

Adaptation of the foreign students on the Russian labor market (on the example of Moscow)

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Abstract—The subject of the research is the peculiarities of adaptation of educational migrants in the labor market of the city of Moscow. The main method of the author's sociological research “Your Life and Work in Moscow” is a formalized interview of foreign students studying at the Financial University under the Government of the Russian Federation. The article analyzes the factors that promote and hinder the employment of foreign students in Moscow, highlight the main areas of their paid employment, consider the degree of satisfaction of working students with the regime, working conditions, salary levels, and relationships in the workforce. Particular attention is paid to self-employed foreign students. It is shown that students prefer self-employment primarily because it allows them to combine work with study. The study revealed that the majority of foreign students on their own initiative are involved in informal employment, including due to the existing complicated procedure of formalizing employment. Most of the surveyed foreign students work flexibly and are generally satisfied with the regime and working conditions. Foreign students are distinguished by good knowledge of the Russian language, openness to new knowledge and a desire to adapt in Russian society. The paper proposed a number of practical recommendations for improving the legal status of educational migrants in Russia.

Keywords—*adaptation, educational migrants, foreign students, employment, informal employment, self-employment, career growth, Russian citizenship*

I. INTRODUCTION

Migration processes are an integral part of modern society, having a significant impact on the socio-economic and cultural development of most countries of the world and their regions. Currently, the number of migrants in Russia ranks third in the world. According to the Federal State Statistics Service Rosstat, currently 13.7 million migrants live in the country [1].

One of the directions of modern international migration is educational migration, a rather active participant in which is Russia. According to the Federal State Statistics Service "Rosstat" for the 2015/16 academic year, there were 195,551 educational migrants in the country [2], which is about 5% of the total number of students in the Russian Federation. Most of the foreign students (79%) come from countries - former Soviet republics. A significant proportion of foreign students (59,289 people) study in Moscow universities [3].

The need to attract students from other countries is declared in a number of state documents of the Russian Federation: “Concepts of the long-term socio-economic development of Russia until 2020” [4], “Concepts of the demographic policy of the Russian Federation until 2025” [5], “Concepts of the migration policy of the Russian Federation” Federation until 2025” [6]. The important directions of the educational policy of the Russian state at present are: increasing the share of foreign students in Russia, creating conditions for their involvement and training in educational institutions,

developing education and its competitiveness on the world market, creating a system for the adaptation and socialization of migrants, ensuring safety and protecting their civil rights.

It can be said that foreign students and university graduates are the most desirable category of migrants for any country. This group, as a rule, consists of ambitious, young and enterprising people who are distinguished by their openness, the burden of new knowledge and technologies, the desire to adapt to the local labor market and the socio-cultural environment.

At the same time, educational migrants who have recently arrived in Russia and started studying in Russian sometimes experience financial, communicative, socio-cultural, in a word, adaptation difficulties. The natural difficulties of their adaptation are exacerbated by existing obstacles to formal employment, artificially high demands of the local labor market, and sometimes simply violations of the rights of foreign students.

In addition to training, educational migrants tend to focus on paid work in the host country. This is due to the need not only to earn a living, but also to acquire, in addition to theoretical knowledge, also practical skills related to the future profession. However, in order to get a formal job, they face a number of problems in Russia, in particular, the imperfection of the legislation of the Russian Federation regarding this category of employees and the difficulties of adaptation in the local labor market [7].

It must be said that recently, in Russia, regulations have been adopted that favor the employment of foreign students. Thus, according to the amendments made to the Law "On the Legal Status of Foreign Citizens in the Russian Federation" [8], from January 1, 2014, foreign students can work here not only during holidays and not only in their high school. Also, they no longer have to wait for a work permit for three to four months; they can receive it in a simplified manner, and no quotas are applied to such workers. However, despite these changes, foreign students still face significant difficulties in legalizing their labor relations with employers in Russia.

The problem of adaptation of migrants, including educational ones, is one of the key issues of stabilizing society. After all, the higher the level of adaptation of migrants, the greater the economic and social returns from human resources for the development of certain regions and the country as a whole. The low level of adaptation of migrants leads to the destructurization of the local labor market, as well as increased social tension in society.

II. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND METHODS

Adaptation (from lat. *Adapto* "adapt") is "the process during which the fitness of the system is established or maintained, i.e. its basic parameters stabilize when the conditions of the external and internal environment change" [9]. The literature also uses the term "social adaptation" as "the process of

adaptation of an individual (group) to the social environment, which involves interaction and the gradual harmonization of the expectations of both parties" [10].

Considering the social system, T. Parsons [11] considered social adaptation to be the most important condition for socialization, adaptation of an individual to the environment through the assimilation of the norms and rules set by society and he believed that the social system to preserve its integrity was based on four functions: adaptation, purposefulness, reproduction, integration.

The adaptive ability of society, in his opinion, is manifested in the fact that social institutions are differentiated, separated from each other. The social organization of society as a whole is becoming more complex, i.e. new social institutions and new types of social organizations are emerging. The internal structure of society is becoming more complex. At the same time, T. Parsons emphasized the natural nature of the adaptation process, which involves the assimilation of certain normative structures and symbols of culture by the personality, which contributes to the introduction of the individual to modern knowledge. Adaptive mechanisms should ensure that a person is adequately and socially desirable, especially in his two differentiated spheres of action and responsibility - in his professional role and family.

A special role in the study of social adaptation belongs to the American sociologist R. Merton [12] the same function can be performed differently by different phenomena. Functional result, in his opinion, contributes to the survival of the system, its adaptation. In this regard, R. Merton introduces the concept of "function" and "dysfunction": "Function is the observed effects that contribute to the adaptation or adaptation of the system. Dysfunction is the observed effects that reduce the adaptation or adaptation of the system."

In his view, there are various strategies for adapting the individual in societies like the American one, i.e. market-based: conformity to acceptance of both goals and approved institutional ways of achieving them; innovation to adopt goals, neglect of socially approved ways of achieving goals; ritualism - the affirmation of values, following the ways of their approval in society; retreatism is the rejection of both goals and ways to achieve them; rebellion is to set new goals to replace the old ones and to put forward new ways to achieve them.

According to R. Merton, the problem and the non-dividing social adaptation is actualized in the conditions of anomaly as a result of inconsistency, conflict between different elements of the value-regulatory system of society, between the culturally prescribed the universal goals and the legitimate, institutional means of achieving them. Looking at the normative structure of society, that is, the structure of relations between norms, roles, statuses, values and institutional order, and ways of adapting to it, R. Merton showed that the relationship between these

components can differ consistency is inconsistency, which varies within the widest limits, moreover, they can be conflicted.

In the sociology of organizations and labor, the term "adaptation" is used to refer to one of the main functions of the social system and is defined as adaptation to changes in its internal and external environment. Adaptation in a production organization means "the process of individual exploration of working conditions, norms and rules adopted in this organization, mastering the practices of labor relations. The technical and technological and social environment of the enterprise, the employee not only adapts to the requirements of the environment, but also participates in its change in accordance with their interests. V.N. Shubkin, A.V. Petrovsky, L.L. Shpak, J.T. Toshchenko became the founders of the national sociology of research into the problem of labor, industrial and professional adaptation at the theoretical and empirical levels, which started in the 1960s.

Thus, in studies led by V.N. Shubkin (29, 67 c.) the study of professional choice and professional mobility as the first stage of professional adaptation was initiated. social psychology under the influence of the scientific and technological revolution, as well as in connection with the social order "optimization of the management of socialist production" sociologists and social psychologists began to study such type of social adaptation as production adaptation. In the context of the transformation of social experience, social adaptation is considered by A.V. Petrovsky, who substantiated the theory of non-adaptive activity through a mismatch between the goals and results of human actions. The peculiarity of deviations from the person's savvy behavior lies in the fact that moments of non-adaptivity are links of social development, which, unlike the processes of simple reproduction of the cash level of social existence, can contribute to its expanded reproduction.

J. T. Toshchenko [13] concludes that the professional adaptation of the employee is influenced not only by production, but also by non-production factors, such as everyday life, family, leisure, communication, etc. considering the labor adaptation of the regulators of social behavior of the individual - attitudes, values, needs, they are the basis of the person's attitude to work and determine attachment to a particular team.

Modern Russian scientists, as G.G. Sillaste [14] in their works considered the social adaptation of the personality. In her opinion, social adaptation is a process and the result of adapting the individual to the changed conditions of the environment and the new social norms and moral values it is brought. It is known that the higher the degree of adaptation of the population to changing living conditions, the lower the level of conflict and social tension in society. She also suggests that two mechanisms are inextricably linked in adaptation: the mental, involving the mastery of new ideas, forms and modes of behavior "at the level of consciousness" and the behavioral one, which is a

behavioral one, which is a mental one, which involves the development of new ideas, forms and modes of behavior "at the level of consciousness". behavioral reactions that arise in the adaptant under the influence of changes in the external environment, in the previous system of sociocultural values, traditions, customs, national psychology and perceptions. It is worth mentioning the three main models of adaptive behavior: fully adaptive, transitional-adaptive, desadaptive. Socially adapted behavior simplifies professional adaptation.

Adaptive mechanisms should ensure the adequacy and social desirability of a person, especially in his two main areas of action and responsibility: professional role and family [15]. So, analyzing and summarizing the various concepts of social adaptation, we can say that they all consider it as a mechanism for integrating a person into the system of social relations in general and professional-labor relations in particular.

Studies of social adaptation are of particular relevance in modern society, characterized by massive and all accelerating processes of international migration [16, 17], one of the areas of which is educational migration.

International educational migration is the movement of people between countries in order to obtain education at various levels and for different periods [18]. This is a type of social migration, since it is not associated with obtaining exclusively material benefits, in contrast, say, to economic migration [19]. The migration of schoolchildren includes the transfer of schoolchildren, students, and interns who come to another country to improve their skills. At the present stage, educational migration is largely based on the existing migration networks of new quality, functioning by maintaining scientific, educational, labor contacts and relations, religious, ethnic, kinship and other ties in various countries [20]. Background knowledge about the semantic space of the concept "knowledge" reinforces the importance of education [21]. In this case, the main incentives for migration are the expected prospects for professional self-realization, including the amount of wages. Thus, educational migration implies meeting the needs of people in obtaining high-quality education, desired professional skills and advanced training with a view to further successful employment. There are several movements in the structure of international educational migration [22]:

1. Educational migration in order to obtain a secondary, secondary special or first higher education. This includes vacation programs;
2. Migration for the purpose of obtaining a second higher education, passing a scientific internship or obtaining a scientific degree;
3. Migration for the purpose of professional development and professional development.

At present, most of the international educational migration consists of movements of the first type.

Educational migrants, like any others, face the need to adapt to the conditions of the host society. Moreover, unlike migrant workers who may not have large occupational-labor claims in their country of residence, educational migrants are ambitious, which makes them especially relevant to adapt to the local labor market.

A study to study the process and degree of adaptation of educational migrants in the labor market of the city of Moscow in 2017–2018 conducted a pioneer sociological study “Your life and work in Moscow” using the formalized interview method, in which 120 foreign students who worked at the time of sociological survey on the Russian labor market. The sample was constructed by gender and by country, representatively representing the demographic and geographical composition of foreign students in Russia.

III. RESULTS

Before we talk about the results of the study, we give a brief socio-demographic portrait of the respondents. The number of girls and boys was about the same - 46% and 54% respectively: 41% of respondents were 21-23 years old, 56% were in the range of 18-20 years old, and only 3% of those surveyed were in the age group 24-26 years old. If we talk about the level of education, then the absolute majority of respondents (85%) studied at the undergraduate degree. Significantly fewer were those who studied in the magistracy - 15%. All interviewed foreign students were not married and had no children.

As for the countries from which the respondents arrived, most of them came from Moldova - 23%. 10% of respondents arrived from Latvia, Turkmenistan and China; Armenia and Azerbaijan - 9% each; Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Belarus - by 5% each and from Vietnam, Georgia, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Estonia, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan - by 2.5% each.

Thus, in the structure of the foreign contingent of students at the Financial University, by countries of origin, students from the CIS and Baltic countries predominate, which coincides with the results of a study by the National Research University of the Higher School of Economics [3].

The students were distributed as follows: According to their place of residence before entering the university, foreign respondents: 33% lived in medium-sized cities, 26% - in large and small cities, 15% - in rural areas.

We now turn to the analysis of the employment of foreign students in Moscow. At the time of the survey, 54% of the respondents worked (51% were employed not in the specialty of training, and only 3% worked in the specialty). Among the students surveyed were those who had never worked (28%) or had worked before, but not in their specialty (18%).

Among the factors that are more conducive to adaptation in the local labor market, respondents named the following: level of education (67%), work experience and personal qualities (64%, respectively).

Less significant factors turned out to be: “knowledge of their rights and obligations” (31%), “help from relatives” and “help from friends” (26%, respectively). Factors such as “university assistance” and “diaspora assistance” were named among the latter (only 10% of respondents were in favor of them).

Among the personal qualities that contribute to successful employment, respondents particularly noted: interpersonal skills (62%), activity, stress tolerance, responsibility (33%), fast learner (26%) and purposefulness (21%). Then such qualities as the ability to make independent decisions (18%), initiative (15%), organizational skills (13%) and leadership qualities (10%) followed.

As for work experience, 41% of respondents had work experience in one organization, 10% in two organizations, and 8% in three or more. At 41% of respondents at the time of the survey of work experience was not at all. From this we can conclude that foreign students differ in quite active labor behavior.

Among the factors that most impeded successful adaptation of foreign students in the Moscow labor market, respondents named: lack of citizenship of the Russian Federation (62%), difficulties in obtaining a work permit (46%) and poor knowledge of the language (38%). In this respect, such factors as “demand in the labor market” (23%), “competition in the labor market” (18%), “financial difficulties” (15%), “lack of friendly contacts”, “high workload in high school” are less significant, “Unfamiliar environment” (10%, respectively).

It should be noted that 10% of respondents indicated such a factor that hinders successful employment as the lack of friendly contacts. This indicates a rather significant role of the social capital of migrants in the adaptation of migrants in the host community. According to the data received, the absolute majority of foreign students surveyed (90%) have friends among the local population, which indicates a high degree of their social adaptation in Russian society. The remaining 10%, although they have no friends among the local population, communicate with them “without problems”.

Knowledge of the language is undoubtedly an important condition for human adaptation in a foreign country [23]. At the time of arrival in Russia and entering the Financial University, 67% of the respondents already knew Russian well, 28% knew it at an average level, and only 5% did not know it at all. Having lived and studied for some time in Russia, almost all respondents (95%) rate their knowledge of Russian as “good” and only 5% - as “average”. Thus, the majority of foreign students surveyed have no problems with knowledge of the Russian language and, therefore, for them this is not a factor hindering employment in Moscow.

TABLE I. LEVEL OF PROFICIENCY IN RUSSIAN BY FOREIGN STUDENTS (IN% OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS)

Level of proficiency in Russian on the day of arrival	%	The level of proficiency in Russian at present	%
He / She knew Russian well	67	I speak Russian at a good level	95
He/ She knew Russian at an average level	28	I speak Russian at an average level	5
I did not know Russian	5	I can speak on simple topics	0
		It is difficult to speak Russian	0

Among the personal qualities that impede the successful adaptation of foreign students on the Moscow labor market, respondents cited irresponsibility (54%), passivity (44%) and slow learning (38%). Such qualities as shyness (31%), isolation (28%), lack of independence (26%) are less significant in this regard. Among the very insignificant qualities were called “lack of teamwork skills” (15%), “lack of intelligence”, “lack of initiative”, “lack of creative thinking” (13%) and “lack of determination” (8%).

The study also clarified the motives behind the search for educational migrants in paid employment in Moscow. According to the data received, foreign students are mainly employed for the sake of additional income (43%), almost a quarter of respondents (24%) have work experience, and 19% called “self-realization” as a motive for employment. 9% of respondents stated that “they would like to try themselves in different areas of employment” and for 5% of respondents paid work is “a way to take their free time”.

The most important motive for postponing entry into the labor market was “the lack of opportunities to combine study with work” (29% of those who worked before and 55% of those who did not work at all), and this was said by 29% of those who had worked previously and 18% of respondents without work experience). It should be noted, and the fact that 13% of respondents who worked previously, said that they cannot get a work permit.

TABLE II. MOTIVES FOR POSTPONING THE EMPLOYMENT OF FOREIGN STUDENTS

Motives	People previously working in%	People never working before in%
No need for that	29%	18%
Not satisfied with the proposed salary	29%	0%
There is no possibility to combine study with work	29%	55%
I cannot find a decent job	0%	9%
I do not know what to realize myself	0%	9%
Do not hire	0%	9%
I cannot get a work permit	13%	0%

With regard to ways of finding paid employment, the majority of foreign students (43%) find work on their own; relatives (24%), friends (19%) or diaspora (9%) help them find a job much less often. It should be noted that higher education institutions, as a rule, do not participate at all in this: only 5% of respondents indicated that work helped them find a university.

It usually takes several months for a foreign student to find a job (52%), less often a few weeks (38%) and very rarely half a year (10%).

Choosing a place of work, foreign students first of all look at the possibility of combining it with study (57%). Interest in the chosen work is important for 38% of respondents. Quite often (33%) the choice of a job for foreign students is random

The most popular professions among employed foreign students are: managers, promoters, salesmen and waiters (12% each). Among girls, such a profession as a hostess is also popular (19%).

An important aspect of the employment of educational migrants is the legalization of labor relations with the employer. According to the survey, almost half of the working foreign students (47%) work without a written employment contract or agreement. Among those who worked before, there are even more such people - 57%. Only 24% of respondents worked under an employment contract, as many among the foreign students surveyed were freelancers and only 5% worked under an employment agreement.

TABLE III. REGISTRATION OF LABOR RELATIONS OF FOREIGN STUDENTS

Registration of labor relations	in % from previously worked	in % from never worked
Employee under an employment contract	24	0
Employee under an employment agreement	5	29
Employee without an employment contract and agreement	47	57
Freelancer	24	14

It is curious to note that the majority of respondents work or work without a labor contract because they themselves do not want to get settled officially (60% and 50%, respectively). So it is easier for them to combine work with study (50% and 75% of respondents, respectively). Also, many simply do not want to engage in paperwork for obtaining an official work permit (this was stated by 60% of the currently employed and 25% of the previously employed respondents). There are also cases when the employer does not want to formalize a foreign student (this fact was noted by 40% of the currently employed and 25% of the previously employed respondents).

TABLE IV. REASONS FOR ILLEGAL EMPLOYMENT OF FOREIGN STUDENTS

Causes of illegal employment	in % from currently employed	Causes of illegal employment	in % from previously worked
I don't want to get settled officially	60	Did not want to get settled officially	50
The employer himself does not formalize	40	The employer himself does not formalize	25
Without an employment contract, wages are higher	20	Without an employment contract, wages were higher	0
Easier to combine work with study	50	Easier to combine work with study	75
I cannot get a work permit	0	Could not get work permit	0
I do not want to engage in paperwork for a work permit	60	I didn't want to do paperwork for a work permit	25
No opportunity to pay state duty	0	It was not possible to pay the state duty	0
Not been 18 years old	0	Not been 18 years old	25

One of the indicators of successful labor adaptation is the employee's satisfaction with the regime and working conditions occupied by the position, the level of wages and relations in the team.

According to the data obtained, half of the working foreign students (50%) have a floating work schedule, 25% set their own work schedules for themselves 19% work in shifts and only 6% have a fixed work day. This mode of operation is completely satisfied with the absolute majority of respondents (75%), and "rather satisfied" with 25% of respondents.

The majority of respondents (69%) are more or less satisfied with working conditions (44% are "fully satisfied" and 25% are "more likely satisfied"). A quarter of respondents (25%) "are rather not satisfied" with the existing working conditions and 6% "are not completely satisfied". A rather high percentage of unsatisfied (31%) indicates the existence of problems associated with the labor adaptation of educational migrants.

With regard to job satisfaction, 19% of respondents "fully satisfied" with their position and 44% "more satisfied with", 25% of respondents did not "satisfied with their position" and 6% did not "triple". That is, 63% of working foreign students are to some extent satisfied with their position and 31% are not satisfied with one degree or another. This may indicate both low job claims of working students (most of them, as was said earlier, consider working during their studies more as additional income), and problems with their labor adaptation.

The study also clarified career prospects for foreign students who are employed. According to the data obtained, only 38% of respondents have career opportunities, 56% of respondents noted that there are no such prospects.

At the same time, only 19% of respondents are "very interesting" career advancement within the organization, 37% - "rather interesting" and 44% - "rather not interesting". The lack of interest in career growth, in our opinion, is due to the fact that a significant part of working foreign students (37%) would not like to link their future after training with the organization in which they are currently working.

The lack of interest of many foreign students in their professional careers is partly explained by the fact that a significant proportion of them (24%) prefer self-employment to work for hire.

Self-employed educational migrants mainly work as couriers (40%), tutors, photographers, Internet marketers (20% each).

Absolutely all self-employed (100%) answered that they like a free work schedule. Also among the advantages of self-employment, respondents noted "the possibility of achieving a balance between study and work" (80%), "the ability to independently choose work and refuse to perform uninteresting disadvantageous projects" (60%), "no direct control by the employer" (20%). But at the same time, like any job, self-employment has its drawbacks, among which an absolute majority of respondents (80%) emphasized the lack of social guarantees, vacation pay and sick pay.

As for the level of wages, the majority of hired workers (37%) and self-employed (60%) make 15-20 thousand rubles a month. By the existing Moscow standards, this is below average and it is therefore not surprising that many working foreign students are "rather dissatisfied" with the salary level (25% and 60%, respectively).

TABLE V. THE LEVEL OF WAGES OF FOREIGN STUDENTS AND THE DEGREE OF SATISFACTION WITH IT

Salary level, in thousand rubles	in % of the total number of employees	Salary level, in thousand rubles	in % of the total number of self-employed
10-15	0	10-15	20
15-20	37	15-20	60
20-25	25	20-25	20
25-30	19%	25-30	0
more 30	19%	more 30	0
Payroll satisfaction	in % of the total number of employees	Payroll satisfaction	in % of the total number of self-employed
Yes, completely satisfied	0	Yes, completely satisfied	0

Rather satisfied	37	Rather satisfied	0
Rather not satisfied	25	Rather not satisfied	60
Completely not satisfied	19	Completely not satisfied	40
Difficult to answer	19	Difficult to answer	0

It is curious to note that the majority of interviewed foreign students, both employed (44%) and self-employed (60%) consider their work unimportant and unpromising.

TABLE VI. EVALUATION BY WORKING FOREIGN STUDENTS OF RESPONDENTS OF THEIR WORK (POSITION)

Evaluation of your work (position)	in % of the total number of employees	in % of the total number of self-employed
Very important and promising	12	0
Important, but not promising	38	40
Not important and not promising	44	60
Difficult to answer	6	0

As for the assessment of the organization in which foreign students work, the situation here is diametrically opposite: 50% of respondents consider their organization prestigious and stable, 38% do not.

The majority of respondents (57%) have good relations in the work collective, there are no conflicts with colleagues or with managers. The absolute majority of respondents (88%) have enough less than a month to master a new job, which indicates a rather high adaptive potential of foreign students.

It should be noted that educational migrants are included in the work and life of the organization in which they work to a rather high degree. Thus, 44% of the polled foreign students are fully aware of the affairs of the company and the team, 38% are more likely aware; 69% of them understand how the result of their work is related to the achievement of the goals of the organization and 81% support the rules and values within it. Thus, the majority of educational migrants are actively involved in the workflow, do not have conflicts with employees, are aware of their importance within the company and are generally satisfied with the regime and working conditions.

The desire to stay in the host country after graduation can be considered as an integral indicator of successful adaptation of educational migrants [17]. According to the data received, in the near future, the majority of surveyed foreign students (77%) remain to live and work in Moscow, it is possible to obtain Russian citizenship. Only 10% of respondents plan to return home, 8% want to move to another country for further study or work, and only 5% want to move to another Russian city. 90% of foreign students surveyed would come to Russia and Moscow again if they entered the university again and only 10% would

choose another country.

To identify models of adaptive behavior of foreign students, the basis was taken on such an indicator as employment in the Moscow labor market. All foreign students interviewed were divided into three categories: currently working; not working at the moment, but working before; never worked. All other social indicators were correlated with the three-component structure of the social installation, as a result of which we identified three models of the adaptive behavior of foreign students in the labor market: active, transitional and passive.

The structure of the installation of any action, proposed in 1942 by the American scientist M. Smith, includes cognitive, emotional and behavioral components [24]. For each component of the social setting, we identified criteria that characterize one or another model of adaptive behavior of educational migrants.

Indicators of adaptation of a foreign student in the Moscow labor market:

- - behavioral component: working under an employment contract, agreement, or freelancer; already worked in one or more companies; have friends among the locals; wants to stay and work in Moscow, to obtain Russian citizenship; if I did again, I would come here again.

- Emotional component: the position is satisfied in one way or another; I would like to connect my future with the company in which I currently work; wages and working conditions arrange in one way or another; there are no conflicts with colleagues or superiors; like the specialty of training or not thinking about changing it; evaluates his work as important and promising; work for him is interesting in one way or another.

- Cognitive component: aware of the affairs of the company and the team in one way or another; has enough knowledge and skills to do the job; on the day of arrival in Russia, he knew Russian well or on average; currently speaks Russian at a good or medium level.

- Indicators of insufficient adaptation of a foreign student in the labor market:

- Behavioral component: working for hire without an employment contract or agreement; no work experience; has no friends from the local population, communicates mainly with foreigners; wants to move to another city, another country for further study or work, or plans to return home; if I acted again, I would have chosen another city, another country, or would have stayed at home.

- Emotional component: the position held does not suit in one way or another; I would not like to connect my future with the company in which I currently work; wages and working conditions do not triple in one way or another; conflicts with a manager or colleagues are rare or occasional; I would like to change the specialty of training; considers his work as

important, but unpromising; unimportant and unpromising.

- Cognitive component: not aware of the affairs of the company and the team in one way or another; has insufficient knowledge and skills to do the job; on the day of arrival in Russia did not know Russian; today has difficulty communicating in Russian.

Students who have never worked (28% of respondents), we attributed to the passive model of adaptive behavior in the labor market. Those who are currently working or have previously worked were assigned to an active or transitional model, depending on the combination of criteria in the behavioral, emotional, and cognitive components. Active adaptation model of behavior, in which all three components are fully implemented, is inherent in only 33% of foreign students surveyed. The majority of respondents (39%) can be attributed to the transitional model of adaptive behavior, which is characterized by a different level of formation of the cognitive, emotional and behavioral components, i.e. their discrepancy. So, if the behavioral and cognitive components indicated a high level of adaptation in the labor market, then emotional, on the contrary: there was dissatisfaction with working conditions, wages, position, respondents regarded their work as unimportant and unpromising or they were not interested. In our opinion, the emotional component is an important indicator of successful adaptation of foreign students, exerting, in particular, a serious influence on whether they want to stay in Russia after graduation.

IV. DISCUSSION

Analysis of the scientific literature, secondary analysis of sociological research data and our own sociological research have shown that the adaptation of educational migrants in the labor market is a problem for both themselves and the host society.

For the further development of educational migration, minimizing the outflow of foreign students after completing their studies in Russia, as well as their effective adaptation in the labor market, public authorities at various levels should pay attention to the following points:

First, a state program is needed to promote the Russian language abroad. This is especially true of developing countries with which Russia has established long-standing friendly relations and which have a high demographic potential, for example, Vietnam [22]. A successful example of such a cultural expansion can be the experience of other countries, in particular, the UK, which opens offices and centers through the British Council, spreading British culture and, thus, attracting potential applicants to receive education in the United Kingdom. During the Soviet period, Russia also practiced such means of attracting foreign students, which has not lost its relevance even now.

Secondly, it is necessary to significantly simplify the system for obtaining work permits for foreign students, possibly linking it to the registration process

at the place of study. Now these mechanisms are not connected, and the existing lengthy procedure for obtaining a work permit, together with a number of difficult requirements for potential employers, greatly complicates the process of labor adaptation of foreign students. Indeed, without a work permit, foreign students today cannot even go through university practice.

Thirdly, given that among educational migrants there is such a category as self-employed, it is necessary to determine their legal status. Currently, the Ministry of Justice of the Russian Federation is developing a draft law on amending the article "On employment of the population in the Russian Federation". These changes are designed to establish a distinction between such categories of employees as self-employed, individual entrepreneurs and those employed under an employment contract. Self-employed are also proposed to be classified as employed (which is not present now) to ensure the protection of their rights, the establishment of a simplified procedure for their activities and the provision of benefits [25]. Since foreign citizens, including students, may also be self-employed, provisions concerning their rights in the labor market should be included in the legislation.

Fourth, it is necessary to introduce a simplified procedure for registering students at the place of stay for long periods. Currently, foreign students are required to renew their registration every academic year. In 2017, the Federal Migration Service of Russia proposed to make this procedure a one-time, making registration at once for the entire period of study. In this case, foreign students will get more employment opportunities in their free time, as they will have legal grounds for a long stay in the country. The proposed changes will increase the attractiveness of Russian education in the eyes of educational migrants. Indeed, in other countries, for example, the UK, Germany, France, students already receive a visa for the entire period of study.

Fifth, in the future it is necessary to introduce a provision in the Federal Law "On Citizenship of the Russian Federation" [23], which will provide for the granting of Russian citizenship, without any conditions to those who wish to remain in Russia for permanent residence after receiving Russian education.

V. CONCLUSIONS

At present, education is a powerful instrument of state migration policy. Attracting foreign students into the country depends not only on the competitiveness of education itself, but also on other factors, including the possibility of including students in labor relations at the training stage, play an important role.

Employment and related adaptation in the labor market of the host country is a pressing issue for foreign students. Paid employment provides them with not only the receipt of material independence, but also the development of professional competencies, the establishment and development of business and

friendly relations with representatives of the local community.

The current difficulties in obtaining a work permit, as well as the lack of citizenship of the Russian Federation, force many foreign students to work illegally. In addition, they have problems with the passage of educational and industrial practices. Informal employment of foreign students results in the fact that many of them do not take their work seriously, do not associate with it special professional and career prospects, are employed in low-paid positions, which, in turn, negatively affects their emotional state, reducing the quality of adaptation to local labor market. At the same time, organizations that are not able or unwilling to officially employ foreign students receive cheap labor, but temporary and inefficient.

GRATITUDE

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