

Integration of Labor Migrants: Assessment Based on Sociological Survey Data



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Abstract. The article substantiates a methodological approach to assessing the effectiveness of the adaptation and integration processes of labor migrants in the host community, which is a key element of migration policy. The relevance of the study stems from the need to develop tools for evaluating the qualitative parameters of adaptation processes among labor migrants, a prerequisite for preventing negative social consequences of migration processes. The aim of the study is to develop and substantiate a system of indicators for assessing the effectiveness of adaptation and integration of labor migrants, taking into account the specific characteristics of migration flows to Russia. The research methodology includes systematization of scholarly approaches, formulation of assessment principles and criteria, analysis of normative documents, and the results of a sociological survey of labor migrants from Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan conducted in the Sverdlovsk Region from March to May 2023. The main results and their novelty lie in the development of a comprehensive system of indicators grouped into three blocks (socio-economic, socio-cultural, and family-legal), which makes it possible to assess adaptation and integration as a multidimensional process and distinguishes this approach from existing ones that focus on individual aspects of adaptation processes. The study confirms the importance of accounting for the length of time migrants have spent in the host territory. The limitations of the study are related to the specific countries of origin, which shape the characteristics of adaptation strategies. The results of the study can be used to improve migration policy, develop regional programs for the adaptation and integration of labor migrants from countries with a visa-free entry regime, and in the practice of migration management in the constituent entities of the Russian Federation.

Key words: labor migrants, adaptation and integration, effectiveness, assessment, time factor, sociological survey, migration policy.

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Introduction

Scientific literature distinguishes between such forms of adaptation as assimilation, integration, segregation (enclavization), and marginalization (Berry, 1997). The choice of adaptation form by labor migrants has a direct impact on the host community, since adaptation is usually two-way (Hellgren, 2016; Demireva, 2019; Safdar et al., 2021). Unsuccessful adaptation can lead to negative socio-economic consequences, such as ethnic nihilism, separatism or nationalism, as well

as addictive behavior of migrants (Konstantinov et al., 2022).

In Russia, the issue of choosing the form of adaptation of labor migrants is considered controversial due to the lack of a unified approach to the forms of manifestation of this process in regulatory, methodological, and strategic documents. For instance, the Concept of the State Migration Policy of the Russian Federation for 2026–2030 indicates the unacceptability

of such forms of adaptation as segregation and marginalization¹, while other documents focus on integration². The draft federal law “On Social and Cultural Adaptation and Integration of Foreign Citizens in the Russian Federation”, proposed in 2014 was not adopted. There is no unified management structure in the country that would be authorized to regulate these processes. For example, issues of social and cultural adaptation and integration of migrants are assigned to the Federal Agency for Nationalities, while issues of resettlement and adaptation of former compatriots to a new place of residence are assigned to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation. At the same time, the increase in naturalization cases in the Russian Federation (Cherepanova, Maksimova, 2020) highlights the relevance of research on the adaptation and integration of migrants. In this regard, we agree with the opinion of G.I. Osadchaya, V.Yu. Ledeneva, T.N. Yudina says that the integration migration policy in the Russian Federation requires activation (Osadchaya et al., 2024).

In the regulatory, methodological and strategic documents of the Russian Federation regulating the

issues of labor migrants staying in the country, the concepts of adaptation and integration are used in conjunction. Because of this, we also use them together, noting that in terms of content, adaptation and integration are closely interrelated, since integration, as the most preferred form of adaptation for long-term labor migrants, involves their active interaction with the local population, during which, while preserving their culture, they show respect for culture, traditions, standards of behavior of the host community (Akramov, 2021). This form of adaptation is well suited for Russia as a country with a multinational population and a predominance of “temporary-permanent” migration (Konstantinov et al., 2022).

The European Union countries’ experience, where migration policy has been shaped over a long period of time based on the priority of the integration strategy, shows that adaptation issues have become sharply relevant after the 2014–2015 migration crisis, when an unregulated flow of refugees poured into the EU countries (Bakhturidze et al., 2023), and depending on the migration policy norms adopted in different countries it has shifted either to bilateral integration, up to the participation of migrants in local government (Tsapenko et al., 2018; Bedrina, Lazareva, 2021), or to assimilation.

In the concept of effective adaptation of labor migrants, we put the qualitative content of adaptation to the social, cultural, economic and regulatory conditions of the host community, which characterizes the desire and depth of perception of local traditions that positively affect the quality of life of both migrants and the local community.

The difficulty in assessing the effectiveness of the adaptation processes of labor migrants lies in the lack of a systematic information framework, which does not provide a clear picture, first of all, of the qualitative aspects of the adaptation of labor migrants and their family members. Information on the legal status of migrants and the number of people who have accepted Russian

¹ On the Concept of the State Migration Policy of the Russian Federation for 2026–2030: Presidential Decree 738, dated October 15, 2025. Garant.ru: Information and legal portal. Available at: <https://www.garant.ru/products/ipo/prime/doc/412750335/> (accessed: 13.11.2025).

² The Strategy of the State National Policy of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2025 (as amended by Presidential Decree 703, dated December 6, 2018). Available at: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/43843> (accessed: 05.02.2025); On approval of Methodological recommendations for state authorities of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation “On Social and Cultural adaptation and Integration of Foreign Citizens in the Russian Federation”: Order of the Federal Academy of Medical Sciences of Russia 142, dated November 17, 2020. Konsultant Plus. Available at: <https://www.consultant.ru/> (accessed: 05.02.2025); General principle of organizations public authorities in the Russian Federation: Federal Law 414-FZ, dated December 21, 2021 (ed. July 31, 2025) (with amendments and additions, entered into force on 01.09.2025), Art. 44, p. 43. Konsultant Plus. Available at: <https://www.consultant.ru/cons/cgi/online.cgi?from=404070-0&req=doc&base=LAW&n=499774&rnd=LjiOCA#gMloM2Vm2nDyAvzd1> (accessed: 13.11.2025).

citizenship is publicly available, but it does not reflect the qualitative component of adaptation. In this regard, the scientific literature proposes to conduct sociological surveys of labor migrants to measure the processes of adaptation and integration (Mukomel', 2016), which require generalization and systematization of multiformat information; therefore, it is relevant to work out methodological tools to assess the effectiveness of the processes of adaptation and integration of labor migrants into the host community using the sociological survey results.

Theoretical part

Issues related to assessing the effectiveness of the adaptation and integration of labor migrants into the host community are still controversial. The European Union proposed areas for assessing the effectiveness of the integration of labor migrants in the 2010 Zaragoza Declaration: employment, education, social integration, and active citizenship, as well as indicators in each area³. It is worth noting that the proposed methodology is quite time-consuming and most foreign studies evaluate not the effectiveness of the adaptation and integration of labor migrants, but the measures of migration policy related to integration, enshrined in the legislative documents of a particular country (Goodman, 2019; Alaimo et al., 2023).

In the context of our research, several methodological approaches to solving this problem are of interest in the Russian scientific literature. For instance, a system of indicators for the adaptation and integration of labor migrants in the host community was proposed by V.S. Malakhov and I.S. Ivanov (Malakhov, Ivanov, 2014). We can note some disadvantages of this system despite the originality of the methodological approach. First, the heterogeneity of information sources,

which, although it increases the reliability of data, complicates their mutual alignment and calculation of effectiveness. Second, the inclusion of indicators in the system is quite difficult from the point of view of its verification, for example, such as “attitude toward the basic norms of the host country”, “frequency of contacts with the host community and with the country of origin”, the informative insufficiency of the indicator “number of offenses”, which directly depends on the level of organization of control over labor migration, as well as indicators that were initially set, but mainly characterize the conditions of adaptation, rather than its result, such as “social security” and “education level”. Third, there is a lack of accounting for the time spent by labor migrants in the host territory (Bondaruk et al., 2015; Saryglar, Maximova, 2020; Bedrina et al., 2024; Mokin, 2024; Endryushko, 2024).

Another variant of the system of indicators obtained on the basis of sociological surveys was proposed by A.A. Endryushko. The system includes the following indicators: migrant status, quality of life, transnationalism, language skills, interethnic contacts, identity (Endryushko, 2024). These indicators are divided into levels (low, medium, high). The calculation is made taking into account the time spent by the migrant in the receiving territory. Despite all the advantages of this approach, from our point of view, it also has disadvantages: information limitations of indicators; combining heterogeneous indicators into one group; using such an indicator as the level of education, which characterizes the condition of adaptation rather than its result.

The above has led to the need for further search and justification of a system of indicators that allows for a comprehensive assessment of the effectiveness of adaptation and integration processes, primarily for labor migrants arriving for a long period of time or planning to stay in the country permanently. For Russia, this group of migrants traditionally consists of immigrants from Central Asian countries:

³ Conclusions of the Council and the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States on Integration as a Driver for Development and Social Cohesion. Council of the European Union. Brussels. 4 May 2010, 9248/10, pp. 14–16.

Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan, which are subject to a visa-free regime in the country. They are more likely than others to decide to move to Russia with their families and to naturalize. A special place in this group of migrants is occupied by immigrants from Kyrgyzstan, a country belonging to the EAEU, which gives its citizens equal employment conditions with Russians and facilitates the process of adaptation and integration (Osadchaya, 2021). The importance of assessing the effectiveness of adaptation of representatives of these states is related to their active migration flow to Russia, the preservation of elements of traditional society in the countries of origin, which contributes to the formation of migrants' propensity for such a form of adaptation as segregation.

Research methodology and method

The author's development of a system of indicators for the adaptation and integration of labor migrants in the host community is based on the principles of social diversity, comprehensive assessment and consideration of time spent in the host territory. The principle of social diversity in this context refers to the consideration of various social practices implemented in the process of adaptation in all spheres of life (Mekka, 2012). The principle of complexity refers to the completeness and complementarity of indicators, i.e. building a system of indicators in such a way that, collectively, they characterize the migrants' desire to interact with the culture of the host community while preserving their distinctive culture (Smetanin, 2020). The principle of time accounting determines the possibility of comparing the dynamics of adaptation processes depending on the length of stay of labor migrants in the host territory.

In the context of our study, the assessment of the effectiveness of the adaptation and integration of labor migrants in the host community is based on the theory of social capital, consisting of connecting capital, which means the cohesion and mutual assistance of intra-ethnic groups of migrants

(relatives, acquaintances), and connecting capital, which characterizes social ties between representatives of ethnic groups of migrants and the local population (Tatarko, 2018). The social capital of migrants increases their awareness, allows successfully navigating new conditions, and creates a favorable psychological attitude.

The methodological development of a system of indicators to assess the effectiveness of the adaptation and integration of labor migrants in the host community and its testing were carried out on the basis of data obtained during a sociological survey conducted by us in March – May 2023 using the case study of the Sverdlovsk Region using a multi-stage combined sample ($n = 513$). At the first stage, we identified the administrative districts of the Sverdlovsk Region with the highest concentration of labor migrants from Central Asian countries (based on data from the Department of Internal Affairs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs). At the second stage, we revealed points of greatest attraction for labor migrants (markets, construction sites, shopping malls, mosques, and centers providing services to labor migrants) as survey locations within these districts. At the third stage, quotas are determined (by gender, age and countries of origin: Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, in accordance with the national composition of migrants in the region at the time of the survey). At the fourth stage, the selection of respondents was carried out spontaneously using the "snowball" method to fill quotas.

To reduce the bias of the sample, we used ways to increase trust through the choice of survey locations, its organization together with representatives of national diasporas and religious servants; increase the participation of migrants in the survey by translating the questionnaire questions into the respondents' native language and the possibility of completing the survey in online format; control the distribution of respondents by gender, age, and country of origin.

This combination of sampling methods is a common compromise solution in studies of hard-to-reach groups, allowing for the necessary diversity of respondents in the absence of a complete list of the general population. At the same time, the use of spontaneous selection at the last stage imposes restrictions on representativeness: the results obtained cannot be directly extrapolated to the entire population of labor migrants without amendments. Nevertheless, they provide a reliable idea of the structure of adaptation processes in the studied group and can serve as a basis for comparison between subsamples (in particular, between groups with different length of stay).

Characteristics of the sample. The sample was dominated by men (78%), which is quite expected for migrants from Central Asian countries. A significant proportion (41%) of migrants were young people under the age of 29, 81% of respondents are married or had family experience in the past, and more than 70% of respondents have children.

The distribution of migrants by employment is quite traditional for large industrial regions: the majority of migrants (80%) are employed in such sectors of the economy as construction (36%), trade (17%), social sphere (16%) and industry (11%).

According to the time spent in the host territory, we identified two groups of labor migrants: those who have been staying for less than one year and more than five years. The first group was based on young migrants, including those who combine education and work. The second group was formed by people with families and minor children both in Russia and in the countries of origin.

The system of indicators for assessing the effectiveness of adaptation and integration of labor migrants in the host territory, obtained during the sociological survey, contains three sections by the nature of the occupied status: socio-economic, socio-cultural, and family-legal statuses. From our point of view, each of these sections characterizes a

certain aspect of the adaptation and integration of labor migrants into the host community.

The socio-economic section includes four indicators: salary level, employment status, living conditions, place of residence.

The level of remuneration and employment status characterize the migrant's demand in the regional labor market, and the conditions and place of residence provide information about their social and material well-being. According to the survey data, newly arrived labor migrants often settle with their relatives who have already rented or purchased real estate. Here we can talk about the use of migrants' "connecting social capital", which has a significant impact on adaptation, especially during the first period of stay in the host territory, but at the same time can serve as an obstacle in the integration process. As income increases, migrants tend to rent or buy real estate on their own, move to more comfortable housing, and leave their enclave homes.

The socio-cultural section includes six indicators: the level of Russian language proficiency; interethnic contacts at work; contacts with the local population in their places of residence; the frequency of visits to social institutions; children receiving Russian education; seeking assistance from government and public organizations. This selection of assessment indicators reflects the set of connections, relationships, and resources that migrants use to adapt and integrate into the host community (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 1995; Ananicheva, 2024).

Working in a labor collective or living in a territory where the local population has a numerical advantage, contacting legal organizations in case of problems, and territorial government bodies indicate the presence of connecting social capital, i.e. a tendency to integrate. Russian language proficiency reduces the cultural distance between labor migrants and the host community (Riazantsev,

2018; Ryazantsev, Ochirova, 2019; Saryglar, Maximova, 2020), poor knowledge of the language limits communication with local population (Grunt, 2019). At the same time, the intensity of use of the social sphere (medical institutions, kindergartens, schools) may indicate both the availability of connecting capital (which is more typical for family migrants with children) and the level of knowledge of information necessary for life. The desire to provide Russian education to children speaks to the migrants' determination to integrate into the host community.

The legal and family status section includes four assessment indicators: legal status (TRP – temporary residence permit, residence permit, citizenship); formalization of work/business; residence in the host territory with family or other relatives; citizenship of the spouse.

These indicators demonstrate the “migrant’s integration path”. It is easier for legal migrants, as well as persons who have obtained citizenship of the host country, to find work and housing (Grunt, 2019). The presence of official employment, on the one hand, indicates the legal literacy of a labor migrant, on the other hand, it protects him/her from possible discrimination by the employer. Family relocation contributes to the adaptation and integration of labor migrants (Voinov, Ledeneva, 2025, p. 164). The presence of a marriage concluded with a citizen from the local population also indicates the active integration of a labor migrant (Akramov, 2018), and becoming a citizen of the host country is the final stage of integration (Demireva, 2019).

The duration of the process of adaptation and integration of each particular migrant is determined by many factors: the level of qualifications (Kogan et al., 2018; Kogan, Shen, 2019), nationality (Babayeva, Konstantinov, 2021), knowledge of the language of the host country’s population

(Written, et al., 2018), etc. For example, persons arriving in the Russian Federation as part of the State Program to Facilitate the Voluntary Resettlement of Compatriots Living Abroad⁴ have all the signs of a common language, historical and cultural heritage and are more likely to integrate quickly into the host community than temporary or seasonal workers. Highly qualified specialists can be economically successful, but this does not mean that they will have all the signs of integration into the local community: knowledge of language, culture, traditions, and norms of behavior (Beaverstock, 2005).

The fundamental difference between the proposed indicator system and existing methods (Malakhov, Ivanov, 2014; Andreushko, 2024) is in three aspects. First, unlike approaches focused on fixing the conditions of adaptation (level of education, social security), our system focuses on the measurable results of a migrant’s interaction with the host community, operationalizing them through specific social practices. Second, the proposed grouping of indicators into three complementary sections (socio-economic, socio-cultural, family-legal) makes it possible to overcome the fragmentation of analysis typical of many studies and present adaptation as an integrated, multifactorial process. Third, unlike previous works, where the time factor was taken into account statically, our approach allows tracing the dynamics of the migrant’s transition between the stages (initial – intermediate – final) simultaneously in all key areas of life, which makes it possible to identify not only the presence, but also the degree of maturity of integration processes.

⁴ On measures to facilitate the voluntary resettlement to the Russian Federation of compatriots living abroad: Presidential Decree 637, dated June 22, 2006. Garant.ru: Information and legal portal. Available at: <https://base.garant.ru/189653/?ysclid=m7h66f3ee2379985024> (accessed: 05.02.2025).

The proposed criteria system has been developed for migrants from visa-free countries who have more freedom to move in the host territory and to decide on the importation of family members. In this regard, for people from countries with a visa regime, these criteria can only be partially used, which is also a limitation of our study.

Another limitation is the dynamism of migration processes caused by both internal (changes in legislation, stricter migration policy, changes in the economic situation in the country, etc.) and external (changes in the exchange rate due to external factors, the imposition of sanctions and restrictions, competition in the international labor market, etc.) factors.

For each particular indicator, we identified three qualitative states corresponding to the stages of adaptation: initial (low degree of integration, preservation of isolation), intermediate (formation of stable ties with the host community, use of its resources), final (high degree of integration, legal and social consolidation). The assignment of specific characteristics of the indicator to a particular stage was carried out on the basis of:

- theoretical analysis (see, for example, Berry, 1997; Malakhov, Ivanov, 2014);
- expert discussion (researchers specializing in migration issues participated in the work);
- a pilot survey that revealed empirically significant gradations in the distribution of responses.

Weighted average indices are calculated for each section and stage of the process:

$$R_i = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n S_i \times k_i}{\sum_{i=1}^n S_i}, \quad (1)$$

where R_i – weighted average index for the section;

S_i – coefficient of significance of i -th private indicator;

k_i – value of i -th private indicator;

n – number of indicators in the section.

To assess the significance of i -th particular indicator, the frequency of its mention in the scientific literature is calculated. We used the platform of the Russian scientific electronic library eLIBRARY.RU for this purpose. The search for scientific papers was carried out on the request “integration of labor migrants”. We selected 17 works from the list of the most relevant works, consisting of 1,000 sources. Selection criteria: articles or monographs, a study of Russian migration, the presence of a sociological study in the form of a questionnaire, the indication of at least two of the three parameters: the geography of the study, the year of the study, the sample size (Tab. 1).

Based on the analysis, the following performance evaluation criteria were determined: $0\% \leq R \leq 33\%$ – low; $34\% \leq R \leq 66\%$ – medium; $67\% \leq R \leq 100\%$ – high. With the help of calculated indices for each section, the effectiveness of the integration process was assessed at the final stage.

Table 1. Determining the significance of indicators of adaptation and integration of labor migrants based on bibliometric analysis

Author(s), year of publication	Geography and year of research, sample size	Socio-economic adaptation and integration				Socio-cultural adaptation and integration						Family-legal status							
		1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4				
Bashirova L.S., Kuznetsov V.A. (Bashirova, Kuznetsov, 2012)	Omsk, 2010, n = 156	+		+	+											+	+		+

End of Table 1

Author(s), year of publication	Geography and year of research, sample size	Socio-economic adaptation and integration				Socio-cultural adaptation and integration						Family-legal status			
		1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4
Florinskaya Yu.G. (Florinskaya, 2012)	Moscow, Saint Petersburg, 2010, n = 400; Moscow, Saint Petersburg, Moscow Region, Samara Region, Leningrad Region, Krasnodar Territory, 2010, n = 1169	+	+						+	+					
Mukomel' V.I. (Mukomel', 2013)	All-Russian survey (HSE CSEAMR), 2011	+	+	+	+					+			+	+	+
Bondaruk A.F., Golyanich V.M., Perepelkina V.A. (Bondaruk et al., 2015)	Leningrad Region, 2014, n = 252					+	+	+		+			+		
Titova E.V. (Titova, 2015)	Jewish Region, n = 197	+	+	+	+	+									
Shchitova N.A., Solov'ev I.A., Belozherov V.S. (Shitova et al., 2016)	Stavropol Territory, 2012, n = 776	+	+	+		+			+	+		+			
Pis'mennaya E.E., Ryazantsev S.V., Khranova M.N., Grishin A.S., Smirnov A.V. (Pis'mennaya et al., 2018)	Moscow, Saint Petersburg, Kaluga region, Moscow Region, Leningrad Region, Sverdlovsk Region, Tyumen Region, Khanty-Mansi AA, Stavropol Territory, Primorye Territory, Khabarovsk Territory, n = 1,000	+				+						+			
Grunt E.V. (Grunt, 2019)	Yekaterinburg, 2018, n = 400	+				+							+	+	+
Saryglar S.A., Maximova S.G. (Sarvglar, Maximova, 2020)	Altai Territory, Amur Region, Astrakhan Region, Volgograd Region, Khabarovsk Territory, Republic of Tyva, n = 449	+	+	+	+	+					+			+	
Endryushko A.A. (Endryushko, 2020)	All-Russian survey, 19 regions (head is V.I. Mukomel'), 2017, n = 8577	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+			+	+	
Akopyan E.A., Akopyan A.R. (Akopyan, Akopyan, 2021)	Saint Petersburg, Leningrad Region, n = 200	+		+								+	+	+	
Osadchaya G.I. (Osadchaya, 2021)	Moscow, 2019-2020, n = 823	+		+					+	+					+
Titova T.A., Frolova E.V. (Titova, Frolova, 2022)	Kazan, 2018, n = 300					+	+	+							+
Rostovskaya T.K., Vinogradova M.V., Nikiporets-Takigava G.Yu. (Rostovskaya et al., 2024)	Moscow, Saint Petersburg, Novosibirsk Region, Krasnoyarsk Territory, Krasnodar Territory, Rostov Region, Samara Region, Primorye Territory, Tyumen Region, Yamal-Nenets AA, Khanty-Mansi AA, Moscow Region, Irkutsk Region, Sverdlovsk Region, 2018	+	+			+							+		
Eremina E.V., (Eremina, 2024)	Penza Region, 2024, n = 200	+	+			+	+	+					+	+	
Endryushko A.A. (Endryushko, 2024)	All-Russian survey, 19 regions (head is V.I. Mukomel'), 2017, n = 8,577			+		+	+	+				+			
Mokin K.S. (Mokin, 2024)	Moscow and Moscow Region, n = 3,533	+	+			+	+			+				+	
frequency, s_i		14	9	9	4	13	5	5	5	7	1	6	6	6	4

Source: own compilation.

Results of the research

The survey results presented in *Tables 2–4* characterize the effectiveness of the adaptation and integration of labor migrants.

The data in *Table 2* shows that the Socio-economic adaptation and integration section is characterized by an average level of performance, 36% of labor migrants have it, including 32% who have been in the region for less than one year, and 36% who have been in the region for more than five years.

The assessment of the performance in *the socio-economic section* demonstrates the concentration of migrants at the intermediate stage of adaptation, regardless of the length of stay in the region. At the same time, 74% of the migrants who participated in the survey have permanent jobs, which indicates that they are motivated to find employment and receive stable earnings. At the same time, the time factor has little effect on the transition to the final stage of adaptation and integration: even after five years of living in the region, only 36% of migrants reach high values according to a set of criteria. This statement allowed concluding that economic

adaptation occurs mainly in the early years, but then stabilizes without reaching the final level, which is explained by the structural constraints of the regional labor market and continued employment in segments with low skill requirements.

The socio-cultural section is characterized by an average level of performance: 56% of labor migrants who arrived in the region from Central Asian countries, including 43% who have been in the region for less than one year, and 58% for more than five years (*Tab. 3*).

According to the criteria of interethnic interaction, a significant share of labor migrants found themselves at an intermediate stage of adaptation and integration. At the same time, migrants preferred to turn to friends, relatives, and acquaintances to solve problematic situations, distrusting legal institutions.

There is an uneven dynamic of adaptation and integration in *the socio-cultural section*: knowledge of the Russian language and orientation toward children's education demonstrate steady progress with increasing length of stay. For example, the number of migrants who are fluent in Russian

Table 2. Assessment of the effectiveness of socio-economic adaptation and integration of labor migrants from Central Asian countries in the Sverdlovsk Region, %

Criteria	Stage of adaptation and integration											
	initial	a	b	c	intermediate	a	b	c	final	a	b	c
Salary level	below the industry average	25	28	28	industry average	52	45	48	above the industry average	23	27	24
Employment status	unemployed, temporarily unemployed	15	13	9	temporary jobs	13	22	17	permanent job	72	65	74
Living conditions	dormitory, office space	29	13	10	rental of real estate	58	51	66	own housing	13	36	24
Place of residence	area of compact residence of labor migrants (CRLM)	23	31	33	area with a relatively low real estate value that is not part of the CRLM zone	60	63	44	area with a relatively high real estate value	17	6	23
R_i		23	21	19		45	43	44		32	36	36

Note: a – labor migrants who have been in Russia for less than one year; b – labor migrants who have been in Russia for more than five years; c – all labor migrants, regardless of the time spent in the region.
Source: own compilation.

Table 3. Assessment of the effectiveness of socio-cultural adaptation and integration of labor migrants from Central Asian countries in the Sverdlovsk Region, %

Criteria	Stage of adaptation and integration											
	initial	a	b	c	intermediate	a	b	c	final	a	b	c
Level of knowledge of the Russian language	do not speak the language	21	5	10	speak the language at household level	25	22	26	fluent in the language	54	73	64
Interethnic contacts at work	mostly with compatriots	46	17	22	mixed groups (locals and migrants)	33	49	40	mostly with the local population	21	34	38
Interethnic contacts in places of residence	mostly with compatriots	38	13	19	mixed groups (locals and migrants)	27	45	45	mostly with the local population	35	42	36
Frequency of appeals to social institutions	do not apply	22	14	23	sometimes apply	28	33	20	often apply	50	53	57
Getting Russian education for children	no desire to give Russian education to children	17	5	13	hesitated to respond	43	35	11	have a desire to teach children	40	66	70
Requesting assistance	appeal to friends, relatives, acquaintances	51	44	47	appeal to the consulate, to the diaspora	8	9	21	contacting law offices, territorial government bodies, or NPOs	41	47	32
R_i		27	10	16		30	33	27		43	58	56

Note: a – labor migrants who have been in Russia for less than one year; b – labor migrants who have been in Russia for more than five years; c – all labor migrants, regardless of the time spent in the region.
Source: own compilation.

has increased by 19% over the five years of their stay in Russia (from 54 to 73%). The desire of 70% of respondents to teach children in Russian schools indicates both the high effectiveness of the adaptation and integration of migrants according to this indicator, and the prestige of Russian education among the respondents. At the same time, the frequency of appeals to social institutions, interethnic contacts and appeals to legal institutions remain at an intermediate level even among “old-timers”, which we interpret as a manifestation of the connecting social capital formed in the diaspora and the continuing distrust of formal institutions.

According to the family-legal status section, labor migrants generally have an average level of adaptation and integration effectiveness – 40%, including 46% who have been in the region for more than five years (Tab. 4).

However, we revealed the most pronounced dependence on the time of stay for this section: labor migrants who have been in the region for less than a year have a low rate of adaptation and integration – 26%. The share of migrants with a residence permit or citizenship increases from 27% (less than a year) to 46% (more than five years) in this section; and the share of those living with a family increases from 28% to 71%, i.e. the high share of migrants with more than five years of experience who pass the final stage in terms of “staying in the host territory with their family” can be considered not only as an indicator of adaptation, but also as a factor that accelerates adaptation processes (through the expansion of social ties, increasing motivation for legal registration). In general, according to the criterion of “legal status”, most migrants are at the initial stage of adaptation

Table 4. Assessment of the effectiveness of adaptation and integration of labor migrants from Central Asian countries in the Sverdlovsk Region under the family-legal status section, %

Criteria	Integration stage											
	initial	a	b	c	intermediate	a	b	c	final	a	b	c
Legal status	temporary stay	54	35	43	temporary residence permit	19	19	19	residence permit, Russian citizenship	27	46	38
Formalization of labor activity/business	employment relations (business) are not registered	26	33	31	oral, contract	35	18	22	written contract / completed business	39	49	47
Staying in the host territory with family or other relatives	no family	33	11	16	together with people from the country of origin	39	18	25	with family	28	71	59
Citizenship of the spouse	not married	74	11	19	citizenship of a non-host country	26	83	77	citizenship of the host country	0	6	4
R_i		44	24	28		30	30	32		26	46	40

Note: a – labor migrants who have been in Russia for less than one year; b – labor migrants who have been in Russia for more than five years; c – all labor migrants, regardless of the time spent in the region.

Source: own compilation.

and integration, but according to the criteria of “formalization of work/business” and “staying in the host territory with their family or other relatives” – at the final stage.

We correlated these results with the theoretical model of the integration path, showing that legal legitimization and family reunification are key markers of the transition from temporary residence to long-term rooting. Additional interpretations are proposed based on criteria such as “staying in the host territory with the family” and “the spouse’s citizenship”.

In addition, the data obtained confirm the model of J. Berry (Berry, 1997): among migrants with more than five years of experience, an integration strategy prevails (preserving their culture while actively interacting with the host community), while newcomers more often have elements of segregation (compact living, reliance on community networks). Based on the concepts of social capital by P. Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1986) and R. Putnam (1995), we have shown that at the initial stage, connecting capital dominates (contacting relatives, diaspora), and with increasing length of stay, the role

of connecting capital increases (interethnic contacts at work, contacting territorial authorities). The importance of the time factor has been empirically confirmed, but with an important clarification: its effect is uneven in different areas – it is most pronounced in the family-legal spheres, least in the socio-economic. This conclusion complements existing research (Endryushko, 2024; Bedrina et al., 2024), where the time factor was considered primarily as universal.

Conclusion

Methodological approaches to assessing the processes of adaptation and integration of labor migrants in the host community, based on the sociological survey results, made it possible to quantify these processes and formalize them. The assessment of the adaptation processes of labor migrants using the case study of the Sverdlovsk Region in all three sections of criteria: socio-economic, socio-cultural, family-legal status – as a whole showed an average level of effectiveness. At the same time, in the socio-cultural section, the assessment of the effectiveness of adaptation and integration of labor migrants is higher than in others,

which can be explained by the predominance of family migration in the region, which presupposes more active interaction of labor migrants with the host community. Poor performance in the socio-economic sector is primarily due to the relatively low level of education and qualifications of labor migrants arriving in the region.

The study confirmed the need to take into account the time spent by labor migrants in the host territory. The results obtained confirm the conclusions of K.S. Mokin: the longer the migration state lasts, the more the migrant is focused on staying in the host territory (Mokin, 2024). This trend is evident across all sections, as well as the stages of adaptation and integration. At the same time, the effect of the time factor is insignificant for changing the socio-economic situation of labor migrants, but it is of great importance in resolving issues of family-legal status.

The theoretical significance of the research lies in the creation of tools that make it possible to verify existing theoretical models of adaptation (assimilation, integration, segregation, etc.) at a quantitative level, identifying real practices of migrant

adaptation. The practical significance lies in the fact that the proposed approach can be used by public authorities and local governments to monitor the effectiveness of migration policy, assess the long-term effects of adaptation programs, as well as to develop targeted support measures, differentiated depending on the stage of integration and the set of indicators for which the lag is recorded. Testing of the methodology on data from the Sverdlovsk Region has confirmed its operability and sensitivity to the time factor, which makes it possible to recommend it for other Russian regions, taking into account the specifics of local migration flows.

Further studies on quantifying the effectiveness of the processes of adaptation and integration of labor migrants in the host territory can be carried out taking into account a larger number of criteria and indicators, which will allow extending this methodological approach to other ethnic groups of labor migrants, as well as assessing the long-term effects of adaptation to develop more effective adaptive strategies to improve Russian migration policy.

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