POPULATION DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT IN A GLOBAL CITY: POSSIBILITIES AND THREATS (CASES OF SAINT PETERSBURG AND MOSCOW)

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Abstract: *The article is devoted to the problem of diversity management in world cities. One of the specific characteristics of these territorial and political entities in the globalizing world is their magnetism for thousands of migrants searching for better quality of life, self-realization, and safety. Historically the cities were population and activities' concentration centres for long centuries. So, the ethnic and cultural diversity is the long-lasting problem to be solved for keeping peace and continuing development. The diversity management for largest Russian cities – Moscow and Saint Petersburg – is as important as for other global cities of the world.*

Keywords: *global city, diversity, ethnicity, migration, conflict, diversity management.*

INTRODUCTION

The diversity management process has become one of the most important city governance objectives in the first decades of the 21st century. Russian cities including Moscow and Saint Petersburg are also examples of systems where this issue needs efficient political decisions, rational diversity management structures and radical changes in the public consciousness. The intensive russification policy of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union lead to bad outcomes – ethnic minorities lost their own identity or tried to protect their language and culture in the atmosphere of hostile attitude as well of the state as of other citizens. The Constitution of the new Russia (1993) since 1993 has guaranteed the equality of all people before the law and court, their rights and freedoms regardless of sex, race, nationality, language, origin, property and official status, place of residence, religion, convictions, membership of public associations, and also of other circumstances, the right to determine and indicate the nationality, to use his/her native

language, a free choice of the language of communication, upbringing, education, and creative work.

The Constitution also bans all forms of limitations of human rights on social, racial, national, linguistic, or religious grounds, the propaganda of social, racial, national, religious, or linguistic supremacy. The highest regulatory legal act of the Russian Federation also guarantees foreign nationals and stateless persons in the Russian Federation the same rights as the citizens of the Russian Federation and imposes on them the same obligations, except for cases envisaged by the federal law or the international agreements of the Russian Federation. All these constitutional norms demonstrate the good will of the Russian state to create conditions for free and just living of people with a different background in the country with an aging population, low birth-rates, and high need for labour force under intensive economic growth and development trends as a leading vector.

But the declarations of intent does not always mean that the real policy, migration politics and diversity management as its expression fall together. The desire to position Russia as a democratic state with the rule of law does not always stay in accordance with laws and even more with administrative practices. Labour migrants, compatriots returning to Russia from post-soviet states and other countries often have serious difficulties with getting the legal allowance to stay and work on the Russian territory (for the first category) or to become citizens (for the second). Many of labour migrants face hostility in Russia because they look different from other people, have their own habits and do not speak Russian well enough to get a highly qualified work even if they have got a higher education and qualification in their native country. They are seen by many Russian citizens as rivals for workplaces and better wages (Gribanova, 2016).

At the same time the policy and politics are not enough efficient to guarantee the above named rights in reality and to develop conditions for integration of migrants into the Russian city communities and to help them to keep their ethnic identity intake. In the world of the 21st century the "melting pot" conception with its full migrants' assimilation objectives has lost its appeal. At the same time the multiculturalism as a model of integration into the national community without a loss of the ethnic group identity and language has not led to positive results. The relatively new "interculturalism" approach can become the needed remedy but it is not implemented anywhere as an integrated model and must be checked on new development stages under different circumstances. Russia also must search and find its own way of integration of migrants, find resources (material, financial and social) to help them by building the new life in a strange environment and express a real political will to do this. The research question of the article is the identification of opportunities and threats associated with the integration of migrants into the society of the largest Russian cities, and determination of policy directions for managing the diversity of the urban population on this basis.

THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO THE CITY POPULATION DIVERSITY PROBLEM AND SOLUTIONS IN GLOBAL CITIES

Systems' approach: the application to the migration problem analyses

City population diversity is closely interconnected with the migration research – a special social theory branch which develops steadily since the 50-s and 60-s of the 20th century. Migration flows began to grow since the World War II. Different parts of state's territories became the territory of another country. People moved from their former

homeland to other places. Many could not return to their homes because they already belonged to other people.

A new category of labor migrants has appeared in European countries. Turks substituted the German men who had not returned from captivity on construction sites, in works and other places where the labor force was not large enough to solve the cities reconstruction problem and other most important development tasks. The German researcher Michael Bommes (2011) used the systems approach to the analysis of migration. He saw in the modern society social differentiation interpreted by Niklas Luhmann (2017) the basis of inclusion / exclusion process. This process develops not so much inside the functional systems created through differentiation but mostly in organizations. Inequality of access to resources and social benefits, barriers to career growth that do not depend on professional training and skill level and hostile feelings of the city inhabitants make the integration of migrants into the host community very difficult.

The systems approach in this interpretation allows to categorize the migrants' groups from the point of view of their coming to the city purpose: to become a citizen of the country and the permanent city's inhabitant or only to earn some money and use it in their home country. With the second category the question of integration (not saying anything about assimilation) is not actual. The strong functional differentiation and the autopoiesis of functional systems (Schimank, 2009) means for ethnic population diversity more borders between the migrants' group and the host community. The public policy in this case is the most important communication instrument between functional systems and within organizations with their need for labour resources ready to work for lower wages and without any social guarantees.

The concepts of "a world / global city" and the place of Moscow and Saint Petersburg in the systems

World and global cities' population diversity is closely connected with other characteristics formulated in books and articles by John Friedmann (1998) and Saskia Sassen (2005). Assessing the performance of cities Friedmann defines metropolises and large metropolitan regions as "vital command centers, switching points…, global investing hubs…in the global space of flows".

In this context he cites Manuel Casstels (2019). World cities described by Friedmann in the late 20th century have been playing the leading role in this network throughout long centuries. Not all of them could retain this position. For two centuries (1712-1918) Saint Petersburg was the capital of the Russian Empire and one of the largest European cities. But in the Soviet Union Leningrad played only a role of an industrial and regional center.

John Friedmann also formulates criteria for evaluating good city, including Good City Governance, Good City Management and Good City Outcomes. Among the first criteria group the inclusiveness position is the most important for population diversity. Migrants and citizens with a migrant background need to be incorporated into the city community for their and the community good (Friedmann, 1998; Raco, Kesten, Colomb, 2014).

The second criteria group incorporates responsiveness to citizen complaints and initiatives which is often tragically important for migrants whose complaints are not responded by state and municipal authorities (Friedmann, 1998; Report of the High Commissioner for Human Rights in Moscow for the 2019 Activities, 2020). And the last but not less important is tolerance in the group of outcomes because of the atmosphere

in the city influencing the quality of life of all citizens old and new (Friedmann, 1998; Saint Petersburg Population 2019, 2020).

Sasskia Sassen in her "Expulsions. Brutality and Complexity in the Global Economy" (Sassen, 2014) shows problems and faults of the globalized world where many people, organizations and groups are expelled from communities on different grounds. As for the migrants and often also their descendants they are perceived to be expelled because of their difference from the others. Language, religion, ethnicity can be a reason for expulsion.

And in her later interview to the Place brand observer (Sassen, 2017) S. Sassen tries to defend localities from globalizing economy which is destroying small businesses, agricultural production and even soil and water. On the other hand, she says that now "...we see [in world / global cities] «proximity» but not embedded in territorial space; rather, a deterritorialized form of proximity containing multiple territorial moments. And many immigrants will tend to be part of a cross-border network that connects specific localities — their new communities and their localities of origin in home countries. Though in a manner different from the financiers, they nonetheless also have the experience of deterritorialized local cultures, not predicated on locational proximity" (Sassen, 2008).

Most significant cities – not always the largest ones – are magnets for thousands of people because of their important economic role, rich possibilities on the labor market for high qualified as well as for low qualified workers. Developed technical and social infrastructure and many opportunities for self-realization make these cities attractive for firms, organizations, and individuals.

The Global and World Cities Research Network (GaWC) (The World According to GaWC, 2018) analyses the role and place of largest and most developed centers every year since the beginning of the 21st century. The tables change and cities are moving up and down in the hierarchy. For our research the places of Moscow and Saint Petersburg are of the greatest importance but it is also necessary to compare them with the ratings of other post-socialist and post-Soviet cities.

In 2018 Moscow was included into the A-group (not A++ or A+) but it was a great success. From the group of post-socialist cities, we find in "A" also only Warsaw. At the same time Prague and Budapest are in the group A-; Ho Chi Minh City and Bucharest in the B+; Kiev, Sofia and Zagreb in B; Almaty, Belgrade and Bratislava in B-; Riga in G+; Saint Petersburg, Baku, Tbilisi and Tallinn in G; Wroclaw and Minsk in G-.

The difference between Moscow and Saint Petersburg relates to different political and economic role of both cities in Russia. In Moscow the capital flows, functions and economic concentration are extremely intensive and make the city much more attractive for investors and organizations than the Northern Capital as Saint Petersburg is often called. Since 1918 when the Russia's capital was moved from Petrograd to Moscow the role of the second largest Russian city has become less and less important not only in politics but also in economy and the city now depends largely on Moscow when making decisions and getting financing for their implementation.

Civic, ethnic and city identity: common and special features

Through hundreds of years of their history cities have got multiple characteristics which distinguish them from each other. The identity of a historic city includes features formed by event chains under specific geographic, economic, political, and social conditions.

The city identity understood as the sense of a city that distinguishes it from other cities (Proshansky, Fabian, Kaminoff, 1983) is very close to the notion of civic identity. Modern nation states under globalization pressures are losing some elements of their identity and often they understand the danger to lose it to a greater extent. Migration streams threaten civic and city identities as well. The migrants keep their ethnic identity and often, also the former civic identity of their homeland.

Eva-Maria Asari from the London School of Economics and Political Science with her colleagues analyzes the problems of British identity in the 21st century. As one of main aspects they identify "the failure to produce a discourse that integrates various ethnic groups under the umbrella of a common British identity" (Asari, Halikiopoulou, Mock, 2008). The same task is of a high importance for cities where migrants are concentrating.

Often, they live not dispersed through the whole city territory but compact in separate city areas and build modern ghettos to retain their language, habits, and other features of the ethnic identity. In this situation ethnic identity remains stronger than the city identity and the civic identity. In the globalizing world this situation can be a chance for better communication with other cities and nations, but the city identity can vanish under this pressure. To find the balance between diversity and unity is a very difficult task for modern cities. The larger and more diverse is the city population the harder is the process of cultural and ethnic diversity management.

Ethnic diversity, economic development, and citizens' equality

The question about the importance of population diversity for the development and city life enrichment is not a simple one. There are many social scientists who have recently analyzed this problem. American authors Abigail Cooke and Thomas Kemeny show in their article "Cities, immigrant diversity and complex problem solving" (Cooke, Kemeny, 2017) the migrants' impact on the city economy.

The volume of literature cited by them is extremely large (Cooke, Kemeny, 2017; Friedmann, 1998). This reflects an intensive interest and the high problem importance. The authors' research is devoted first to the benefits of diversity for workplaces and organizations where new and unusual skills are needed and complex problems have to be solved. The costs of interaction among people with different background are outweighed by better end-results. Workers whose activities require creativity and innovation, who have to solve complex problems in spheres with high intellectual level feel themselves better and work more creatively in the diverse surrounding and immigrants are of importance for them. Even wages are higher in a diverse city districts and in firms with a diverse personal.

Analyzing the results of the Cooke's and Kemeny's research we must not forget that the reality of American cities differs greatly from that of Russia. Most migrants in St. Petersburg can find only low qualified workplaces with low wages. This is also typical for people with high qualification and sometimes with a high Russian language proficiency level. Migrants are concentrating in large metropolitan areas because of their size and labor market complexity, rich cultural landscape, and large population. Some people try to find shelter in quarters where the representatives of their ethnic group already live.

They are searching support and protection. Not always such communities are seen with sympathy by the indigenous city inhabitants. It is not so typical for cities with a rich ethnic migration background but we can see it in cities where the ethnic groups are numerous but their representatives have been living in the city not for a very long time.

The high diversity of the city population is not only some possibility for development but also a very complicated problem for the city and its authorities. For example, we see it from the report "Urban Policies on Diversity in London, United Kingdom" (2014). It was not an isolated project but a part of the large EU-Program "Governing Urban Diversity: Creating Social Cohesion, Social Mobility and Economic Performance in Today's Hyper-diversified Cities" (Raco, Kesten, Colomb, 2014).

The colonial past created a very special situation in London. 2.6 million people from 8.17 million (31%) residents were born not only outside London but also outside the United Kingdom. And asked about their background 55% of Londoners said that they are "other than White British" (Raco, Kesten, Colomb, 2014; Castells, 2019). One of the most important problems in London, identified by the Report, was the unevenness of income in different ethnic groups, the high differentiation of life quality among city boroughs and the feeling of injustice and inequality in some population groups.

The fact that the problem is global becomes evident from the principals and goals of the New Urban Agenda (2017) accepted on the Habitat III Conference in Quito 2016. One of the main principals is "cities for all". It means, that on some normative fixed level of quality of life there must be no difference between ethnic and other population groups in the city if we want to stimulate development and to have guarantees for peace and social stability of city-systems.

The London Report focuses on one other important issue - the structure and the authorities in the sphere of diversity management. The analysis shows massive efforts and some deficits in the system. It has many levels according to the overall city governance structure. First of all, the British government plays an active role in the diversity issues. One of the most important roles is the role of the Greater London Authority. But the boroughs have also to solve many problems in the frame of their competences.

There are some special problems connected with the migrants' inclusion process. The Chinese - Canadian researcher Shibao Guo analyzes in his work multiple aspects of this problem: multiculturalism, migration, and inclusion. We share his opinion that the adult education in this context is of greatest importance (Guo, 2015). Many migrants have difficulties in integrating into the host society.

And it is a paradox that more difficulties are typical for high-skilled and educated migrants because their prior education is not accepted, or they have not enough highly developed language skills. Often the host society and the definite migrant group have different values. The search for common values becomes an important objective in this context. Special research was developed by European specialists about this issue. It is a common matter for all host societies where the migrants' numbers are growing now (Banulescu-Bogdan, Benton, 2017).

THE CURRENT SITUATION WITH POPULATION DIVERSITY PROBLEM IN TWO LARGEST RUSSIAN CITIES – MOSCOW AND SAINT PETERSBURG. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Numbers and facts

In 2016 in his presentation to the House of Nationalities (n.d.) Boris Panin the head of the charity foundation "Educational and social projects support" provocatively called Saint Petersburg "the city of migrants" but proved later proved that such definition is only a stereotype (Panin, 2016). The statistical data shows that there are not so many labor

migrants in the city (about 400 – 450.000) and most of them are here on the legal basis. The difference between the city and its European counterparts is distinct. Nobody is crossing the Finnish Gulf on a boat or crawling over the boarders. The migrants are registered and can get a workplace only with the official allowance.

But one of the problems is rooted in the visa-free regime for migrants from CIS countries. The regime allows them to come to the city without any barriers. They must be registered as well but not all of them follow the rules. Many employers also prefer to ignore the legal regulations due to lower expenses for not registered and not officially employed people. That is why the migration data for Russia as a whole and its regions is only partly reliable.

Table 1. Population size and migration in Russia, Moscow, and Saint Petersburg in 2016, 2017, 2018[1]

Numbers, Indexes	Russia			Moscow			Saint Petersburg		
	2016	2017	2018	2016	2017	2018	2016	2017	2018
Total Population	146804400	146880400	146780700	12380700	12506500	12615300	5281600	5351900	5383900
Urban population	109032400	109326900	109453500	12228700	12342600	12432500	5281600	5351900	5383900
Rural Population	37772000	37553500	37327200	152000[2]	163900	182700	none	none	none
Rank among the subjects of the RF	-	-	-	1	1	1	4	4	4
Migration									
Number of migrants arriving	4706411	4773500	4911566	238202	327685	353692	232663	264780	250742
Number of migrants who have left	4444463	4561622	4786712	209150	216665	254929	187954	200234	22966

[1] Methodology remarks: (1) Natural growth index - difference between total birth and death rates; (2) general birth and death rates - ratio of live births and deaths to the total population (per 1000); (3) younger than able-bodied – 0-15, able-bodied: woman – 16-55, men – 16-60, older than able bodied: woman – 55+, men – 60+; (4) migration (legal) - legal international and internal migration according to Directorate general of Ministry of Internal Affairs for Saint Petersburg and the Leningrad region statistical data, obtained when registering and de - registering migrants for a period of 9 months or more; (5) the intensity of migration - the ratio of migration growth to the average annual permanent population according to the current estimate (per 1000) - according to the estimate of migration growth included in the calculation of the population; (6) refugee - a person who does not have Russian citizenship, who was forced to leave the place of permanent residence in another state because of violence and harassment committed against him or her, and who received a status in a division of the Federal migration service; internally displaced person – a citizen of the Russian Federation who was forced to leave the place of permanent residence in another state or in Russia because of violence and harassment committed against him or members of his family and received a status in a division of the Federal migration service.

[2] The so called "New Moscow" – a part of the Moscow region – became Moscow's part in 2012. The territory includes beside cities also rural settlements.

Table 2. Population size and migration in Moscow and Leningrad regions in 2016, 2017, 2018

Numbers, Indexes	Russia			Moscow region			Leningrad region		
	2016	2017	2018	2016	2017	2018	2016	2017	2018
Total Population	146804400	146880400	146780700	7423500	7503400	7599600	1791900	1813800	1847900
Urban population	109032400	109326900	109453500	6063000	6123600	6191400	1147500	1157100	1188900
Rural Population	37772000	37553500	37327200	1360500	1639000	1408200	644400	656700	659000
Rank among the subjects of the RF	-	-	-	2	2	2	27	27	27
Migration									
Number of migrants arriving	4706411	4773500	4911566	334386	334429	378854	89824	105704	124177
Number of migrants who have left	4444463	4561622	4786712	230645	251332	273375	68165	74845	80436
Migration growth / decline	261948	211878	124854	103741	83097	105497	21659	30859	43741
Index of total, natural and migration growth per 1000 population									
Total growth / decline	1,8	0,5	-0,7	14,2	10,7	12,7	7,3	12,1	18,6
Natural growth / decline	- 0,02	- 0,9	-1,5	0,1	-0,4	-1,2	-4,8	-5,0	-5,3
Migration growth / decline	1,8	1,4	0,9	14,1	11,1	14,0	12,1	17,1	23,9
Migration growth index (the intensity of migration) / decline (age structure of migrants)									
Younger than able-bodied	598	30857	21921	26806	21760	64752	5320	7871	11244
Able-bodied	19327	164396	91446	69115	56312	180076	14133	20795	28854
Older than able-bodied	228392	16625	11487	7820	5025	19893	2206	2206	3643
Number of refugees, internally displaced persons and persons granted temporary asylum[3]									
Refugees	598	592	572	64	57	52	25	20	16
Internally	19327	13795	94085	132	99	69	396	263	255

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[3] Leningrad region + Saint Petersburg.

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displaced persons								
Persons granted temporary asylum	228392	125442	76825	1414	1059	805	16628	15750	11002

Table 3. Population migration types in Saint Petersburg: general and specific results[4]

	2015	2016	2017	2018
Internal Russian migration (migration growth)	51179	43758	46977	21034
Migration with CIS countries (all countries)	-25176	1715	17757	6636
Azerbaijan	241	153	227	501
Armenia	400	50	2173	1320
Belarus	-237	-555	2291	71
Kazakhstan	685	368	1418	697
Kyrgyzstan	-175	61	8506	1432
Republic Moldova	-228	788	909	580
Tajikistan	-6261	-68	464	376
Turkmenistan	-345	-48	-1	-149
Uzbekistan	-20597	-764	356	235
Ukraine	1341	1730	1414	1573
International migration (excluding the CIS countries)	-740	-764	-188	106

According to Panin, the opinion about the competition on the labour market between local workers and newcomers and the low qualification of migrants is also not correct. There are more vacant workplaces in the city than people ready to work, and about 25% of migrants are qualified workers and teachers, doctors, and other specialists.

In this situation they create more opportunities than threats for the city community. The myth about higher criminality among migrants is not true and they bring a lot of money into the city budget – about 3,8 billion in 2015. Even more money gets the budget of Moscow where the tax income created by foreign workers was in 2015 higher than paid by oil companies. About 8 to 20% of the GDP in Russia is produced by migrants (Tirskaya, 2016).

At the same time, the migrant's rights are not always protected as it should be according to the Constitution of the Russian Federation. In the Summary of the Report of the Human Rights Ombudsman for Saint Petersburg on the human rights situation in the city in 2015 the current situation was described as getting better compared with the earlier time but in 2015 17 people have been victims of xenophobia and racism, 3 of them died (Summary of the Report of the Human Rights Ombudsman…, 2016). In the Report Summary 2018 this problem was acknowledged as not actual, but it does not mean that it is solved forever.

The attention to migrant workers problems and other challenges, connected with discrimination by individuals, organizations and authorities, is also in the centre of civil

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[4] The data shows the migration dynamic. The main tendency is a very low total number. Most migrants come from the CIS countries and international migrants leave the city. The differences can be explained in connection with political events in countries of origin and with the economic situation in Russia and with course of the Russian ruble. Example: the number of Ukrainians coming to Saint Petersburg is very steady (Number of citizens and migrants in Saint Petersburg 2017, 2018; Population size and migration in Saint Petersburg and the Leningrad region in 2017, 2017).

society representatives and community's attention. In 2020 the city of Saint Petersburg has more than 5mln people officially and more than 7mln according to the sociological estimations.

With many settlements of different size around the city it forms the agglomeration growing all the time. Some former villages have become cities because of the mass building quarters that have emerged recently. According to the population census of 2010, *the ethnic structure* of the population in the city is diverse.

Table 4. The ethnic structure of the population in Saint Petersburg

	Number of members of the ethnic group	% from all people designated their ethnicity
The population of Saint Petersburg	4879566	
The citizens designated their ethnicity	4226739	100%
Russians	3908753	92,48%
Ukrainians	64446	1,52%
Byelorussians	38136	0,90%
Tatars	30857	0,73%
Jews	24132	0,57%
Uzbeks	20345	0,48%
Armenians	19971	0,47%
Azerbaijanis	17717	0,42%
Tadjik	12072	0,29%
Georgians	8274	0,20%
Moldavans	7200	0,17%
Chuvash	4610	0,11%
Koreans	4031	0,10%
Kazakh	3349	0,08%
Kirgiz	3289	0,08%
Ossetin	3233	0,08%
Germans	2849	0,07%
Lezgins	2814	0,07%
Bashkirs	2706	0,06%
Poles	2647	0,06%
Finns	2559	0,06%
Mordva	2337	0,06%
Avars	1971	0,05%
Chinese	1578	0,04%
Estonians	1534	0,04%
Chechen	1482	0,04%
Turkmen	1469	0,03%
Karelians	1396	0,03%
Lithuanians	1294	0,03%
Latvians	1291	0,03%
Buryats	1287	0,03%
Kalmyks	1283	0,03%
Kabardian	1181	0,03%
Greeks	1154	0,03%
Udmurt	1076	0,03%
Komi	1072	0,03%
Mari	1022	0,03%
Turks	999	0,02%
Kumyk	947	0,02%
Dargins	946	0,02%
Ingush	930	0,02%
Arabs	929	0,02%
Gypsies	890	0,02%
Bulgarians	843	0,02%

the Abkhaz	783	0,02%
Yakuts	701	0,02%
Tabasarans	603	0,01%
Others	11751	0,28%
People not designated their ethnic group	652827	13% from the population

The analysis of the table shows that despite this fact the city is monoethnic. Being asked about their mother tongue most people from non-Russian ethnic groups name the Russian language as such. It is also interesting that about 13% of the whole city population do not identify their ethnicity at all. It seems strange because only 17 years have passed since the time when the "nationality" – the 5th paragraph – disappeared from national passports. Since 2010 when the last official census took place the situation has changed.

According to the official statistics the city in 2019 has already 5 426 959 citizens. The largest ethnic group – the Russians – consists of about 4mln. people. It makes about 75% of the whole population. Compared with the figures from 2010 it shows that the population is growing but the share of Russians is falling. It relates to low birthrates by city's permanent inhabitants and intensive migration. Migration is the largest growth source and the numbers show that people are coming not only from different regions of Russia but also from abroad and they belong to different ethnic groups (Saint Petersburg Population 2019, 2020).

The largest cities – often capitals officially or non-officially – are the magnets for large migrants' masses. Potential workplaces, a high population diversity level connected with a possibility to find support from the own ethnic and religious community on the "foreign" and sometimes hostile territory encourage migrants to settle in large cities where they can to a certain extent preserve their traditional way of life. Only a few sources help to find out the migrants' numbers in Moscow and Saint Petersburg (Population migration in Russian regions: coefficient and number of people, 2020).

Thus, Moscow's mayor Sobyanin's statement that Moscow is not growing due to the influx of migrants seems justified. According to the mayor of the Russian capital, "most of the migrants do not settle in Moscow and, unlike in Europe, they do not come here for benefits, but to work and earn money" (Sobyanin, 2018). In the section "Population migration in Russian regions: coefficients and number of people" of the website "About countries and cities" (2018) for Moscow the migration growth is 7,9% and for Saint Petersburg – 5,2%. Many regions of Russia – the Leningrad region, the city of Sebastopol, the Moscow region, the Tumen region, the Kaliningrad region, and the Krasnodar area are ahead of Moscow (Population migration in Russian regions: coefficients and number of people, n.d). The more detailed numbers for Saint Petersburg can be found in the Statistical bulletin of the city's Statistical Office "Petrostat" (Number of citizens and migrants in Saint Petersburg 2017, 2018).

According to the data in 2017 about 265 thousand migrants came to Saint Petersburg. Among them there were about 51 thousand children in the age from 5 up to 19 years (we can define them as "schoolchildren"). This category is important for the integration policy for two reasons. Migrants who bring their families to the city plan to settle here and perhaps to become Russian citizens in future. So, they are highly interested in the deep and rapid integration into the city community, in the learning of the Russian language and they strive to give children a high-quality education. Children at the same time can integrate better than their parents if they get support from schools and other

organizations in the city. It does not mean that the integration policy should become a process of complete assimilation, but deep integration is vital.

Saint Petersburg integration reality

The city is the second largest in Russia and has the special status of the so called "federal city" – subject of the Russian Federation – together with Moscow and Sebastopol. According to the status St. Petersburg has autonomy and its own Parliament, Government and the Statute Court for conflict resolution connected with the Statute - the highest city Law. That is why the problems, connected with city diversity and migration, are regulated on two state governmental levels: on the federal and on the city one. And most migration issues are regulated not by the city itself but on the federal level. As it was already mentioned, St. Petersburg, as the subject of the federation, has also its own laws. They play an important role in the diversity management. On the 19th of December 2013 with the ordinance of St. Petersburg's government the Committee for inter-ethnic cooperation and migration policy implementation was founded. This Committee is the body for development and fulfilment of multiple actions to prevent and counter ethnic conflicts.

The city of St. Petersburg is divided into 18 districts. On the district level there are also special Councils for interethnic relations. On the 12th of December 2018, the City Law N 771-164 "About the Strategy of the Social and Economic Development of St. Petersburg until 2035" was adopted. Among the priority objectives of the Strategy is the strategic direction "St. Petersburg – the Open City" (The Law of St. Petersburg N 771-164, 2018). According to this document "St. Petersburgians are open and friendly, they love their city, are proud of it and its history, participate actively in all public activities in St. Petersburg. St. Petersburg is creating conditions for socialization and cultural adaptation, active inclusion of foreigners into the city life. Cultural heritage is a basic element of a common city identity, one of the most important factors forming out the relation to St. Petersburg of citizens, migrants and guests".

Relatively high life quality, large and differentiated labour market make the city attractive for migrants from Russian regions, former Soviet republics and abroad. Labour migrants are also important for city's economic system. But in order to have not negative but highly positive effects thanks to the migration process the city inhabitants and state and municipal authorities have to create the friendly atmosphere from both sides. On the Internet Portal of the Committee for interethnic cooperation we can find a large scale of activities for integration and social and cultural adoption of migrants. They are devoted to their legal status, to aggregation the newcomers into different ethnic organisations already existing in the city. Let us have a look at these organizations and activities:

1. The special "Internet-Resource for Migrants" (n.d.), including many options – "My Documents", "Centre for Labour Force", "The Portal for Citizens' Appeals", "The Migration Office of Ministry of Interior", "The Federal Agency for Nationalities' Issues", "Migration and Migrants. The Information Portal", "The multi-national St. Petersburg – the official site of the government of St. Petersburg".

2. Of a great importance for migrants from many Russian regions, states of Central Asia and other Muslim countries is the Spiritual Administration for Muslims in St. Petersburg and North-West of Russia (n.d.). But not only Muslims but also all Christian confessions, Jewish people and Buddhists have their temples in St. Petersburg. The Christians have their temples since the very beginning of city history, the Jews since the end of the 19th century when the Large Synagogue was built, the Muslims and the

Buddhists only after 1905 when the freedom of conscience was adopted by the tsarist government.

3. The cultural integration and interethnic harmony are stimulated by different festivals and competitions which are implemented, first, in the "House of Nationalities". Organized and financed by the city of St. Petersburg this state institution plays an active role in the common life of different ethnic communities.

4. Diasporas of all ethnic groups (Attachments. Table 1) have active and intensive practice for a long time in St. Petersburg. All of them and also many ethnic-cultural autonomies, and inter-regional associations are partners of the "House of Nations".

Moscow could be a pattern of a problem solution, couldn't it?

This question is a logical one because of the specific characteristics of Moscow as a large city and the capital of the Russian Federation. In most countries the population is concentrated in largest cities and most significant centres, capitals first. But in Russia this tendency appears stronger than in any other Russian city. People come from the regions of Russia searching for workplaces, great success, better quality of life and so on. The concentration of money in Moscow is enormous – about 80% of the state budget and private capital.

A large part of migrants comes from the former Soviet Republics but there are also newcomers from other countries, primarily, South-East Asia. Many of them are not registered and the numbers of migrants differ in books, articles and official documents. According to Evgenii Varshaver, the leading researcher of ethnic and migration problems in the Russian Academy for National Economy and Public Administration (RANEPA) under the President of the Russian Federation "most people, living now in Moscow, are migrants in the first or second generation. There are only very few citizens in Moscow whose grandparents have been born in the city. But how many migrants came to the Russian capital during the last decades really nobody knows" (Varshaver, Rocheva, 2014, p. 526). The above-mentioned opinion seems to be quite correct and this situation makes the problem of relations between migrants and the host city community even more complicated.

Among applicants who submitted in 2019 written applications to the High Commissioner for Human Rights in Moscow foreign citizens and apatrides made up only 0,2% and migrants, refugees and resettles – 0,05% (Report of the High Commissioner for Human Rights in Moscow for the 2019 Activities, 2020; Sassen, 2008; Schenk, 2018). In the Report for 2018 the problems of these people are not mentioned as something significant for the community and authorities. At the same time, the problems really exist and must be solved.

We can see conflicts between different diaspora (Caucasus, Central Asia, China, and others) and between migrants and the host community. A detailed analysis of the actual situation we can find in the work of an American researcher Caress Schenk who has been working at the Nazarbaev University in Kazakhstan for last 5 years (Schenk, 2018). We can find the official numbers of different ethnic groups living in Moscow in the Census of 2010. According to this document more than 9mln Russians live in the capital (the whole population count about 11mln). There are also other ethnic groups, but the official numbers are not comparable. At the same time the experts give different numbers. They assert that Russians and other Slavonic ethnic groups are now in the minority – they count only 4,6mln. This data is confirmed by the informal Ministry of the Interior information.

Commenting the official data, the experts connect them with the fears and social conflicts in the city. During the census people answering the question "What nationality do you belong to?" usually say "We are Russians" because they are citizens of Russia, speak Russian as their mother tongue and often they also connect both characteristics with the confession and say that they are orthodox. It does not mean that they really have strong bounds with this confession but describing their identity in this way they feel themselves as a part of the city community and think their risks to be seen as "foreigners" are not so significant.

The notions of nationality and ethnic group have changed in last decades. There are many differences between people from ethnic diasporas living in the city for a long time and labour migrants who have come to the city to find a workplace and get some money for their families still living in other parts of Russia or abroad. The Russians and other Russian citizens (e.g. people coming from the North Caucasus Republics) often try to stay and bring their families to Moscow, but the others dream to come back home. Their psychology is different. They do not need to learn the Russian language and to integrate into the Russian culture. For the city they are a great problem because of strong fears and enmity in the host population.

Russian sociologists A. T. Gasparishvili and A.A. Onosov deliberate in their research three most important kinds of attitudes of the Moscow Region residents towards foreign labour migrants: cultural, economic, and social-political vectors. From the cultural point of view, most of the Muscovites (62%) perceive migrants and people with migrant roots (Asian and Caucasian first of all) negative. Enmity and fear are the strongest emotions. The most important reasons for this are unusual clothes, bad Russian language, and failure to comply with host community laws and rules. Such attitudes are sometimes also typical regarding migrants from typical Russian regions coming not from large cities but from the countryside.

The relations between the citizens of Moscow and the Moscow Region and the labour migrants in the economic sphere are even more strained because of the Muscovites' fear to lose workplaces on the labour market. Ordinary people do not think that Russian economy needs supplementary workforce for further development. And the last aspect is the general perception of migrants and newcomers as enemies who are responsible for all problems and troubles in their lives (Onosov, Gasparishvili, 2018).

From this point of view many researchers see in apparent ethnic conflicts social and political conflicts deeply rooted in the Russian society. It is the conflict between "have's" and "have not's", between "successful" and "unsuccessful", "lucky" and "unlucky", "satisfied" and "unsatisfied. And these are the inner problems of Russia not really connected with migrants as such.

Summarizing and answering the above asked question we can say that the ethnic and migration problems of Moscow are comparable with the problems of other large Russian cities and sometimes of their European counterparts. The solutions are not systematic and need the in-depth analyses for the development of a better ethnic and migration policy model and its more efficient implementation. That is why to see in Moscow the pattern for all Russian metropolises is not rational Other cities can and must search for their own model.

THE GOVERNANCE SYSTEM OF ST. PETERSBURG AND ITS ROLE IN THE DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT PROCESS

Population diversity problem solutions are deeply imbedded in the city history, economy, and culture but they depend also on the governance system structure. In the modern world in most cases these are the multilevel systems. The city's place and role in the system form out its competences and functions.

The Constitution of Russian Federation and other normative documents as the basis of diversity management in Russia

As we have already mentioned, in the second chapter of the Constitution devoted to the rights and freedoms of man and citizen there are special articles connected with ethnicity and other characteristics which have to be taken into account in the context of diversity, migrants' integration and inclusion targeted to use their potential for development, and to find ways for hatred and ethnic conflict prevention. The article 19, part 2 guarantees equality for all: sex, ethnicity, religion and other distinctive features may not be the reason for discrimination.

The nationality (ethnicity) can be determined only by the citizen and nobody else according to the article 26, part 1. The very important freedom of religion is guaranteed by the article 28. The freedom of associations confirmed in the article 30 gives the right to create diaspora organizations for protection of their rights and interests. We must not forget that the freedoms of religion, ethnicity, conscience and associations the citizens of the Russian Empire got only after the first Russian Revolution 1905. Also, in the Soviet Union some of these freedoms have been practically liquidated and fixed in the actual form only1993.

It is important that also migrants who reside legally on the Russian territory have all rights guaranteed in the Constitution. The only restriction is the absence of the right to elect and to be elected to the state and local authorities, so to participate in the political process on all public power levels. But they can defend their rights through their diaspora organizations. All principles and rules connected with migration are accepted on the federal level. The most important laws in this sphere are the following:

1.	The Presidential Decree "On the Migration Policy Concept in the Russian Federation for 2019-2025" from 31.10.2018.
2.	The Federal Law N 115-FL from 25.07. 2002"On the Legal Status of Foreign Citizens in the Russian Federation" (as amended in 2019).

The above mentioned "Migration Policy Concept" includes all priority principals and objectives in this sphere. One of the most important objective is the migrants' adaptation and integration, constitutive interaction between migrants and host society. First, it is possible through the education and Russian language learning. The adult education is an instrument that should be considered as the most important in the integration process. Adoption of historical traditions and cultural values are not less significant. Since the 1st of January 2015 migrants coming to work in Russia have got the right to get the patent. This makes the integration process much simpler but only for citizens from the countries who have the right to come to Russia without getting visa. It is important for citizens of former Soviet Republics who make 90% of labor migrants in our country.

It was planned to accept the Federal Law "On the Social and Cultural Adaptation and Integration of Foreign Citizens of the Russian Federation" and the draft law had been

worked out in 2014 but was not adopted. The problem is not solved, and the Russian law makers must return to this issue in future. Some other laws are also important for ethnic, national, and confessional policy because of high diversity level in different regions of the country. These are the Federal Law "On the National Language of the Russian Federation", the Federal Law "On the National and Cultural Autonomy" guaranteeing the rights for ethnic groups to keep and develop their ethnic and cultural traditions, the Federal Law "On the Conscience and Religious Associations Freedom" and the Federal Law "On the Languages of the Nations of the Russian Federation".

On the 28th of April, 2016 in order to make the Migration Policy Concept more efficient a number of government documents were approved, first of all, the government order "On the Implementation of the State National Policy" N 805-o, second, the Federal Program "Reinforcement of the Russian Nation Unity and Ethnic and Cultural Development of Russia's nationalities for the period of 2014-2020". 38mln rubles in this program were allocated to St. Petersburg. However, it should be mentioned that the Migration Policy Concept was criticized by many specialists - E. Pain among them (Pain, 2017).

Cultural and ethnic diversity management in modern Russia: paradigms and approaches

Since 1990-s Russia is developing the new public administration system searching for new paradigms and approaches. Among other problems to be solved is the problem of ethnic and cultural diversity which includes many aspects interconnected with culture and language but also with economic and social development (Pain, 2016). In the Constitution of the Russian Federation we read: "The Russian Federation consists of republics, territories, regions, cities of federal importance, an autonomous region and autonomous areas - equal subjects of the Russian Federation" (The Constitution of the Russian Federation, 1993). That means that all subjects of federation are states and have the same rights and obligations.

As such they develop and implement their own policies also in the ethnic diversity management sphere. Emil Pain, one of the most competent researchers of ethnic politics in Russia, was the head of a research group which was analyzing new ethnic diversity development tendencies in Russian regions in the second decade of the 21st century. In his article Pain describes four different models of such policies which give us the opportunity to compare Russian cities with each other and also with their Western counterparts.

The models described by E. Pain are:

•   "cultural diversity restrictive policy", primarily implemented "through the adoption of restrictive rules in relation to the migration processes";

•   "cultural diversity augmentation policy" which works "in order to prevent the formation of closed mono-ethnic or mono-confessional newcomers' communities";

•   "cultural uncertainty restrictive policy within the "traditionalization of culture", engaging religious figures, ethnic leaders, elders, etc. in conflict management";

•   "policy of cultural dominance at the expense of a return to the Soviet practice of some work in urban communities with the help of, for example, early socialization of children through sports, clubs, supervised youth organizations, etc" (Pain, 2016, p. 67).

These types usually do not exist in the pure form but normally they are elements of a diversity management model. E. Pain determines diversity management "...as a

function of public administration, aimed at co-ordination of social and cultural relations, as well as at practical development of measures to ensure the peaceful and efficient coexistence, interaction between people with different cultural (ethnic, religious, racial, and others) identity within the boundaries of a unified political space, including the city" (Pain, 2016, p. 72).

The concept can also be compared with traditional schemes of a "melting pot" and "multiculturalism" (sometimes called a "salad bowl") (Kolb, 2009). In her book Eva Kolb shows different periods in the New York City's history and the actual reality with 186 languages spoken in the city and victims of the terrorists' attack 11/09 coming from 93 countries (Kolb, 2009, p. 154). But at the same time Kolb names New York the most American city and asks if it is a "melting pot" or a "salad bowl". The first concept is identical with the policy of "cultural dominance" and its core is the assimilation of newcomers and the second correlates with "cultural diversity augmentation policy" and concepts of multiculturalism and interculturalism developing in the last decades because of the multiculturalism failures in Germany, France and the UK due to large masses of migrants coming to these countries since 2015 (Taylor, 2013).

We agree with E. Pain's conclusions about the need of clarifying the objectives of the national ethnic policy of the Russian Federation and the inclusion of ideas of multiple modernities as the basis of diversity management taking into account ethnic, religious, cultural and socio-cultural factors (Pain, 2016, p. 68). That is why it is so important to know how consistent the diversity management principles (Pain, 2016, p. 154) are implemented in documents, decisions and real actions in Russian cities and agglomerations.

All of them are about the recognition of differences and emancipation of individuals, political democratization and legal equality in heterogeneous societies, civil society development and languages' preservation and development, religious tolerance and freedom of conscience, exclusion and discrimination prevention for certain groups with distinct identities. The protection of indigenous communities and their way of life is also included in this list

CONCLUSION

From all information and resources shown above we can say that the diversity problem is accepted in St. Petersburg and Moscow as a very important and complicated issue. Many efforts are made to prevent negative effects of diversity and the governance in this sphere has a goal to create positive synergy. Not always the objective is reached. Some difficulties create the existence of the second law level – the federal law. The characteristics of these two federal cities need sometimes special regulations and governance instruments different from that used on the all-Russian scale. But the cities often have not got enough autonomy to get and use such instruments on the city scale. In future the problem can become even more complicated if the migrant numbers grow.

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