstan.

The identification scale for citizens of Russia (Muscovites) was the following: Citizen of my country (54.4%) → Member of my family (15.8%) → Moscow resident (11.9%) → Citizen of the world (10.1%). Only 4.1% of this group of respondents associated themselves with their ethnicity, which was 3.5 times less than the share of immigrants from the EAEU member states.

Immigrants from the EAEU member states showed the following results: Citizen of my country (28.5%) → Member of my family (17.7%) → Representative of my ethnicity (14.6%) → Resident of my city (11.0%) → Citizen of the world (10.4%). Ethnic identity was expressed to the greatest degree among citizens of Armenia.

2.8% of Muscovites and 11.8% of immigrants from the EAEU member states (which is 5 times higher) associated themselves with the EAEU (citizen of one's country and citizen of the EAEU + citizen of the EAEU and citizen of one's country + citizen of the EAEU). The share of the respondents from Kazakhstan who identified themselves with the EAEU amounted to 12.3% and those from Kyrgyzstan — 19.1%. These indicators of Eurasian identity were lower than the same figures in the European Union. However, it is impossible to expect rapid results as far as the development of Eurasian or double identity is concerned. According to Eurobarometer in the European Union, which has existed since 1993, "there are only 4% of pure Europeans, 8% consider themselves to be both European and representatives of a certain nationality, 45% — representatives of a certain nationality and European, and 41% — only representatives of their own country"<sup>6</sup>.

Such self-positioning by the citizens of the EAEU member states is explained by the fact that the immigrants from Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan had realized the preferences they received as a result of the formation of the EAEU. Due to the opportunities offered by a single labor market, they had moved to the capital of Russia and focused on the potential advantages of integration. In the course of the interviews, they sensibly discussed the benefits of integration processes in the post-Soviet space for both themselves and their countries. The following opinions were the most frequent: creation of the EAEU "offers new opportunities for cooperation between countries and promotes increase in the inflow of foreign investments for the purpose of further product export", is

<sup>6</sup> N. V. Aleksandrova, "K voprosu o formirovanii evropeiskoi identichnosti", Politicheskaya ekspertiza: POLITEKS, Vol: 4 num 2 (2008): 270–282.

already providing “new rights and opportunities for migrant workers”, and will lead to “growth of Belarusian export to the single market”, the main advantage mentioned by the respondents being that “Russia will protect the countries that have entered the EAEU”.

It is also important to consider the fact that the new conditions of labor movement in the EAEU allowed migrant workers not only to remain in their professional industry but also to maintain their status (and sometimes to improve it). The status of immigrants from Belarus and Armenia improved more than that of other ethnic groups. The number of informants holding managing positions of different levels among Belarusian and Armenian respondents has doubled and the share of skilled workers had increased among the immigrants from Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan (Table 2).

|   | <b>Positions the respondents used to hold in their home countries</b> | <b>Positions held by respondents in Moscow</b> |
|---|---|--|
| Manager (top manager, middle manager, etc. (to be specified)) | 12.1  | 15.3   |
| Skilled worker  | 55.2  | 58.8   |
| Unskilled worker  | 32.7  | 25.9   |
| Total   | 100   | 100  |

Table 2

Comparative data based on the answers to the questions, “If you worked, what position did you hold?” and “What kind of position are you holding now?”  
(% of the total number of the respondents)

Apparently, Muscovites had not experienced any benefits offered by the new integration in the post-Soviet space. Nothing had changed for the better in their lives. In terms of self-evaluation, they were less satisfied with remuneration of their labor and the conditions for professional growth in their current workplaces (“good conditions” — 42.8% of the immigrants and 35.5% of the Muscovites). However, it should be noted that native and settled down Moscow residents might have higher demands and that each group of citizens of other EAEU member states have their own evaluations. Immigrants from Kyrgyzstan were the least satisfied with their jobs (Generally yes + Yes = 70.8%) and conditions for professional growth in their current workplaces (31.5% assessed their working conditions as “good”).

### **Characteristics of interethnic concord among citizens of the EAEU member states in the Moscow metropolis**

Interethnic attitudes to interaction shared by citizens of the EAEU member states shape the nature of interethnic relations in the Russian capital. In the present research, they were measured by subjective evaluations expressed by likes and dislikes, defining individual ethnic distance, readiness for peaceful dialog in case of conflict situations, and interethnic tension in the areas of permanent residence of native residents and immigrants from the EAEU countries. Such analysis allowed us to determine the share of people with positive attitudes, who represent guarantors of interethnic concord.

According to the conducted research, the majority of the respondents (70–75%) did not feel hostility towards people of other nationalities and gave the following clarifications, “It would be weird not to like someone because they represent another nation”, “I believe

that one should be superior to prejudice. There are no bad nations or ethnicities — there are only bad people”, “I do not think that ethnicity affects the internal qualities of a person”, “I do not feel hostility because I am committed to peace and kindness in respect of other people. Since my attitude depends not on a person’s nationality but on their behavior”, “Hostility is wrong. I do not approve of it, but you should always be on your guard”, “I treat everyone in the same way since our country is multinational. I do not care about ethnicity, people are governed by ideas”.

One in ten respondents coming from Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan, who had moved to Moscow, and one in seven Muscovites that said that they felt hostility towards people from other cultures said that the main reason for such an attitude was immigrants’ misconduct in Moscow.

R.: female, 23 years old, vocational secondary education, a citizen of Kazakhstan, an ethnic Kazakh, in Kazakhstan lives in a medium-sized city, a confident user of the Russian language, in Moscow works in the manufacturing industry, a skilled worker.

She thought that “behavior of some ethnic groups in a foreign country is too far from cultural standards”.

R.: female, 23 years old, vocational secondary education, in Kyrgyzstan lives in a village, evaluates her level of Russian as low, in Moscow works as a cleaner in a shop.

Experienced hostility because “everybody looks askance” at her.

It turned out that positive attitudes to people from different ethnic groups were selective: they reflected ethnic preferences and prejudices that shaped the strategies guiding citizens of the EAEU member countries towards rapprochement or distancing to the full extent.

The choices were ranked in the following way:

- citizens of Armenia: Russians → Belarusians → Kazakhs → the Kyrgyz;
- citizens of Belarus: Russians → Kazakhs → Armenians → the Kyrgyz;
- citizens of Kazakhstan: Russians → Belarusians → the Kyrgyz → Armenians;
- citizens of Kyrgyzstan: Russians → Kazakhs → Belarusians → Armenians;
- citizens of the Russian Federation (Muscovites): Belarusians → Armenians → Kazakhs → the Kyrgyz.

The majority of immigrants from each country (60–70%) expressed their positive attitude to the titular nation (Figure 1).

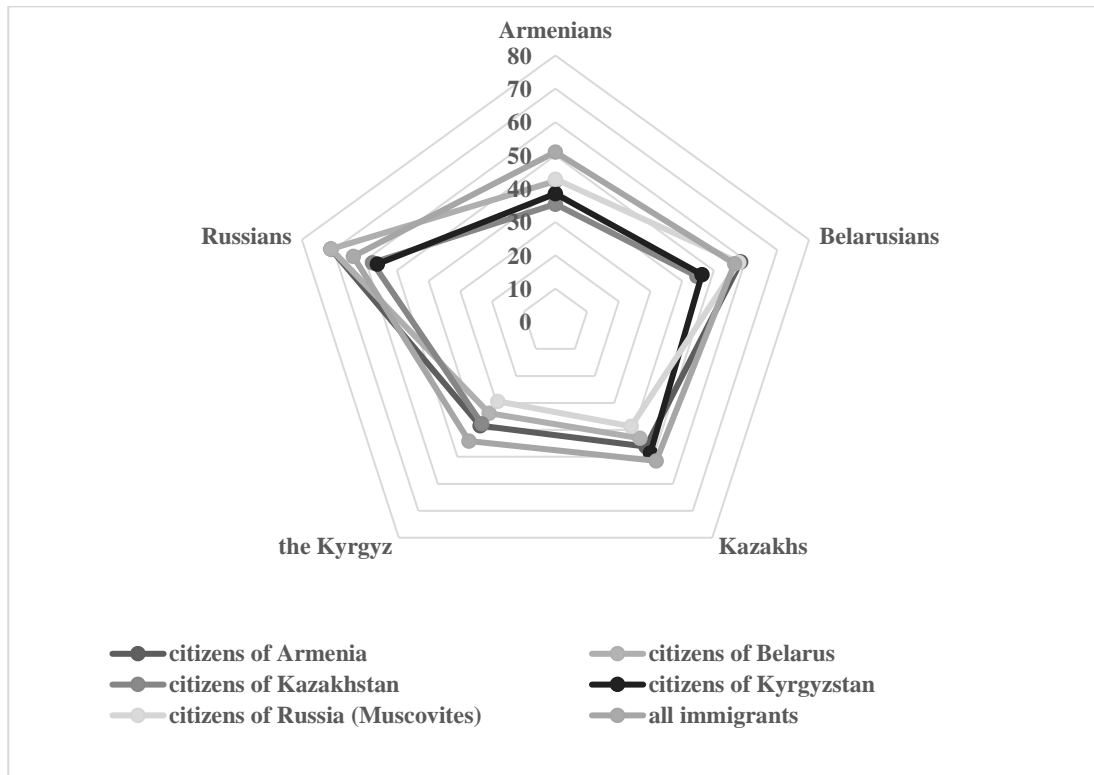


Figure 1

Attitudes to representatives of other nationalities expressed by the citizens of the EAEU member states (% of the respondents that answered that they “feel positive” towards a certain nationality)

Such distribution of responses can be explained by the fact that the immigrants had consciously chosen “the Russian world” with the knowledge that in Moscow Russians comprise the ethnic majority. It should be noted that there were a large number of undecided respondents when they were asked about their positive/negative attitude to certain ethnic groups (37–40% of the immigrants and 27–50% of the Muscovites). Muscovites had the most difficulty determining their attitude to immigrants from other cultures coming from Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan (46.2% and 50.6%, respectively). Apparently, stable relationships understandable for Muscovites had developed between the titular nation, Belarusians, and Armenians and Moscow residents had become accustomed to living next to them. It may also be noted that representatives of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan showed very similar results in the survey, which is connected with the specific features of interethnic interactions between these Turkic-language Muslim peoples, their cultural traditions, and linguistic and cultural affinity.

Interestingly, the informants’ positive attitudes were inversely proportional to their evaluation of certain nationalities’ aggressiveness and disposition towards criminal activity. At the same time, less than half of the respondents (30% of Muscovites and 40% of immigrants) believed that disposition towards aggressiveness or criminal activity was not determined by one’s nationality (or ethnic group).

The research showed that intergroup perception in the course of interethnic relations is based on ethnocentrism and ethnic stereotypes. The majority of the respondents (69.4%) felt pride and love for people of the same nationality, emphasizing,



“These are my Armenian people, centuries-old traditions and history. You cannot but feel pride”, “I’m a patriot of my country and my people (Belarus)”, “I love Kazakhstan”, “I’m a patriot of my home country and I respect my fellow countrymen (Kyrgyzstan)”. The responses provided by immigrants from Armenia were even more outstanding: 88.5% said that they felt pride/love when they thought of their fellow compatriots.

69.9% of the informants from the EAEU member states said that they felt the need to be a part of their national group. Immigrants from Armenia and Kyrgyzstan gave more preference to their ethnic group (77.7% and 78.5%, respectively), while in immigrants from Belarus and Muscovites, intergroup bias was less pronounced (54.6% and 63.8%, respectively).

While 42.8% of immigrants and 48.5% of Muscovites did not place importance on the ethnic composition of the company where they worked or the environment where they rested, 53.8% of Kyrgyz, 41.5% of Kazakh, 39.5% of Armenian, 25.4% of Belarusian immigrants and 35.4% of Muscovites felt better among representatives of the same ethnic group. The share of informants with general or vocational secondary education that had moved to Moscow from small towns and villages with a different lifestyle and that were working in unskilled positions was slightly higher among the immigrants who gave preference to their ethnicity. Among the similar group of Muscovites, there were more people with secondary education that worked in the sphere of construction and assessed their material well-being as satisfactory. Therefore, the index of ingroup favoritism among immigrants amounted to 0.38 and among Muscovites — to 0.36 (Table 3).

|   | Indicators                               |  |
|---|--|--|
|   | Feeling of belonging to an ethnic group* | Comfort of communication in an ethnic group* |
| Citizens of Armenia                             | 0.63                                     | 0.24   |
| Citizens of Belarus                             | 0.23                                     | 0.13   |
| Citizens of Kazakhstan                          | 0.47                                     | 0.25   |
| Citizens of Kyrgyzstan                          | 0.66                                     | 0.46   |
| Immigrants, on average                          | 0.5                                      | 0.26   |
| Citizens of the Russian Federation (Muscovites) | 0.4                                      | 0.32   |

Table 3  
Indicators of ingroup ethnic favoritism (indexes for national groups)<sup>7</sup>

When asked about determining the ethical distance to a potential supervisor, half of the respondents said that they were indifferent to their nationality. For the others, the choice of answer depended on the internal adequacy of social distance. Muscovites showed the lowest readiness to work under the supervision of a person from a different ethnic group (Table 4).

| Positive attitude to a potential supervisor | Citizens of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan | Citizens of the Russian Federation (Muscovites) |
|---|--|---|
| Armenian                                    | 33.8   | 20.7  |

<sup>7</sup> The index was calculated as a relation of the difference between the positive and negative evaluations provided by the respondents to the total number of respondents. The index varied from “-1” to “+1” with the maximum and minimum values at the poles.

|            |      |      |
|------------|------|------|
| Belarusian | 34.2 | 28.4 |
| Kazakh     | 32.5 | 16.9 |
| Kyrgyz     | 27.7 | 14.6 |

Table 4

Share of the informants that had a positive attitude to having a potential immediate supervisor from a different ethnicity (% of the total number of respondents)

Acceptability of such interethnic contacts reflects the same orientations related to interethnic interaction. In each of the groups of the respondents made up of citizens of the EAEU member states, their first choice of a potential immediate supervisor was a representative of their ethnic group, which is a manifestation of ethnocentrism, a sign showing that the respondents gave positive evaluations and ascribed virtues and achievements, as well as more acceptable, understandable, and predictable actions, to representatives of their ethnicities. The second choice was a Russian supervisor and the following positions depended on the existing ethnic preferences of each group.

**Characteristics of interethnic concord between citizens of the EAEU member states in the Moscow metropolis and factors of its strengthening**

Having chosen positive answers given by our respondents to the questions about their approval of the Eurasian integration processes and readiness for peaceful interaction in the course of conflict resolution as the basis for interethnic concord, the logic of this research allowed us to identify a target group of citizens of the EAEU member states that were to a greater extent ready and able to promote further deepening of integration processes. 46.6% of the respondents coming from the EAEU member states and 41.7% of Muscovites can be put into this category, which features all socio-demographic, professional, and status groups in proportion to the number of corresponding respondents.

Apparently, for integration processes to be successful, positive consolidation of the majority of people around the idea of creation of a new integration association is necessary as well as their readiness to cooperate for accomplishing integration goals.

Preservation and strengthening of interethnic concord between citizens of the EAEU member states require the creation of conditions for removing interethnic tension in the Russian capital expressed as latent hostility or opposition between individuals from different nations or whole ethnic groups.

Muscovites and citizens of Kyrgyzstan are currently more critical of interethnic relations in the areas of their permanent residence. The share of the respondents in these groups that evaluated such relations as “Friendly + Peaceful” was 15.1% lower than that of the citizens of Armenia, 20% lower than that of the respondents from Belarus, and 7.4% lower than that of the respondents from Kazakhstan.

Evidently, interethnic tension develops under the influence of many factors, including economic and political ones, due to the competition and conflicts between ethnic groups fighting for different resources and dominance in a particular socio-cultural environment.

The concerns of Muscovites were connected with the negative events with the participation of immigrants that had taken place in Moscow: disorders in the Biryulyovo market, outrage in Tsaritsyno, fights in the Matveevsky market and Pechatniki. Although

these events were not directly related to citizens of the EAEU member states, they formed an overall background of interethnic opposition (tension). Muscovites felt irritation (protest) at the unwillingness of some immigrants to comply with the norms and rules existing in the capital and at their aggressive conduct. This had led to an increase in the number of ethnically intolerant Moscow residents. For example, according to the respondents, over the last 25–30 years, the number of their friends and acquaintances with a negative attitude to people of different nationalities had increased by 2.9 times<sup>8</sup>.

As far as immigrants from the EAEU member states are concerned, virtually three or four respondents out of ten had experienced discomfort or discrimination on ethnic grounds during their stay in Moscow. Every seventh immigrant from Kyrgyzstan and every tenth immigrant from Kazakhstan thought that Muscovites treated them in an unfriendly or even hostile way. The immigrants from Kyrgyzstan evaluated the attitude of the authorities to them even worse: every fourth respondent chose the option “unfriendly or even hostile”.

While the majority of the respondents from the EAEU member states said that their mood was usually even and every third respondent said it was good/optimistic, one-fifth of the respondents from Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan reported that recently they had often felt anxiety, irritation, fear, despair, or hopelessness<sup>9</sup>. What is alarming is a relatively low level of readiness for peaceful settlement of contradictions and interaction between each other (different ethnic groups) and with the authorities in the course of resolution of disputes between both Muscovites and immigrants in the form of a dialog. The results of our research showed that 25.6% of immigrants from the EAEU member states and 39.4% of Muscovites agreed that violence is acceptable if there is an outrage upon justice in respect of their fellow compatriots. It should be noted though that among Muscovites, there were more respondents who deemed tough measures necessary with the use of government resources. If there was a conflict between their compatriots and other population groups, 71.9% of Muscovites would complain to the authorities and 20.1% would take part in protests sanctioned by the authorities. The share of interviewed immigrants who were ready to resolve a conflict with the involvement of authorities was lower: there were half as many respondents who would complain to the authorities (39.8%) and take part in protests sanctioned by the authorities (29.4%). However, 10% of the immigrants thought that it is acceptable to resolve a conflict by taking part in aggressive acts involving street bashing and assaults up to armed outrages. The share of Muscovites who were ready for such measures was 5%. Therefore, in unfavorable conditions, ethnocentrism — readiness to protect one’s fellow compatriots by any means — can become dysfunctional both for an individual and for the Moscow community.

## Discussion

Soviet scientists studied the problems of interethnic relations in the Soviet republics. Theoretical and practical issues related to these subjects were examined in the research “Optimization of socio-cultural conditions for development and rapprochement of ethnicities in the USSR” carried out by the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy

<sup>8</sup> G. I. Osadchaya y T. N. Yudina, “Evraziiskii ekonomicheskii soyuz: normativno-pravovoe obespechenie i tendentsii svobodnogo dvizheniya rabochei sily”, *Sotsialnaya politika i sotsiologiya*, num 3 (2017): 144–154.

<sup>9</sup> G. I. Osadchaya, “Migranty iz stran evraziiskogo ekonomicheskogo soyuza na moskovskom rynke truda: sotsialno-professionalnyi profil”, *Journal of the Belarusian State University, Sociology*, num 3 (2017): 111–119.

of Sciences, the results of which were published in a few monographs and collections of articles by Yu.V. Arutyunyan, L.M. Drobizheva<sup>10</sup>, and M.N. Guboglo<sup>11</sup>. Special research in this sphere was conducted in the 1960–80s by V.A. Balashov<sup>12</sup>, V.F. Vavilin<sup>13</sup>, Bromlei<sup>14</sup>, and others. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the focus of the research shifted to studying the situation and prospects for the development of interethnic relations in the Russian Federation as a multiethnic state and measuring the degree of the threat to national security and territorial security of the country posed by nationalist and separatist forces. From the beginning of the 1990s, the following problems have been included into the sphere of theoretical and empirical analysis: national consciousness, national self-identity, and methodology of their analysis<sup>15</sup>, interethnic conflicts, problems connected with inequality in the ethno-social space of Russia<sup>16</sup>, ethno-social tolerance and the Russian mentality<sup>17</sup>, specific features of interethnic integration in the post-Soviet space<sup>18</sup>, and others. A few Russian academic institutes with different specializations conducted fundamental scientific research into this problem during this period<sup>19</sup>.

In recent years, the most frequently studied problems have been the following: issues connected with the potential of regional identity in interethnic relations<sup>20</sup>, relevant

<sup>10</sup> S. A. Arutyunov, "K probleme etnosa i subetnosa", *Rasy i narody: Sovremennye rasovye i etnicheskie problemy*. Moscow, Nauka, num 18 (1988): 28–31; Yu. V. Arutyunyan; L. M. Drobizheva and A. A. Susokolov, *Etnosotsiologiya: tseli, metody i nekotorye rezultaty issledovaniya* (Moscow: Nauka, 1984) y Yu. V. Arutyunyan and L. M. Drobizheva, *Mnogoobrazie kulturnoi zhizni narodov SSSR* (Moscow: Mysl, 1987).

<sup>11</sup> M. M. Guboglo, *Sovremennye etnoyazykovye protsessy v SSSR: Osnovnye faktory i tendentsii razvitiya natsionalno-russkogo dvuyazychiya* (Moscow: Nauka, 1984).

<sup>12</sup> V. A. Balashov and V.N. Martyanov, *Mordva. Narody Povolzhya i Priuralya: istoriko-etnograficheskie ocherki* (Moscow: Nauka, 1985) y V. N. Belitser y V. A. Balashov, "Nekotorye osobennosti etnicheskogo razvitiya mordovskogo naroda", *Sovetskaya etnografiya*, Vol: 1 num 1 (1968): 122–125.

<sup>13</sup> V. F. Vavilin, *Kolichestvennaya otsenka sovremennykh etnokulturnykh protsessov v Mordovskoi ASSR (selskoe naselenie)* (Saransk: Saratov University Publishing, the Saransk branch, 1989).

<sup>14</sup> Yu. V. Bromlei, *Ocherki teorii etnosa* (Moscow: Nauka, 1983) y Yu. V. Bromlei, *Etnosotsialnye protsessy: teoriya, istoriya, sovremennost* (Moscow: Nauka, 1987).

<sup>15</sup> V. N. Ivanov, "Mezhnatsionalnye konflikty: sotsiopsikhologicheskii aspekt", *SOCIS*, num 4 (1992); V. A. Tishkov, "Etnichnost, natsionalizm i gosudarstvo v postkommunisticheskom obshchestve", *Voprosy sotsiologii*, Vol: 1 num 2 (1993): 3-38 y Zh. T. Toshchenko, *Paradoksalnyi chelovek* (Moscow: RAGS, 2008).

<sup>16</sup> L. M. Drobizheva, *Sotsialno-kulturnaya distantsiya. Identichnost i konflikt v postsovetских gosudarstvakh* (Moscow: 1997) y L. M. Drobizheva, *Asimmetrichnaya Federatsiya: vzglyad iz tsentra, respublik i oblastei* (Moscow: The Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences Publishing, 1999).

<sup>17</sup> *Natsionalizm i mezhnatsionalnye konflikty* Moscow, num 1 (1991) y *Mezhetnicheskie otnosheniya i konflikty v postsovetских gosudarstvakh*. Yearly report (Moscow: the Institute of Economics of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 1999).

<sup>18</sup> Yu. V. Arutyunyan, *Postsovetские natsii. Seriya "Etnosotsiologiya v tsifrakh"* (Moscow: The Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 1999) y Yu. V. Arutyunyan, *Transformatsiya postsovetских natsii: po materialam etnosotsiologicheskikh issledovaniy* (Moscow: N.N. Miklukho-Maklai Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 2003).

<sup>19</sup> *Sotsiologiya mezhnatsionalnykh otnosheniy v tsifrakh*. Moscow, the Institute of Social and Political Research of the Russian Academy of Sciences, num 1-2 (1996) y *Rossiya - sotsialnaya situatsiya i mezhnatsionalnye otnosheniya v regionakh* (Moscow: 1998).

<sup>20</sup> A. E. Murzin, "Potentsial regionalnoi identichnosti v mezhnatsionalnykh otnosheniyakh", *Priqlashaem k diskussii*, (2016): 59–67.

identity and interethnic relations in the Volga Region<sup>21</sup>, interethnic relations in Russia reflected in monitoring surveys conducted by the Federal Agency for Ethnic Affairs and regional studies<sup>22</sup>, interethnic concord in the context of socio-political orientations (experience of the Moscow Region)<sup>23</sup>, interethnic concord as a factor of conflict-free development of Russia<sup>24</sup>, interethnic concord in the all-Russian and regional dimensions, and the socio-cultural and religious contexts of the problem<sup>25</sup>.

The integration efforts of Russia in the post-Soviet space and creation of the EAEU have made studies of interethnic relations between the peoples of the EAEU member states (former Soviet republics) relevant again. This article is one of the first attempts at scientific analysis of interethnic concord between citizens of the EAEU member states in the Moscow metropolis as a resource of the effectiveness of integration processes in the EAEU.

## Conclusions

International concord between citizens of the EAEU member states that live permanently or temporarily in the Moscow metropolis is based on uniform principles and rules of life, ideas of work-life balance, positive attitude to the titular nation, and evaluation of the Russian policy in respect of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan as friendly. Interethnic discord is reflected in the ideas about the results and expectations of the EAEU functioning. It is reinforced by ingroup ethnic favoritism, preservation of interethnic tension in the areas of their permanent residence in the capital of Russia, insufficient positive consolidation of people around the idea of creating a new integration, lack of their readiness to cooperate in order to achieve integration goals, and preservation of quite a high share of people both among immigrants and Muscovites who think that it is acceptable to resolve a conflict by taking part in aggressive acts involving street bashing and assaults up to armed outrages.

Comparative analysis of the obtained data suggests that interethnic orientations and attitudes in the Moscow metropolis are largely determined by ethnic stereotypes and prejudices against people of other nationalities, the emergence of which is conditioned by cultural and linguistic proximity, personal communication experience accumulated in the course of interaction with other peoples, intensity, positive/negative impressions of interethnic contacts gained by a certain informant, socio-demographic characteristics of informants (education, status, age, place of residence) and their friends' and relatives' previous experience of communication with citizens of the EAEU member states, social and socio-political contexts of one's daily activities in their homeland and in Russia.

<sup>21</sup> L. M. Drobizheva y G. B. Kosharnaya, "Aktualnaya identichnost i mezhetnicheskie otnosheniya v povolzhskom regione", *Sotsiologiya*, num 4 Vol: 40 (2016): 106–112.

<sup>22</sup> L. M. Drobizheva, "Grazhdanskaya identichnost kak uslovie oslableniya etnicheskogo negativizma", *Mir Rossii*, num 1 (2017): 7–29.

<sup>23</sup> E. M. Arutyunova, "Mezhetnicheskoe soglasie v kontekste obshchestvenno-politicheskikh orientatsii (opyt moskovskogo regiona)", *Vestnik Instituta Sotsiologii*, num 3 Vol: 14 (2015): 92–106

<sup>24</sup> M. A. Dubrovina, "Mezhnatsionalnoe soglasie kak faktor beskonfliktnogo razvitiya Rossii", *Bulletin of Saratov State Academy of Law*, num 1 Vol: 96 (2015): 177–181.

<sup>25</sup> L. M. Drobizheva, *Mezhnatsionalnoe soglasie v obshcherossiiskom i regionalnom izmerenii: Sotsiokulturnyi i religiozniy konteksty* (Moscow: Federal Scientific Research Sociological Center of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 2018).

Improvement of interethnic climate and stability in Moscow is possible on condition that in the course of handling all issues related to daily lives of citizens of the EAEU member states, everyone's equal rights are secured and all arising problems are solved on an equity basis with respect for national dignity. It is important that Muscovites realize the advantages of creating the EAEU to a higher degree, the immigrants are not disappointed with their decision to move, and their working experience in Moscow has a positive influence on the integration sentiments. In this case, one will be able to speak of increase in interethnic concord between citizens of the EAEU member countries and solidarity in terms of the EAEU goals, which will lead to development of double identity among citizens of the EAEU member states as a resource for viability of the Eurasian idea and effectivity of the EAEU supranational institutions.

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