



CARIM EAST – CONSORTIUM FOR APPLIED RESEARCH ON INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

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Russia and Kazakhstan in Eurasian Migration System: Development Trends, Socio-Economic Consequences of Migration and Approaches to Regulation

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with the contribution of

Oleg Korneev

CARIM-East Research Report 2013/44



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CARIM-East
Creating an Observatory of Migration East of Europe

Research Report
CARIM-East RR 2013/44

**Russia and Kazakhstan in Eurasian Migration System:
Development Trends, Socio-Economic Consequences of Migration and
Approaches to Regulation***

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CARIM-East – Creating an Observatory East of Europe

This project which is co-financed by the European Union is the first migration observatory focused on the Eastern Neighbourhood of the European Union and covers all countries of the Eastern Partnership initiative (Belarus, Ukraine, the Republic of Moldova, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan) and Russian Federation.

The project's two main themes are:

- (1) migration from the region to the European Union (EU) focusing in particular on countries of emigration and transit on the EU's eastern border; and
- (2) intraregional migration in the post-Soviet space.

The project started on 1 April 2011 as a joint initiative of the European University Institute (EUI), Florence, Italy (the lead institution), and the Centre of Migration Research (CMR) at the University of Warsaw, Poland (the partner institution).

CARIM researchers undertake comprehensive and policy-oriented analyses of very diverse aspects of human mobility and related labour market developments east of the EU and discuss their likely impacts on the fast evolving socio-economic fabric of the six Eastern Partners and Russia, as well as that of the European Union.

In particular, CARIM-East:

- builds a broad network of national experts from the region representing all principal disciplines focused on human migration, labour mobility and national development issues (e.g. demography, law, economics, sociology, political science).
- develops a comprehensive database to monitor migration stocks and flows in the region, relevant legislative developments and national policy initiatives;
- undertakes, jointly with researchers from the region, systematic and *ad hoc* studies of emerging migration issues at regional and national levels.
- provides opportunities for scholars from the region to participate in workshops organized by the EUI and CMR, including academic exchange opportunities for PhD candidates;
- provides forums for national and international experts to interact with policymakers and other stakeholders in the countries concerned.

Results of the above activities are made available for public consultation through the website of the project: <http://www.carim-east.eu/>

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Section 1. Differentiation of the Eurasian migration system: migration pull and push areas

Migration system is understood as a group of countries linked by relatively large-scale and sustainable migration flows. These flows are the result of historic, cultural, demographic and political factors and lead to structural transformations in recipient and donor countries. Those transformations, in turn, reproduce the direction of migration flows and render those flows sustainable. The term ‘Eurasian migration system’ was suggested and justified by I.V. Ivakhnyuk¹. She identifies indicators that allow characterizing post-Soviet Eurasia as a single migration system, namely: presence of sustainable migration flows between former USSR countries; common historic past and long-term relationship within the single state; emergence of the migration system center (Russia) and the new migration system center (Kazakhstan); Russian language as a migration opportunity; mutual interest in maintaining ‘intraregional’ migration between Russia and Kazakhstan, on the one hand, and migrants’ countries of origin, on the other hand. After 1991 over 20 mln. people from former Soviet republics changed their permanent place of residence. 90% of them moved within the so-called ‘near abroad’. In 1992-1997 Russia accepted around 12 mln. immigrants from the former Soviet countries and the total number of migrant workers from these countries officially hired in Russia was around 4 mln. people. Research indicates that 92% of immigrants in the CIS countries come from other CIS countries and only 8% arrive to the region from other states. As for emigrants, figures are 72% and 28% respectively². Statistics for CIS countries currently relies on two major sources of information on migration. The first source is data on migration to permanent place of residence; it relies on the system of population registration in the place of residence, mostly via national internal affairs bodies. According to these data, Russian Federation has been the main pole of attraction for migrants in the course of the last twenty years. Over the past decade Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus have also become such poles; and over the recent years – Azerbaijan and Georgia have also joined this pool of countries. In the meantime Armenia, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova and Uzbekistan are the areas pushing out migrants. For a long time migration outflow has also originated from Azerbaijan and Georgia, but they have recently become the poles of migrants’ attraction to the permanent place of residence (table 1.1).

¹ **Ivakhnyuk I.V.** Eurasian migration system // Moscow University Vestnik. Economics series. – No. 3, 2007.- P. 45-46 [in Russian]; **Ivakhnyuk I.V.** Eurasian migration system: theory and policy. – Moscow: MAX Press, 2008.- P. 10 [in Russian].

² **Ivakhnyuk I.V.** Emergence and functioning of the Eurasian migration system. Abstract of the Doctor of Economy dissertation (08.00.05 – Economics and National Economy Management). – Moscow: Lomonosov Moscow State University, 2008.- P. 5 [in Russian].

Table 1.1 Balance of migration to permanent place of residence in the Eurasian migration system countries in 1991-2009, thousand persons³

	1991	1995	2000	2005	2009
Azerbaijan	-40.1	-9.8	-5.5	-0.9	0.9
Armenia	23.1	-7.8	-10.4	-7.8	-3.9
Belarus	48.5	-0.2	12.2	...	12.3
Georgia	-17.1	...	-0.2 (1998)	-10.2 (2008)	34.2
Kazakhstan	-1.3	-238.7	-108.3	22.6	7.5
Kyrgyzstan	-27.5	-19.6	-23.4	-27.1	-29.9
Moldova	-15,7	-17.1	...	-3.7	-2.4
Russia	455.9	599.0	241.7	107.4	247.4
Tajikistan	-26.4	-36.1	-13.7	-9.3	-11.6
Turkmenistan	2.9	-8.7	-10.8 (1999)
Uzbekistan	-30.2	-89.0	-66.6	-101.6	-51.7
Ukraine	239.3	-131.2 (1996)	-46.6	4.6	13.4

Note: Data on the basis of the number of persons who registered with the internal affairs bodies when changing their permanent place of residence.

The second source is *data on temporary labor migration* that rely on the data of migration services and border control services in donor and recipient countries. According to official sources, the scale of legal labor migration in the CIS countries has been steadily growing over the recent years: in 2002 there were around 390 thousand labor immigrants in the region, and in 2010 this figure exceeded 1.7 mln. persons (table 1.2).

Table 1.2 Number of foreign workers employed in economies of some CIS countries in 2000-2010, thousand persons⁴

	2000	2005	2010
Azerbaijan	6.8	...	15.5
Belarus	1.8	0.7	6.8
Kazakhstan	10.5	24.8	29.2
Kyrgyzstan	1.5	...	10.1
Moldova	0.3	...	0.8
Russia	213.3	702.5	1640.8
Tajikistan	1.4	...	3.3
Ukraine	5.9	2.3	13.7

³ Twenty years of the Commonwealth of Independent States 1991-2010: Statistical volume / CIS Interstate Statistical Committee. – Moscow, 2011.- P. 365-366 [in Russian].

⁴ Compiled by the author on the basis of the following sources: Twenty years to the Commonwealth of Independent States 1991-2010: Statistical volume / CIS Interstate Statistical Committee. – Moscow, 2011.- P. 387 [in Russian]; Labor market in the CIS member states: Statistical volume. - Moscow: CIS Statistical Committee, 2004.- P. 58 [in Russian]; Russian statistics: Statistical bulletin. – No. 15 (366). - Moscow: CIS Statistical Committee, 2005.- P. 64 [in Russian].

The territory of the former USSR can be differentiated from the standpoint of economic development trends and pace of economic reform. States can be divided into three groups by type of systemic reform: 1) ‘radicals’ (Baltic states, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, and Russia); 2) ‘conservatives’ (Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Belarus); 3) ‘interim group’ (Moldova, Ukraine, Tajikistan, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan)⁵. Countries that primarily relied on the ‘shock therapy’ methods can be classified as ‘radicals’. ‘Conservatives’ used more cautious ways of transition to market economy, which does not mean that their socio-economic reforms were unsuccessful. For instance, Belarus in 2005 ranked second in CIS in terms of industrial production growth rate and shared the third and fourth rankings in terms of GDP growth rate. The group of ‘interim countries’ is the largest one and comprises those states that carried out transformations at a slower pace than radicals, but faster than conservatives. Of course, this classification is arbitrary, as far as there are many criteria of systemic reforms. For instance, this classification was compared to classification based on productivity of labor migration. ‘Radicals’ are not homogenous from the standpoint of labor migration ratio: Russia and Kazakhstan accept migrants, while Kyrgyzstan is a donor. According to our estimates, in Russia entry of labor migrants (labor immigration) exceeds departure (labor emigration) 12 times, and in Kazakhstan – 10 times. Kyrgystan is characterized by the opposite ratio: departure of labor migrants exceeds entry. ‘Interim group’ of CIS countries is more homogenous from the standpoint of migration. In all these countries (Moldova, Ukraine, Tajikistan, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan) labor emigration exceeds immigration. For instance, in 2005 in Ukraine there was one labor migrant coming to the country versus six migrants departing to work abroad. In Moldova and Tajikistan this ratio is 1:40 and 1:600 respectively. There are clear migration donors among ‘conservatives’ – Uzbekistan and Belarus, and there is one country practically isolated from the standpoint of labor migration – Turkmenistan (table 1.3).

Table 1.3 Typology of CIS countries by ratio between main official labor migration indicators* and methods of systemic reform⁶

Countries by ratio of labor migration directed overseas (emigration) and from overseas (immigration)	Countries by type of systemic reform		
	‘radicals’	‘interim group’	‘conservatives’
Donor countries (with prevailing departure of labor migrants from the country)	Kyrgyzstan, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania	Moldova (1:40), Tajikistan (1:600), Ukraine (1:6), Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia	Uzbekistan, Belarus (1:7)
Recipient countries (with prevailing entry of labor migrants to the country)	Russia (12:1), Kazakhstan (44:1)		
‘Closed’ countries (labor migration is limited to state borders)			Turkmenistan

Note: * - ratio between labor immigrants and emigrants was calculated on the basis of the legal flow of labor migrants in 2005.

⁵ World economy / Ed. by Prof. A.S. Bulatov. - Moscow, 1999.- P. 663 [in Russian].

⁶ **Ryazantsev S.V.** Scale and socio-economic significance of labor migration for CIS member states // Practice of attraction and use of foreign workforce in Russia: trends, mechanisms, technologies / Conference Proceedings (16–17 October 2006). - Moscow, 2006.- P. 85 [in Russian]; CIS statistics: Statistical bulletin. – No. 15 (366), August 2005.- P. 55 [in Russian].

Comparison of two countries that are 'radicals' and 'recipients' at the same time – Russia and Kazakhstan – will be more objective, if one relies on relative data, as far as Russia has large population and size of economy. According to I.V. Ivakhnyuk's estimates, in 2005 Russia had 28 times more labor migrants from abroad and 108 times more citizens going abroad to work than Kazakhstan. According to her, this is evidence of Russia's higher migration turnover. In other words, despite the seemingly successful economic development Russia keeps voluntarily exporting labor migrants. It is also noteworthy that in Russia a special labor market regime has been formed that is characterized by outflow of the local workers due to low wages and their replacement by cheap labor from abroad. Such an extensive way of economic development is an evidence of inefficient use of labor resources in Russia⁷.

At present Russia is a center of Eurasian migration system; it surpasses other former USSR countries in terms of economic potential and labor market size. Russia is experiencing quantitative and structural demographic changes that make it dependent on foreign workforce. Politically Russia is interested in strengthening integration in the post-Soviet space and considers interaction with CIS countries a priority of its migration policy. Geographically Russia is the closest neighbor for most former Soviet countries and has direct transportation ties with them. Evolution of the Eurasian migration system structure and emergence of Kazakhstan and Ukraine as new centers of labor migrants' attraction indicate that in the nearest future directions of migration flows in the post-Soviet space may become more diverse, and Russia will face growing competition for labor resources at the regional level. In this context the following tasks are vital for Russia: development of an elaborate migration policy and strategy at the national level, regional integration aimed at creating the common labor market and launch of interstate mechanisms of migration cooperation with countries exporting labor resources⁸.

At the present stage one can identify several subsystems in the Eurasian migration system: some of them emerged and are evolving 'within the system', others are outside – linking the states of Eurasian system with other countries and systems. First, there is a Central Asian subsystem uniting Russia and Central Asian countries. Second, there is a migration subsystem uniting Russia and Belarus, where freedom of movement between the two countries and uniform employment rights are regulated by the Treaty on the Creation of a Union State. Ukraine and Moldova have a special status: geopolitical position and political course of these countries' leadership make them closer to the European Union and shape the Western migration vector, while centuries of history, as well as economic, cultural, socio-psychological and emotional ties with Russia and other former USSR countries contribute to the Eastern vector of migration. Demographic trends of Ukrainian and Moldovan development make them potential recipients of migrants. In the coming years Ukraine and Moldova will remain part of both migration systems maintaining migration ties with Russia, attracting temporary and permanent migrants from CIS countries, remaining countries of transit and pursuing migration interaction with the EU, including through migration networks of Ukrainian and Moldovan migrants that have already been formed. Turkmenistan and Georgia are a separate case: migration from there to other countries of Eurasian migration system is limited due to political factors. Baltic States that used to be part of the Eurasian migration system before 2004 became part of the European migration system after joining the EU, but maintain migration ties with former Soviet republics. At present citizens of Turkmenistan, Georgia and Baltic states need visas to enter Russia, while Russian citizens need visas to enter those states.⁹ Some CIS countries are also part of migration systems linking them to Israel, USA, Germany and China.

⁷ Iontsev V.A., Ivakhnyuk I.V. Analytical report "The Role of International Labor Migration for Russian Economic Development", CARIM-East RR 2012/28, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, San Domenico di Fiesole (FI): European University Institute, 2012 (<http://www.carim-east.eu/media/CARIM-East-2012-RU-28.pdf>), access date: 21 January 2012 [in Russian].

⁸ Ivakhnyuk I.V. Eurasian migration system: theory and policy. – Moscow: MAX Press, 2008.- P. 12 [in Russian].

⁹ With the exception of Georgia, which unilaterally re-introduced visa-free regime for Russian citizens in 2012.

Section 2. Factors responsible for emergence of migration pull and push areas

Heterogeneity of the Eurasian migration system is conditioned by the complex interaction of several factors. Despite their diversity one can note that migration pull factors are mainly in force in Russia and Kazakhstan, while push factors – primarily in other Central Asian countries.

Culture and history. One can claim that this is one of the key factors shaping migration flows in the post-Soviet space. Eurasian migration system was formed within the Russian Empire and later the Soviet Union. It was based on socio-economic ties between nations and countries and on the spread of the Russian language as the main instrument of interpersonal communication within the former Soviet Union. Obviously when choosing where to migrate people coming from Central Asia are guided by the fact that knowledge of Russian and understanding of mentality increase their chances of employment in Russia and Kazakhstan – countries that are both geographically and culturally close.

Infrastructure and geography. It is also obvious that Russia and Kazakhstan have convenient location from the standpoint of Central Asian migrants. Despite being located in the heart of Eurasia in terms of transport, Central Asian states have a much stronger link with Kazakhstan and through Kazakhstan with Russia, than with China, Afghanistan, Middle East and other regions. Territory of Russia and Kazakhstan can be reached from Central Asia by various means: by railroad and motor vehicles, by sea and air. Air communication has become widespread; airplane tickets to major Russian cities are now relatively cheap. In the end transportation factor started to have a more significant impact upon population migration within this migration subsystem. For instance, the largest Russian airline Aeroflot offers flights between Moscow and almost all Central Asian capitals, as well as Astana and Almaty. S7 Airlines offers flights to Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. National airlines also offer flights to Russia (Air Astana, Tajik Air, Kyrgyzstan Air, Uzbekistan Airlines, and Turkmenistan Airlines).

Table 2.1 Length of state borders of the Russian Federation and Central Asian states, km¹⁰

Country	Land border length	Neighboring countries (length of border with them)
Kazakhstan	13393	China (1783), Kyrgyzstan (1242), Russia (7548), Turkmenistan (426), Uzbekistan (2351),
Kyrgyzstan	3878	Kazakhstan (1242), China (858), Tajikistan (870), Uzbekistan (1099)
Russia	14300	Azerbaijan (322), Belarus (990), Georgia (723), Kazakhstan (7548), China (4209), DPRK (39), Latvia (531), Lithuania (227), Mongolia (3485), Norway (219), Poland (236), Ukraine (1576), Finland (1235), Estonia (294)
Tajikistan	3651	Afghanistan (1206), China (414), Kyrgyzstan (870), Uzbekistan (1161)
Turkmenistan		Kazakhstan (426), Uzbekistan, Afghanistan, Iran
Uzbekistan		Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, Tajikistan (1161), Kyrgyzstan (1099)

¹⁰ Tass T.A., Futo P., Year Book 2002 on Illegal Migration and Trafficking in Central and Eastern Europe, Budapest: ICMPD, p. 17, 24, 89, 142; 2004 Yearbook on Illegal Migration, Human Smuggling and Trafficking in Central and Eastern Europe: A Survey and Analysis of Border Management and Apprehension Data from 22 States, Vienna, International Centre for Migration Policy Development, 2005, p. 28, 33, 88, 94, 127, 133; 2003 Year Book on Illegal Migration, Human Smuggling and Trafficking in Central and Eastern Europe: A Survey and Analysis of Border Management and Apprehension Data from 19 States, Vienna, International Centre for Migration Policy Development, 2004, p. 166, 170.

Politics. On the one hand, relatively stable political relations of Central Asian countries with Kazakhstan and Russia¹¹, as well as visa-free regime determine significant scale of migration flows. At present citizens of Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan (the only exception in Central Asia is Turkmenistan) can enter Russia without a visa. Kazakhstan offers visa-free entry to citizens of Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Usbekistan, Russia and some other states. Of course, political relations sometimes get strained, which has some impact on temporary labor migrants. For instance, in 2011 after Russian pilots were detained in Tajikistan, several hundred Tajik labor migrants who were working in major Russian cities without registration or work permits were deported from Russia¹². From time to time the issue of visa regime introduction with Tajikistan and other Central Asian countries is brought up in the Russian political discourse¹³. However as long as there are no open political conflicts between countries, visa-free regime and relative freedom of movement are maintained.

On the other hand, there are political factors in the donor countries that predetermine emigration of some population groups to Kazakhstan and Russia. First of all, one can observe the departure of Russian and Russian-speaking population that failed to adapt in Central Asia. This can be explained by shrinking sphere of Russian language use, lack of career opportunities, nationalism and safety issues. From time to time ethnic conflicts occur in many Central Asian countries; a person can be persecuted for political dissent, political beliefs or sexual orientation; this prompts some people from Central Asia to emigrate for political reasons. The latest wave of political turmoil in some former USSR countries (uprising in Kyrgyzstan, 'orange revolution' in Ukraine, 'rose revolution' in Georgia, events in Uzbekistan) increased the number of persons, primarily ethnic Russians, willing to leave these countries for Russia.

Economy. On the one hand, in Central Asian countries the main economic prerequisites prompting the departure of employable population are typical push factors: stagnation of production, low wages, widespread poverty, high unemployment, lack of jobs. On the other hand, economic pull factors are in force in recipient countries (Russia and Kazakhstan): diversified labor markets offer employment opportunities in different industries and regions and higher wages. In this context typical migration model, based on pull and push factors, has emerged between Central Asian countries on the one hand and Russia and Kazakhstan on the other hand. This situation is illustrated by table 1.

Table 2.2 Indicators of living standards in some CIS countries¹⁴

Country	Unemployment, according to workforce survey data for 2009, % of economically active population	Average monthly salary in 2010, USD
Kazakhstan	6.6	525.7
Kyrgyzstan	8.4	155.4
Russia	8.4	689.4
Tajikistan	11.5	81.0
Uzbekistan	...	52.2 (2004)

¹¹ With the exception of constant tension between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan due to competition for regional leadership.

¹² Pilots in Tajikistan were set free in the courtroom // BBC Russian Service. – 22 November 2011. [www.bbc.co.uk/russian/russia/2011/11/111122_tajik_pilots.shtml] [Access date: 20 September 2013]

¹³ Lately this issue has been mostly discussed in the context of the EU-Russia talks on the visa-free regime.

¹⁴ Twenty years of the Commonwealth of Independent States 1991-2010: Statistical volume / CIS Interstate Statistical Committee. – Moscow, 2011.- P. 384, 411 [in Russian].

The problem of unemployment primarily affects rural population. Of course, here even after losing a job people can sustain themselves thanks to land lots and subsidiary plots. Registered unemployment in rural areas is usually affected by distance and transport accessibility of a rural settlement. Many unemployed village-dwellers simply cannot get registered as unemployed, because they cannot go to the district center to visit the employment service¹⁵. Lack of jobs in the place of permanent residence pushes a person to look for a job in the nearby area (district center, regional center, capital) and then if it is unavailable within accessible area – look for it in a different country.

Social factor. This factor became key in decision-making regarding the need to migrate. In many Central Asian settlements mass conscience reproduces behavioral stereotypes that are oriented towards labor migration to Russia as a strategy of success in life. Considerable share of young people after graduating from school choose to seek employment in Russia or Kazakhstan preferring this to higher education institutions and regarding migration as a more successful strategy of behavior¹⁶. This can be explained by success stories demonstrated by many relatives, neighbors and acquaintances who had worked abroad and could afford a house, a car, other things they needed etc. It is interesting that over the recent years social basis of labor migration from Central Asia has been significantly expanded on the account of rural dwellers. Now they are more and more actively engaged in labor emigration¹⁷. Direction of migration is affected by ‘migration networks’ created on the basis of social contacts, family and social ties. Various studies indicate that majority of labor migrants from Central Asia now get employed in Russia and Kazakhstan through social networks and private intermediaries¹⁸. At the same time the role of government bodies and private employment agencies remains extremely low in employment of migrants in Russia and Kazakhstan.

Large-scale sociological survey carried out in 2012 within the Eurasian Monitor project demonstrated a rather peculiar situation. Residents of donor countries – Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan – are to a larger extent satisfied with their living standards than residents of recipient countries – Kazakhstan and Russia (table 2.3). Assessments of the country’s economic development are similar. However, inclination towards overseas employment remains high among the Central Asian population and many people aspire to seek employment abroad. Obviously we are dealing with a new social phenomenon – sustainable life strategies among the Central Asian population that focus on success exclusively through labor migration.

¹⁵ Regional labor market in the context of socio-economic transformation of the Russian economy (case study of the Southern Federal District) / Ed. by **P.V. Akinin, S.V. Stepanova**. - Stavropol: Servisshkola, 2002.- P. 93 [in Russian].

¹⁶ **Ryazantsev S.V., Horie N.** Modeling labor migration flows from Central Asian countries to Russia. Socio-economic study. – Moscow, 2011.- P. 35-45 [in Russian].

¹⁷ **Ryazantsev S.V., Horie N.** Modeling labor migration flows from Central Asian countries to Russia. Socio-economic study. – Moscow, 2011.- P. 35 [in Russian].

¹⁸ **Ryazantsev S.V., Gorshkova I.D., Akramov Sh.Yu., Akramov F.Sh.** Practice of using patents for labor activities by foreign nationals who are migrant workers in the Russian Federation (research results). - Moscow, International Organization for Migration, 2012.- P. 15 [in Russian].

Table 2.3 Results of sociological survey within the Eurasian Monitor project (November-December 2012), % (sample of 1100-2000 persons in each country)¹⁹

Questions and answers	Russia	Kazakhstan	Uzbekistan	Tajikistan	Kyrgyzstan
<i>How satisfied are you with your life?</i>					
Satisfied	62	74	95	75	77
Not satisfied	36	24	5	23	23
Difficult to answer	2	2	0	2	0
<i>How do you evaluate the economic state of your country?</i>					
Good	11	31	80	39	13
Average	62	59	15	49	48
Bad	26	5	3	12	38
No answer	1	5	2	0	1
<i>How would you assess the current material standing of your family?</i>					
Good	14	33	60	39	36
Average	71	60	37	48	59
Bad	15	7	3	12	5
No answer	0	0	0	1	0

Demographic factor is reflected in different directions of demographic trends in donor and recipient countries. Russia as a key recipient country experiences depopulation and shrinking labor resources. External migration does not fully compensate for natural population decline in Russia. Forecast demonstrates that if these trends persist, by 2050 Russia will move from 9th to 17th place with the population of 112 mln²⁰. Besides, there are economic aspects of this problem: the country may face deficit of labor resources, decline in the number of army recruits, schools children and students, intensive ageing of the population. On the contrary, in Kazakhstan and Central Asian countries population is on the rise. Population of Uzbekistan has been rising at the highest rate: from 24.5 mln. to 27.1 mln. people over the period from 2000 to 2008. Uzbekistan is the most populated country in Central Asia, it has a birth rate of 2.5 children per one woman (average figure for 2005-2010). Tajikistan has an even higher birth rate – 3.3 children per one woman of the reproductive age. Here the population went up from 6.1 mln. to 7.2 mln. people over the same period. In Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan birth rate was at the same level, but population growth was lower. However, it is rather difficult to give precise estimates for Turkmenistan due to absent demographic statistics. The lowest birth rate in 2005-2010 was in Kazakhstan – only 1.9 children per one woman of reproductive age. However, despite the small birth rate, growth of the overall population was observed in the country – from 14.9 mln. to 15.6 mln. from 2000 to 2008, with around 17 mln. in 2013.

Forecast of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO) of the Russian Academy of Sciences (RAS) indicates that size of the Central Asian population will keep growing. Similar situation is demonstrated by the UN forecast (table 2.4).

¹⁹ Monitoring of social sentiments in the post-Soviet space in 2004-2012. Main results. Presentation at the international conference on 1 March 2013. Eurasian Monitor (www.eurasiamonitor.org/rus/files/235/file/EM_Monitoring_socialnuh_nastroenij_2004-2012.ppt), access date: 20 September 2013 [in Russian].

²⁰ **Ryazantsev S.V., Horie N.** Modeling labor migration flows from Central Asian countries to Russia. Socio-economic study. – Moscow, 2011. - P. 9-10 [in Russian].

Table 2.4 Forecast of population in CIS countries, mln. people

	Size of population in 2010 (forecast of IMEMO RAS)	Size of population in 2025 / 2050 (UN forecast)	Size of employable population (15-59 years old) in 2025 / 2050 (UN forecast)
Russia	140.0	129.2 / 111.8	77.4 / 58.5
Kazakhstan	15.4	14.8 / 13.1	9.3 / 7.3
Uzbekistan	29.6	34.0 / 38.7	22.1 / 23.4
Tajikistan	7.6	8.8 / 10.4	5.5 / 6.6
Kyrgyzstan	5.6	6.3 / 6.7	4.0 / 4.0
Turkmenistan	6.1	6.1 / 6.8	4.0 / 4.1

The highest population growth rate will be demonstrated by Uzbekistan, where the number of residents will rise by almost 30% by 2050, or by over 11 mln. people. Population of Tajikistan will increase by almost 3.8 mln. people. By 2050 population of Turkmenistan and Kyrgyzstan will rise by 1.8 and 1.3 mln. people respectively. According to the UN forecast, Russian population will decline by 30 mln. people by 2050. Population loss in Kazakhstan might also be considerable – around 1.7 mln. people. Change of the age composition is a result of ageing. In Russia the share of people in the retirement age will rise and the share of young and employable people will shrink. This is fraught with the rise of pension-related financial burden and increased government spending on retirement benefits, healthcare and social support.

Sustainable migration subsystem has been formed between Russia, Kazakhstan and Central Asian countries. It is characterized by large-scale migration flows and sustainable geographic direction. It is from the Central Asian states that the main outflow of migrants to permanent residence has been taking place lately and they currently provide Russian and Kazakh industries with migrant workers and Russian universities with students.

Demographic situation in Central Asia is opposite to the situation in Russia. In Central Asia the size of employable population will be on the rise: in Uzbekistan – by 6.4 mln., in Tajikistan – by 2.8 mln., in Turkmenistan – by 900 thousand, in Kyrgyzstan – by 600 thousand by 2050. Even in case of accelerated economic growth in these countries all of their employable population cannot be employed. That is why in the nearest future Central Asian countries will remain the most likely migration donors for Russia and Kazakhstan.

Section 3. Trends of labor migration from Central Asia to Russia and Kazakhstan

The role of migration from Central Asia to Russia is crucial. At present immigrants from this region account for over 40% of the total migration-related population growth in Russia, when it comes to permanent migrants²¹. The influx of Russian population is still taking place, but the share of Central Asian title nations is also growing at a high rate (Tajiks, Uzbeks, Kyrgyzs, Kazakhs, and Turkmens). For instance, in migration exchange between Russia and Tajikistan in the 2000s every third migrant who arrived and settled in Russia was a representative of one of the Central Asian title nations, in exchange with Kyrgyzstan – it was every 10th, with Uzbekistan – every 18th. Around 30 thousand

²¹ Migration bridges in Eurasia: Collection of reports and proceedings of the international symposium / Ed. by corresponding member of RAS **S.V. Ryazantsev**. – Moscow: Econ-inform, 2012. - P. 6-7 [in Russian].

students from Central Asia study at Russian universities²². Many students enter the labor market and in fact represent a transitional group between study and labor migrants. The main migration flow from Central Asia is represented by migrant workers. In 2011 in Russia there were over 1.5 mln. officially employed (on the basis of work permits and patents) temporary labor migrants from Central Asia, which constituted 60% of the whole foreign workforce²³. Taking into account foreign statistics, one can give the following estimates of the number of migrant workers from Central Asia employed outside their countries (table 3.1)²⁴.

Table 3.1 Estimate of the number of labor migrants from Central Asia working outside their countries in 2010

Country of migrants' departure	Estimated number, thousand persons	Main countries of labor migrants' employment	Size of the economically active population in 2008, thousand persons ²⁵	Share of labor migrants among economically active population, %
Kazakhstan	350-500	Russia, Ukraine, Israel, Germany, USA, Canada	8611	4.1-5.8
Kyrgyzstan	320-700	Russia, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, Israel, Germany, Turkey, USA	2448	13.1-28.6
Tajikistan	600-1000	Russia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Ukraine, Israel, Kyrgyzstan, USA	2276	26.4-43.9
Turkmenistan	200-300	Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Turkey, Iran	1892 (1995)	10.6-15.9
Uzbekistan	1200-1500	Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, USA, South Korea, Middle East countries	11645	10.3-12.9
Total	2670-4000		26872	9.9-14.9

Studies indicate that Central Asian population became much more active in terms of migration in the 2000s. Migration flows were joined by new socio-demographic population groups. Residents of rural areas, small settlements, women and young people now take a more active part in migration²⁶. There is information that even school children were taken from North Tajikistan to work at tomato

²² Migration bridges in Eurasia: Collection of reports and proceedings of the international symposium / Ed. by corresponding member of RAS **S.V. Ryazantsev**. – Moscow: Econ-inform, 2012.- P. 6-7 [in Russian].

²³ Migration bridges in Eurasia: Collection of reports and proceedings of the international symposium / Ed. by corresponding member of RAS **S.V. Ryazantsev**. – Moscow: Econ-inform, 2012.- P. 6-7 [in Russian].

²⁴ Ryazantsev S.V. Labor migration in CIS and Baltic states: trends, consequences, regulation. – Moscow, 2007.- P. 298 [in Russian].

²⁵ Twenty years of the Commonwealth of Independent States 1991-2010: Statistical volume / CIS Interstate Statistical Committee. – Moscow, 2011.- P. 367 [in Russian].

²⁶ **Ryazantsev S.V., Horie N.** Modeling labor migration flows from Central Asian countries to Russia. Socio-economic study. – Moscow, 2011.- P. 35 [in Russian].

plantations in Volgograd Region. In that case de facto labor migration in the form of exploitation of child labor was labeled 'summer study internships for high school students'²⁷. According to approximate estimates given by experts, currently the number of labor migrants who live in conditions similar to slavery is around 600 thousand persons, or 20% of all migrant workers in Russia. According to estimates provided by chairman of the Association of Russian Lawyers for Human Rights Ye. Arkhipov, price of one person coming from Central Asia varies from 300 to 500 US dollars in the black market and "one can order a slave through criminal organizations and foremen of migrant workers". Migrants turn into slaves primarily due to debts: they have to pay 2 thousand roubles to criminal organizations simply to be able to come to Russia and return home²⁸.

US State Department Trafficking in Persons Report 2012 included Russia in the group of countries, where "the absolute number of victims of severe forms of trafficking is very significant or is significantly increasing". Center of Migration Research estimates that one can be talking about 1-1.5 mln. people in the position of de facto slaves²⁹. According to estimates given by non-governmental organizations, in Russia around 4 mln. migrants are victims of labor exploitation close to slavery³⁰.

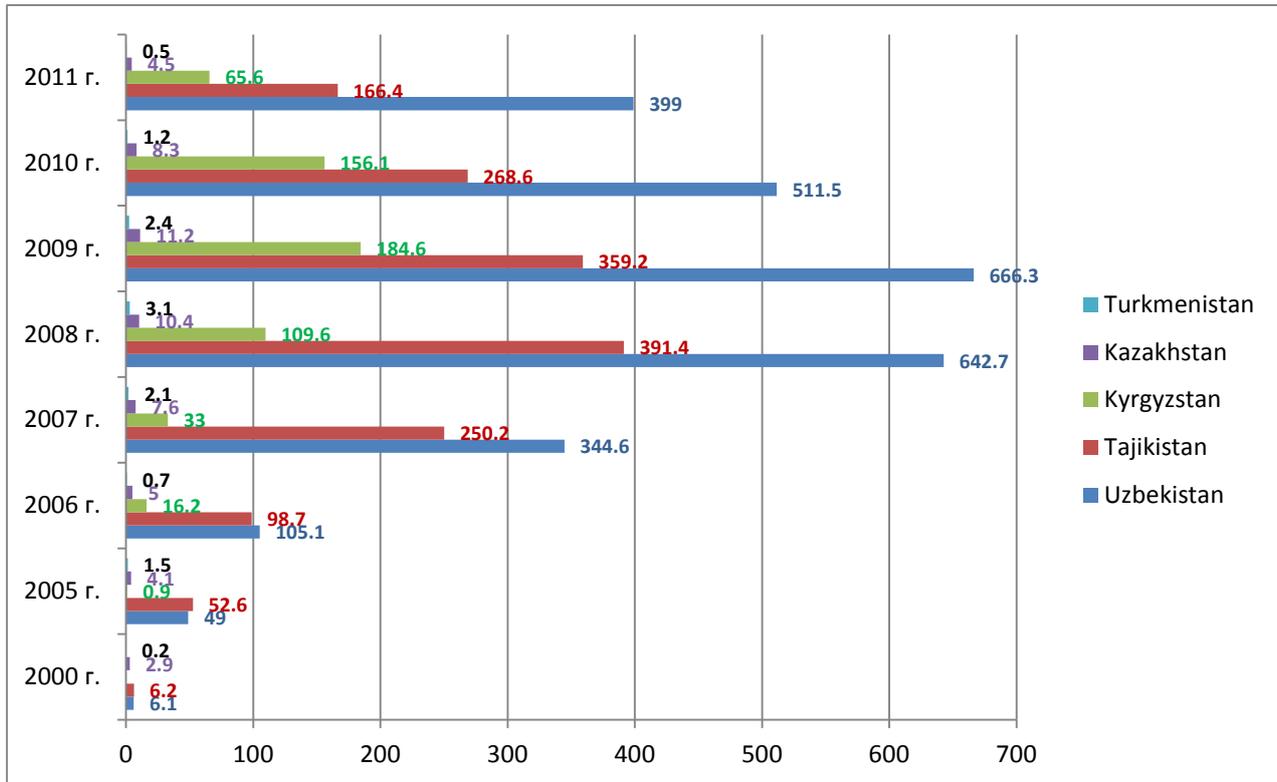
²⁷ **Mitrokhin N.** Labor migration from Central Asian countries (www.strana-oz.ru), access date: 10 January 2012 [in Russian].

²⁸ Life of slaves: how migrant workers become captives. – Statement of the Moscow Bureau for Human Rights in connection with migrants' slave labor via REX Information Agency of 26 November 2012 (www.iarex.ru/articles/31509/html), access date: 25 June 2013 [in Russian].

²⁹ Life of slaves: how migrant workers become captives. – Statement of the Moscow Bureau for Human Rights in connection with migrants' slave labor via REX Information Agency of 26 November 2012 (www.iarex.ru/articles/31509/html), access date: 25 June 2013 [in Russian].

³⁰ Kolesnichenko A. In Russia almost 4 million migrants from CIS are in the slave position // Center Asia portal (www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1075269840), access date: 20 June 2013 [in Russian].

Figure 3.1 Number of citizens of Central Asian countries who worked in Russia in 2000-2011, thousand persons³¹



Labor migration from Central Asian countries is predetermined by similar factors and is characterized by common features, but ratio of emigration and immigration varies. Moreover, the degree of government's participation in regulation of migration also varies. Hence one can identify several labor migration models that are typical for Central Asia.

Model of Uzbekistan with significant government regulation of labor migration. The government of Uzbekistan attempts to strictly control labor migration through the system of public employment bodies. The Law on Labor Migration of February 1992 and its new version of May 1998, as well as Regulation of Cabinet of Ministers No. 505 of 12 November 2003 codify the right of Uzbekistani citizens to work abroad. Agency for External Labor Migration of the Ministry of Labor and Social Employment of Population deals with organized transfer of migrant workers abroad. The government as an intermediary charges a fee for conclusion of a contract.

The latest new restriction on migration was the restriction introduced in 2013 on departure of Uzbek citizens abroad without a work permit or labor agreement with a company in the country of destination. According to the representative of the Ministry of Interior, new rules were adopted to prevent human trafficking³².

³¹ Monitoring of legal external labor migration in 2007-2008. – Moscow: FMS, 2009.- P. 28 [in Russian]; Labor and employment in Russia. 2011: Statistical volume. – Moscow: Rosstat, 2011.- P. 302 [in Russian].

³² Uzbek migrants congest the border of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan / “Kazakhstan Today” Information Agency on 20 February 2013 (<http://kt.kz/?lang=rus&uin=1253258757&chapter=1153569000>) [in Russian].

Demand for employment is very high due to strong demographic pressure and limited number of jobs in the country. Demand of population for employment abroad exceeds supply – around 25 thousand persons are currently looking for a job³³. As a result large-scale outflow of migrant workers from the country is taking place. Labor emigration is primarily originating from Andijan and Samarqand Provinces³⁴.

Despite strict system of government control over foreign employment, significant share of Uzbek migrants find employment on their own or through unofficial intermediaries. In Uzbekistan there are very few legal companies dealing with export of labor resources, the government exerts strict control over their activities. As experts note, the main migration channels are guest and tourist visas, private job invitations and ‘shuttle’ trips. Uzbek migrant workers find jobs relying on assistance of relatives and acquaintances, illegal intermediaries, and job offers published in mass media and Internet³⁵.

According to the Russian Federal Migration Service, the first peak of labor migration from Uzbekistan was in 2009, when 666 thousand Uzbek nationals were employed in Russia. Later the number went somewhat down (figure 3.2). In 2011 in Russia 399 thousand Uzbeks obtained work permits through official channels and 478 thousand obtained patents to work for private persons, i.e. the total number of Uzbek migrant workers was approximately 877 thousand persons³⁶. According to estimates, the real number of Uzbek nationals working in Russia is 1.0-1.2 mln. In most cases they work in construction, agriculture, housing and utilities sector, service sector, and transportation. Within Russian borders Uzbek migrant workers are concentrated in border regions – Astrakhan, Samara, Saratov, Omsk Regions, and Altai Territory (fig. 3.2). Here they account for over half of the foreign workforce. Significant numbers of Uzbek migrant workers also reside in Moscow and St. Petersburg, as well as Kaliningrad Region.

³³ Workforce export from Uzbekistan // Labor migration from CIS: social and economic effects / Ed. by **Zh.A. Zayonchkovskaya**. - Moscow, 2003.- P. 149 [in Russian].

³⁴ **Mitrokhin N.** Labor migration from Central Asian countries (www.strana-oz.ru), access date: 10 January 2012 [in Russian].

³⁵ Yuldashev T. Labor migrants from Uzbekistan (<http://www.proza.ru/2009/06/03/933>), access date: 12 January 2012 [in Russian].

³⁶ Labor and employment in Russia. 2011: Statistical volume. – Moscow: Rosstat, 2011.- P. 302 [in Russian].

Figure 3.2 Share of labor migrants from Uzbekistan in the foreign workforce in Russian regions in 2008, %



Among studies devoted to Uzbek migrants one should mention an interesting sociological survey conducted by the Russian researcher N. Mitrokhin in October 2002 in Tashkent, Andijan, Namangan and Fergana Provinces³⁷. He notes that work in Russia is arranged by ethnic Uzbeks who left Uzbekistan in the Soviet times. They are the ones who over the recent two or three years started coming to the home country and uniting their relatives and acquaintances into teams of eight or nine people to work in construction, catering, forestry and agriculture. Many migrants from Uzbekistan leave for Russia in spring and summer to do temporary seasonal work and come home in autumn. Many migrant workers from Uzbekistan live in Russia without registration, so their rights are not fully protected. According to 2002 census, there were 71 thousand Uzbek nationals and 123 thousand ethnic Uzbeks in Russia, who could be considered 'permanent' population (i.e. resided in Russia for over a year). Census of 2010 identified 290 thousand ethnic Uzbeks in Russia.

One should also mention migration flow of ethnic Koreans from Uzbekistan to Russia. Starting from the deportation of Koreans in 1937, Uzbekistan became one of the main locations of their residence in USSR. Initially Koreans were mostly rural dwellers. In 1960-70s a group of urban Koreans emerged. They were the ones who adopted Russian culture: they speak Russian, have Russian names and strive towards higher education. Among them there is a significant flow of persons leaving to work in Russia, however there is no special statistics regarding that.

³⁷ **Mitrokhin N.** Labor migration from Central Asian countries (www.strana-oz.ru), access date: 5 June 2013 [in Russian].

Some Uzbek migrant workers go to Kazakhstan, where they work in agriculture and private households. Wages of these migrants are very low, rights violations are widespread, including when getting paid for the work done.

Some Uzbek nationals also work in the southern part of Kyrgyzstan in areas of compact settlement of ethnic Uzbeks, doing temporary seasonal work in agriculture and construction. Their exact numbers are unknown. In 2003 they were estimated at 4-5 thousand persons³⁸. They are referred to as 'mardikerlar' in Uzbek, which means 'daily laborers'. They are ready to do hard work for very low wages. Many Uzbek migrant workers are illegally employed in Kyrgyzstan and find themselves in vulnerable position and their civil rights are violated. Interstate agreement of 2006 enables citizens of the two countries to freely cross the border and reside in the territory of another state without a visa for 60 days, but the law does not give Uzbek residents the right to get employed in Kyrgyzstan.

Official Uzbek sources register clearly understated number of labor migrants – tens of thousands persons a year, while hundreds of thousands Uzbek nationals are actually abroad. For instance, IOM data for 2001-2002 indicate 500-700 thousand labor migrants from Uzbekistan working abroad³⁹. According to expert estimates, Russia and Kazakhstan currently host around 500 thousand Uzbek nationals each, mostly ethnic Uzbeks. They work all over Russia, including in Siberia and the Far East, and in steppe areas of Kazakhstan, i.e. areas that are not very attractive for locals. In other countries – Ukraine, USA, European countries, South Korea, Australia, Canada, Israel, Greece, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, and Iran – there are in total no less than 300 thousand Uzbek migrant workers⁴⁰. According to other data, in 2005 around 1-3 mln. citizens of Uzbekistan left to seek employment in the 'near abroad'. Discrepancies in estimates are likely to be caused by drastic fluctuations in the number of Uzbek migrant workers during summer seasonal work, the height of which is agricultural harvesting, especially in border areas. In winter the influx of migrants goes down⁴¹. According to our estimates, in 2010 the number of Uzbek migrant workers abroad reached 1.2-1.5 mln. people. This is 10 to 13 per cent of the economically active population of the country. According to the World Bank, 1,955 thousand citizens of Uzbekistan were outside the country in 2010, which constituted 7% of the country's population⁴².

Considerable scale and growth rate of labor migration allow suggesting that in the mid-term perspective Uzbekistan will remain one of the main workforce suppliers for Russia and Kazakhstan.

Model of Tajikistan with passive sanation of labor emigration. Migration model of Tajikistan is based on tacit encouragement of citizens' departure to seek employment abroad. This way the government alleviates political and social tension caused by population growth, spread of poverty and stagnation of local economy. In Tajikistan social responsibility of the state was basically transferred to labor migrants. Most families have family members employed in Russia. Government signed agreements on protection of labor migrants' rights with key recipient states (Russia, Kazakhstan), but in practice the rights of migrant workers are not observed, so migrants lose health and sometimes even their lives. Tajikistan is basically following the path of intensified export of labor resources, exporting people just like Russia, for instance, exports oil and other natural resources. As a result Tajik economy has become fully dependent on labor migrants.

³⁸ 2003 Year Book on Illegal Migration, Human Smuggling and Trafficking in Central and Eastern Europe: A Survey and Analysis of Border Management and Apprehension Data from 19 States, Vienna, International Centre for Migration Policy Development, 2004, p. 168.

³⁹ Migration trends in Eastern Europe and Central Asia: 2001-2002 Review, Geneva, IOM, 2002, p. 161.

⁴⁰ **Yuldashev T.** Labor migrants from Uzbekistan (<http://www.proza.ru/2009/06/03/933>), access date: 12 January 2012 [in Russian].

⁴¹ **Yuldashev T.** Labor migrants from Uzbekistan (<http://www.proza.ru/2009/06/03/933>), access date: 12 January 2013 [in Russian].

⁴² Migration and Remittances Fact book 2011, 2nd Edition, Washington DC, The World Bank, 2011, p. 156.

In 2009 around 35% of Tajikistan's GDP was formed by labor migrants' remittances from abroad⁴³. In 2010 Tajikistan received 2.1 bln. US dollars from migrant workers⁴⁴. The role of remittances in socio-economic development of regions and families in Tajikistan is very significant. Owing to this money, population fulfills the main needs in food products, consumer goods, housing and education. However, remittances have not become the factor of national economic growth, as far as they are mostly spent on consumption. Only a small fraction of money is invested into development of small business and infrastructure.

The splash of labor migration from Tajikistan was observed in mid-1990s, when socio-economic situation in the country worsened so much that it brought most of the country's population to the brink. Since then migration activity of Tajik population has only intensified. Only 5-6 thousand persons leave Tajikistan every year and get employed in Russia and Kazakhstan under official labor contracts. Real volume of labor migration is much larger, as far as the lion share of migrant workers get employed on their own and are not taken into account by this statistics. In 2008, 390 thousand labor migrants from Tajikistan were officially employed in Russia⁴⁵. Economic crisis somewhat reduced the number of labor migrants, but the scale of migration remains considerable. In 2011 over 166 thousand Tajik citizens obtained work permits in Russia and 207 thousand persons worked for private persons on the basis of patents⁴⁶.

Real number of migrant workers from Tajikistan abroad is difficult to estimate. According to official Tajik statistics, in mid-2000s 420 thousand persons were outside the country with a purpose of temporary employment, including over 413 thousand persons in Russia, 4 thousand in Kazakhstan, 2 thousand each – in Kyrgyzstan, Belarus, and Uzbekistan, more than 1 thousand in Ukraine.

These data do not match the results of studies and foreign statistics. Obviously the number of Tajik migrant workers is larger. Studies carried out by local experts in Tajikistan in early 2000s demonstrated that labor migration involved around 600 thousand citizens of Tajikistan, 85% of whom went to work in Russia⁴⁷. In August 2003 Tajik Ministry of Labor and Social Protection of Population along with *hukumats* (executive bodies) conducted a survey of households all over the country. According to this survey, the number of labor migrants was 190 thousand persons, as of August 2003. According to the survey by IOM and Shark Research Center conducted in 2002-2003, total number of labor migrants from Tajikistan was over 630 thousand persons.

84% of all labor migrants from Tajikistan work in Russia⁴⁸. According to the population survey, 64 thousand citizens of Tajikistan and 120 thousand ethnic Tajiks were residing in Russia in 2002. In 2010 population survey registered more than 200 thousand ethnic Tajiks in Russia. There are similar discrepancies at the regional level. For instance, in Samara Region 4 thousand citizens of Tajikistan were officially registered in early 2000s, but 23 thousand persons were found during raids conducted by the Federal Migration Service. Russian experts gave the following estimates citing the Russian Embassy in Dushanbe: around 700 thousand ethnic Tajiks live and work in Russia, as well over 400 thousand ethnic Russians who fled from Tajikistan in 1989-1995⁴⁹. However, more realistic estimates of labor migrants from Tajikistan to Russia are in the range from 600 thousand to 1 mln. people. This constitutes from 26% to 44% of economically active population of the country. According to the

⁴³ World Bank (2011) Migration and Remittances Fact Book 2011, 2nd Edition, Washington DC, P.14.

⁴⁴ World Bank (2011) Migration and Remittances Fact Book 2011, 2nd Edition, Washington DC, P.238.

⁴⁵ Monitoring of legal external labor migration in 2007-2008. – Moscow: FMS, 2009.- P. 28 [in Russian].

⁴⁶ Data of the Russian Federal Migration Service (www.gks.ru) [Access date: 20 September 2013]

⁴⁷ **Olimova S., Bosk I.** Labor migration from Tajikistan. - Dushanbe: IOM, 2003.- P. 21 [in Russian].

⁴⁸ **Ivanova T.D.** Immigrants in Moscow / Ed. by Zh.A. Zayonchkovskaya. – Moscow: 'Tri Kvadrata' publishing house, Kennan Institute, 2009.- P. 176-177 [in Russian].

⁴⁹ **Mitrokhin N.** Labor migration from Central Asian countries (www.strana-oz.ru), access date: 12 January 2012 [in Russian].

World Bank, 791 thousand citizens of Tajikistan were abroad in 2010, which constitutes 11.2% of the country's population⁵⁰.

Tajik migrant workers can be found in practically all Russian regions. Their maximum number is observed in the megacities (Moscow, Moscow Region, St. Petersburg), as well as in the regions bordering on or close to Kazakhstan (Sverdlovsk, Novosibirsk, Tyumen, Samara, Chelyabinsk, and Kemerovo Regions, Krasnoyarsk Territory)⁵¹. One can identify two groups among Tajik migrant workers. The first group – more numerous – consists of seasonal workers. Their flow increases in spring and summer, when they go to Russia to work in agriculture and construction. In autumn they come home. According to approximate estimates, in some Russian regions 75-80% seasonal migrants are Tajiks. The second group of Tajik migrants consists of those who have worked in Russia for a long time, but have no legal status. Some are legally employed, some work without official documentation in construction, service sector, housing and utilities.

Men prevail among migrant workers from Tajikistan. However, lately feminization of migration from Tajikistan has been taking place. Age composition depends on employment sector. Young people prevail among construction workers. They are hired to do heavy work that requires endurance, physical force, and good health. The share of middle-aged persons is higher among agricultural workers⁵². Labor migration is now a 'safety net', but can become a trap. Migration leads to the loss of population and labor resources, highly qualified professionals and the most active people and thus takes away the future of the country. Families are separated for a long time, which has a negative impact on spousal relations and often results in divorce. There are more and more single mothers and even single fathers, as far as many women also leave in search of work. The situation is even worse, when both parents leave and children stay in care of elderly grandfathers and grandmothers, not capable of looking after teenagers, who have money sent by parents, but do not know how to spend them responsibly. According to expert interviews, crime has been on the rise among teenagers and youth who were left without care of parents due to parents' departure abroad. Majority of migrant workers live and work in very bad and harsh conditions, which negatively affects their health⁵³.

According to the survey conducted by the Center of Demography and Economic Sociology of the RAS Institute of Socio-Political Research in 2005-2006, among 166 migrant workers from Tajikistan significant share (around 69%) worked in Russia on the basis of verbal agreements. Only one fourth of migrant workers had written job contracts. Only 23% of respondents had permits to work in Russia. Many experience difficulties when travelling and working in Russia. For instance, around 53% of respondents answered that the most significant problems on their way to Russia were document checks when crossing the border, while around 44% of respondents experienced extortion by policemen, as well as customs and border officers. At the same time many migrant workers from Tajikistan would like to stay in Russia permanently – this was indicated by around 48% of respondents. This indicates the possibility of transformation of temporary migration into permanent emigration⁵⁴. Over the recent years many Tajik nationals managed to acquire Russian citizenship and now hold two passports – Russian and Tajik.

⁵⁰ Migration and Remittances Fact book 2011, 2nd Edition, Washington DC, The World Bank, 2011, p. 238.

⁵¹ Data of the Russian Federal Migration Service (www.grs.ru) [Access date: 20 September 2013]

⁵² **Ryazantsev S.V., Horie N.** Modeling labor migration flows from Central Asian countries to Russia. Socio-economic study. – Moscow, 2011.- P. 35 [in Russian].

⁵³ **Ryazantsev S.V., Horie N.** Modeling labor migration flows from Central Asian countries to Russia. Socio-economic study. – Moscow, 2011.- P. 94-95 [in Russian].

⁵⁴ **Akramov F.Sh.** Demographic situation and labor migration from Tajikistan to Russia // Practice of attraction and use of foreign workforce in Russia: Trends, Mechanisms, Technologies: Conference proceedings (16-17 October 2006)/ Ed. by Doctor of Economy, Prof. S.V. Ryazantsev. - Moscow, 2006 – P. 5-8 [in Russian].

At the government level a number of documents were adopted in Tajikistan, in order to regulate spontaneous labor migration flows abroad and enhance social and legal protection of Tajik citizens. In 2001 the Concept of Labor Migration of Tajikistan Citizens Abroad was drawn up and adopted⁵⁵. Under this document, in December 2002 the government adopted a program of external migration regulation that sets the task for ministries and agencies involved to pay more attention to resolution of migration problems⁵⁶. In 2004 within this program migration accounting card was introduced for citizens of Tajikistan, in order to systematically collect statistical information on external labor migration. Then a new state program of labor migration of Tajikistan citizens was developed⁵⁷. These documents laid the foundation for regulation of labor emigration. However these programs did not significantly change the situation in Tajikistan itself and did not eliminate push factors of labor emigration.

Currently migration from Tajikistan is mostly spontaneous; in Russia and Kazakhstan many Tajik migrant workers still have no work permits and are exploited by their employers. Furthermore, from time to time labor migrants from Tajikistan become ‘hostages’ of political tension between the states. For instance, when in 2011 Tajik authorities detained Russian pilots, Russian Federal Migration Service deported 297 citizens of Tajikistan for violation of Russian migration legislation⁵⁸.

Experts note that in the future Tajik labor migration might reorient itself towards some new countries (for instance, Belarus, Pakistan, and Afghanistan). Political elite of Tajikistan also entertains the idea of reorientation of Tajik migrants towards Saudi Arabia, which, according to experts, can have negative consequences for the country in the form of radical fundamentalism⁵⁹.

Model of Kyrgyzstan with active sanation of labor emigration. Difficult economic situation and recurrent ethnopolitical tension in Kyrgyzstan encouraged considerable share of the country’s rural population to move. In some southern areas poverty reaches 70%. The latest ethnic conflict in the city of Osh in 2011 also provoked an outflow of population to the capital and from Kyrgyzstan. Furthermore, the state itself through a rather well-developed infrastructure stimulates the outflow of migrant workers over the border, these migrants mostly going to Russia and Kazakhstan. The State Committee for Migration and Employment was established in Kyrgyzstan; this Committee has ministry-level status and its head is a member of the government. The State Committee for Migration and Employment opened its offices in a number of Russian cities and entrusted them with a task to study the situation in the Russian labor market. This stimulated organized employment of Kyrgyz nationals in Russian regions. Thus, for instance, leadership of Penza Region, hoping to revive with the help of migrants its vegetable production and cattle breeding in the rural area, as well as to compensate for the deficit of qualified personnel in rural healthcare, announced that it was ready to accept 2 thousand migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan⁶⁰. Kyrgyzstan also sent its labor migrants to the city of Moscow, as well as Yaroslavl, Sverdlovsk, Orenburg and Samara Regions⁶¹.

⁵⁵ Concept of Labor Migration of Citizens of the Republic of Tajikistan Abroad. - Dushanbe, 2001.

⁵⁶ Program of external labor migration of citizens of the Republic of Tajikistan in 2003-2005 – Dushanbe, 2002.

⁵⁷ State program of labor migration of citizens of the Republic of Tajikistan in 2006-2010 – Dushanbe, 2005.

⁵⁸ 300 Tajiks await deportation from Russia // Argument and Facts (*Argumenty i Fakty*). - 11 November 2011 (<http://www.aif.ru/society/news/99795>), access date: 19 January 2013 [in Russian].

⁵⁹ **Dzhuraeva G.** Tajiks in Russia (<http://russ.ru/Mirovaya-povestka/Tadzhiiki-v-Rossii>), access date: 21 January 2013 [in Russian].

⁶⁰ 2 thousand Kyrgyz migrants will be legally employed in Penza Region (www.gazeta.kg), access date: 21 January 2013 [in Russian].

⁶¹ **Ryazantsev S.V.** Labor migration in CIS and Baltic states: trends, consequences, regulation. – Moscow, 2007.- P. 245 [in Russian].

According to official data of the Russian Federal Migration Service, 195 thousand work permits were issued to the citizens of Kyrgyzstan in 2009⁶². Around 66 thousand work permits and 65 thousand private patents were issued in 2011⁶³. Introduction of patents for foreign nationals working for private persons in Russia took several thousand Kyrgyz citizens, who used to be unofficially employed, from the black market. Thus, 130 thousand Kyrgyz citizens were legally employed in the Russian Federation. According the census of 2002, 29 thousand Kyrgyz citizens and 32 ethnic Kyrgyzs resided in Russia and were considered permanent population. 2010 census registered 103 thousand ethnic Kyrgyzs in Russia, many of whom obtained Russian passports benefiting from the facilitated procedure of Russian citizenship acquisition. At the same time unofficial estimates of the number of Kyrgyzs in Russia are much higher. In Kyrgyzstan there is no precise statistics regarding emigration, there are only approximate estimates. Labor migrants outside the country are estimated at 320-700 thousand persons⁶⁴. For instance, according to the speaker of the Kyrgyz Parliament O. Tekebaev, 320 thousand citizens work in Russia⁶⁵. According to other estimates, no less than 500 thousand Kyrgyzstan nationals work in Russia⁶⁶. Obviously this figure also includes ethnic Russians who left in the first half of 1990s.

Labor migration of Kyrgyzstani residents to Kazakhstan has Soviet roots: back then workers used to come to Kazakhstan for short periods of time. Citizens of Kyrgyzstan mostly work at tobacco plantations in the neighboring southern Kazakhstan. According to the Kazakhstan Migration Service, 2 thousand work permits were issued to Kyrgyzstan nationals in 2005. In accordance with the new rules, Kyrgyz citizens can spend 90 days without registration in Kazakhstan instead of just 30 days. Furthermore, starting from 1 January 2013 there is a new law in Kazakhstan that allows citizens of only three states – Russia, Belarus, and Kyrgyzstan – to be individual entrepreneurs. Kyrgyzstan was granted this privilege, despite the fact that this country is not a Customs Union member state. That was done on one condition: that citizens of those countries be registered with fiscal bodies of Kazakhstan as ‘private entrepreneurs’. One entrepreneur can hire up to 25 persons⁶⁷. It is possible that Kazakhstan authorities thus count on obtaining multiplier effect from labor migration in terms of new jobs. However the status of Kyrgyz workers in Kazakhstan is not always official, many have no registration and no permits.

The latest expert estimates indicate that from 300 to 700 thousand migrant workers left Kyrgyzstan to seek employment abroad⁶⁸. Thus, from 13% to 29% of economically active population participate in labor migration. According to the World Bank, 621 thousand of Kyrgyzstan citizens were abroad in 2010, i.e. 11.2% of the country’s population⁶⁹. In 2010 more than 1 bln. U.S. dollars were sent to Kyrgyzstan by labor migrants, i.e. 15% of the country’s gross national product⁷⁰. According to

⁶² Monitoring of legal external labor migration in 2007-2008. – Moscow: FMS, 2009.- P. 28 [in Russian].

⁶³ Data of the Russian Federal Migration Service (www.grs.ru) [Access date: 20 September 2013]

⁶⁴ Population of Russia 2000. 8th annual demographic report. – Moscow, 2011.- P. 170 [in Russian].

⁶⁵ Kyrgyzstan is asking for migration assistance and inviting Russia to Osh and to its economy (www.migracia.ru), access date: 21 January 2013 [in Russian].

⁶⁶ **Mitrokhin N.** Labor migration from Central Asian countries (www.strana-oz.ru), access date: 21 January 2013[in Russian]; **Pickup F.**, The Impact of Transition and the Afghanistan Crisis on Employment and Decent Work Concerns in Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. WP № 13, Geneva, ILO, 2003, p. 28.

⁶⁷ **Bayzhigitov N.** Labor migration, access date: 5 January 2013 (<http://rus.kg/news/policy/8923-pyat-problem-kyrgyzsko-kazahskih-otnosheniy.html>) [in Russian].

⁶⁸ **Turdiyev T.I.** Migration aspect of sustainable development of Kyrgyzstan // Migration bridges in Eurasia: Collection of report of the international symposium (6-7 November 2012) / Ed. by corresponding member of RAS **S.V. Ryazantsev.** – Moscow: Econ-inform, 2012.- P. 119 [in Russian].

⁶⁹ Migration and Remittances Fact book 2011, 2nd Edition, Washington DC, The World Bank, 2011, p. 156.

⁷⁰ Migration and Remittances Fact book 2011, 2nd Edition, Washington DC, The World Bank, 2011, pp. 14, 156.

unofficial estimates, remittances were even more significant and amounted to 1.9 bln. U.S. dollars⁷¹. As experts note, economic life in Kyrgyzstan relies on migrants, as far as remittances mask the erosion of the social protection system in some regions and help the local population survive⁷². There is also a negative side to the large-scale labor migration associated with mass loss of employable population, desertion of some regions and deformation of rational population distribution across the country⁷³.

Model of Turkmenistan with restrictive government control over labor emigration. In 1994 Turkmenistan authorities severed transport ties with Russia: passenger communication by railroad, bus and sea was ceased. Turkmenistan became a practically closed country in terms of transportation. Emigration was also restricted and the flow of labor migrants abroad was taken under government control. Despite restrictive nature of emigration, a lot of Turkmen migrants are outside the country. It is estimated that from 11% to 16% of economically active population of Turkmenistan are abroad⁷⁴. According to the World Bank, 261 thousand Turkmenistan nationals were abroad in 2010, i.e. 5% of the population⁷⁵. Russian census of 2010 identified around 37 thousand ethnic Turkmens who resided in the country. At the same time one should note that significant number of ethnic Turkmens had resided in Russia even before the dissolution of the USSR.

There is very little statistical information in national and foreign sources regarding labor migration from Turkmenistan. According to the Russian data, the peak of labor migration to Russia was in 2002, when the Federal Migration Service issued work permits to 7 thousand Turkmen citizens. In 2008, 3.1 thousand Turkmen nationals worked in Russia on legal grounds, and in 2010 this number was 0.5 thousand persons. The main flow of labor migrants from Turkmenistan is directed towards West Siberian regions rich in oil and gas (Tyumen Region, Khanty-Mansi and Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Districts). Mostly these are people working in oil industry who can afford air tickets or whose future employers can buy tickets for them. For most Turkmenistan residents there are simply no opportunities for migration in the country.

Model of Kazakhstan with liberal regulation of labor migration. Despite dynamic economic development, Kazakhstan keeps exporting a certain number of labor migrants. Procedure of departure is rather simple and is not restricted by the government. According to the Kazakh statistics, around 500 persons get employed overseas every year through official channels. Statistical accounting of the number of Kazakhstan nationals working abroad is carried out by the Ministry of Labor and Social Protection. According to the World Bank, 3.7 mln. citizens of Kazakhstan were outside the country in 2010, or 24% of the population⁷⁶. However these figures are likely to be exaggerated, as far as they include different migrant categories (for instance, permanent and study migrants). Emigration from Kazakhstan is characterized by its clear pattern – considerable outflow of Russian-speaking population. According to approximate estimates, the number of labor migrants from Kazakhstan abroad ranges between 350 and 500 thousand persons⁷⁷. According to Russian statistics for 2011, 4.5

⁷¹ **Turdiyev T.I.** Migration aspect of sustainable development of Kyrgyzstan // Migration bridges in Eurasia: Collection of report of the international symposium (6-7 November 2012) / Ed. by corresponding member of RAS **S.V. Ryazantsev**. – Moscow: Econ-inform, 2012.- P. 119 [in Russian].

⁷² **Kumskov G.V.** (2011) Kyrgyzstan: development of potential of labor migrants' remittances // International migration of the population in the post-Soviet space: Twenty years of successes, mistakes, and hopes (Series "International migration of population: Russia and today's world. Issue 25. Chief editor V.A. Iontsev). Moscow: Verdi. P. 149-160.

⁷³ **Turdiyev T.I.** Migration aspect of sustainable development of Kyrgyzstan // Migration bridges in Eurasia: Collection of report of the international symposium (6-7 November 2012) / Ed. by corresponding member of RAS **S.V. Ryazantsev**. – Moscow: Econ-inform, 2012.- P. 120 [in Russian].

⁷⁴ Migration and Remittances Fact book 2011, 2nd Edition, Washington DC, The World Bank, 2011, p. 247.

⁷⁵ Migration and Remittances Fact book 2011, 2nd Edition, Washington DC, The World Bank, 2011, p. 247.

⁷⁶ Migration and Remittances Fact book 2011, 2nd Edition, Washington DC, The World Bank, 2011, p. 149.

⁷⁷ **Ryazantsev S.V.** Labor migration in CIS and Baltic states: trends, consequences, regulation. – Moscow, 2007.- P. 165 [in Russian].

thousand work permits were issued to the citizens of Kazakhstan. The main flow of migrant workers from northern areas of Kazakhstan is directed towards the Urals and South Siberia⁷⁸. Labor migration to Russia is encouraged by geographic proximity and transport accessibility. Kazakhstan and Russia are connected by a rather widely distributed network of highways and railroads, as well as by air communication. Migrant workers from Kazakhstan also work in Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, South Korea, USA, UAE etc. However official labor emigration to these states was insignificant. According to the World Bank, in 2010 migrant workers transferred around 131 mln. U.S. dollars to Kazakhstan, which was much less than in case of other Central Asia countries⁷⁹.

Central Asian countries remain the main suppliers of migrant workers to Russia, Kazakhstan and some other states in the post-Soviet space. Approximate number of labor migrants from Central Asia who are outside their countries ranges between 2.6 and 4.0 mln. persons, which constitutes 10% to 15% of the economically active population of those countries.

Section 4. Impact of labor migration on socio-economic development of Russia, Kazakhstan and Central Asian countries

At present labor migration primarily constitutes a large-scale migration flow to Russia and Kazakhstan. Economic crisis that hit Russia and Kazakhstan somewhat reduced the number of legal labor migrants in 2009-2010. After the acute crisis stage was over, the need for foreign workforce started rising again. In July 2010 Russian authorities legalized the status of foreigners who were employed by private persons by introducing patents – special permits for foreigners from visa-free countries employed by private persons. According to the official data of the Federal Migration Service, in the second half of 2010 patents were issued to over 950 persons (fig. 4.1). According to deputy director of the Federal Migration Service E.Yu. Yegorova, between mid-2010 and September 2012 around 2 mln. foreign workers obtained such patents⁸⁰. Relying on Russian experience, authorities of Kazakhstan plan to carry out a similar program aimed at legalization of labor migrants in private households.

⁷⁸ **Mitrokhin N.** Labor migration from Central Asian countries (www.strana-oz.ru), access date: 20 January 2013 [in Russian].

⁷⁹ Migration and Remittances Fact book 2011, 2nd Edition, Washington DC, The World Bank, 2011, p. 149.

⁸⁰ **Yegorova Ye.Yu.** Labor migration from Central Asian countries to Russia: Report at the IV International Research and Practice Conference “Migration Bridge between Russia and Central Asian Countries: Pressing Issues of Socio-Economic Development and Security”, Institute of Socio-Political Research of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 7 November 2012 (proceedings not published). [in Russian].

Figure 4.1 Number of work permits issued to foreigners in Russia in 1994-2010 (in the course of each year), thousands⁸¹



Translation of the legend: Number of permits, units – Year - Permits to work for legal persons - Patents to work for physical persons

In the 2000s the share of foreign migrant workers among persons employed in the Russian labor market was relatively small – from 3% to 5% of employed population. However in some industries this share was much more significant (for instance, it reached almost 20% in construction). One can presume that the share might reach 50-60% in some industries, if one takes into account workers who are not officially employed. Majority (around 70%) of foreign labor migrants officially employed in Russia work on the basis of fixed-term labor contracts with Russian legal or physical persons. The remaining foreign migrant workers were engaged for short periods of time to perform specified scope of work. The share of foreign labor migrants officially employed by physical persons (non-incorporated entrepreneurs) is only 5%⁸². However it is known that there are more foreign labor migrants in the private sector than official statistics indicates. Numerous foreign workers are employed by private persons as nannies, gardeners, repairmen, construction workers, watchmen and domestic help. As a rule, such foreign workers are employed on the basis of verbal agreements without official contracts. Introduction of patents in 2010 improved the situation in this economic segment by transferring significant number of persons working for private households to formal economy.

Nevertheless, there is a considerable gap between official data and real scale of labor migration in Russia. The number of unregistered migrant workers could be several times higher than the number of registered ones, though estimates of the first group are approximate. For instance, representatives of the Russian Ministry of Interior estimate the number of unregistered labor migrants in Russia at approximately 10 mln. persons and some politicians voice the figure of 15 mln. However these figures are likely to be exaggerated and raise doubt, as far as they are not based on results of serious studies. In the course of 2002 census, around 2 mln. unaccounted for people were identified in Russia. Census of 2010 ‘increased’ the population by another million. One can presume that these fluctuations are associated with presence of a large pool of temporary labor migrants. However these figures are understated, because many labor migrants evaded the census, anxious about their status in Russia.

Estimates given by the expert community are closer to reality, but they also vary a lot. A.V. Topilin suggests a figure between 7.5 and 8 mln., 5.5 mln. being citizens of the CIS states and the rest coming

⁸¹ Data of the Russian Federal Migration Service (www.fms.gov.ru), access date: 20 January 2013 [in Russian].

⁸² Data of the Russian Federal Migration Service (www.fms.gov.ru), access date: 20 January 2013 [in Russian].

from 'far abroad'⁸³. M. Vyshegorodtsev names a figure between 4 and 5 mln. migrants, 2 mln. among them being citizens of the CIS countries⁸⁴. According to estimates by E.S. Krasinets, E.S. Kubishin and E.V. Tyuryukanova, there are between 4 and 4.5 mln. illegal migrants in the country, among them 1.8 to 2 mln. coming from the CIS countries⁸⁵. According to V.I. Mukomel, in 2010 there could be 4-5.5 mln. undocumented migrants in Russia⁸⁶. Our figures based on the estimated number of major categories of unregistered labor migrants indicate that there could be around 5 mln. persons in Russia by 2010⁸⁷. Most of them are citizens of the CIS countries who use their right of visa-free entry, but then do not get work permits or obtain fake documents (more often than not – registration in the place of stay). Many of them live in Russia for several years. Representatives of the Russian Federal Migration Service lately have been emphasizing that measures undertaken over the last years (facilitated procedure of registration in the place of residence, introduction of patents etc.) had significantly reduced the number of illegal labor migrants. It is possible that these statements are not unfounded, but it is obvious that despite all the efforts there are still large pools of labor migrants in Russia who are staying without a fully official status. This is due to the following main reasons: absence of transparent and accessible procedures for obtaining the status; system of corruption surrounding labor migration in the country; low level of labor migrants' awareness.

At present foreign workforce is attracted to Russia from more than 120 countries. Three Central Asian countries were the largest suppliers of foreign workers in 2010: Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan (fig. 4.2). Visible increase in the number of workers from CIS countries is taking place, including Ukraine, Moldova, Armenia and Azerbaijan. After procedures of registration and obtaining of work permits were facilitated for citizens of CIS countries starting from January 2007, their share in the total number of foreign workers went up to around three quarters. After patents were introduced for migrants from visa-free countries employed in the private sector, their share exceeded 85% of persons employed in the private sector. China, Turkey, Vietnam and DPRK are among the key exporters of workforce to Russia.

Men (around 90%) dominate in the foreign workforce in Russia, and their predominant share is in the age between 18 and 39 years (around 80% of all male migrants). Such gender and age structure is explained by the fact that low-qualified foreign workers are primarily in demand in the Russian labor market: in construction, agriculture, housing and utilities, and transportation. Lately there has been a trend towards 'juvenation' of the flow of labor migrants to Russia; since 2007 the age group of 18-29 year-olds started to prevail over the age group of 30-39 year-olds. The youngest group accounted for around 37% of the total flow of foreign labor migrants to Russia in 2008⁸⁸. This indicates that in the countries of origin labor migration engages new social groups – young persons who received secondary and higher education. It is rather difficult to assess the qualification of labor migrants, as far as many of them do not work according to their profession, and Russian Federal Migration Service does not collect such data.

⁸³ **Topilin A.V.** CIS: demographic potential, migration, labor market. - Moscow: Econ-inform, 2002.- P. 132-133 [in Russian].

⁸⁴ **Vyshegorodtsev M.** Long journey, roubles ahead // Economy and Life (Economika I Zhizn'). – No. 49, 1998.- P. 28 [in Russian].

⁸⁵ **Krasinets E., Kubishin E., Tyuryukanova E.** Illegal migration to Russia. - Moscow: ACADEMIA, 2000.- P. 82 [in Russian].

⁸⁶ **Mukomel V.,** Labour migration and the host country: Russian case, CARIM-East Research Report 2012/31 (www.carim-east.eu/media/CARIM-East-2012-RR-31.pfd), P. 6 [Дата обращения: 20 сентября 2013 г.]

⁸⁷ **Ryazantsev S.V.** Labor migration in CIS and Baltic states: trends, consequences, regulation. – Moscow, 2007.- P. 168 [in Russian].

⁸⁸ Data of the Russian Federal Migration Service (www.fms.gov.ru), access date: 20 January 2013 [in Russian].

Fig. 4.2 Number of permits issued to foreigners for the right to work in Russia in 2010-2011 by country of citizenship, thousands⁸⁹



Translation of the legend:

Number of permits, thousands

Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, China, Ukraine, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Armenia, Vietnam, Turkey, Azerbaijan, DPRK, Other countries

Migrant workers' countries of citizenship

Permits to work for legal persons (2010)

Patents to work for physical persons (1 July 2010 to 31 December 2011)

Foreign migrant workers in Russia are distributed unevenly. The Central Federal District is an unequivocal leader and a primary center of gravity that attracts around 43% of officially employed foreign workers. City of Moscow (around 30%) and Moscow Region (around 6% of migrant workers in the country) are absolute leaders within the district. Taken together Moscow area is characterized by a diversified and very capacious labor market that actively attracts temporary labor migrants from various regions of Russia, CIS countries and 'far abroad'. The second center of gravity for foreign workforce is the Ural Federal District, where every sixth labor migrant is employed. This can be explained by special attraction of oil-producing Khanty-Mansi and Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Areas that rank second and third in the country in terms of foreign workforce. Here labor migrants work in oil production and construction. Far Eastern Federal District is the third most attractive; it attracts 10% of foreign workers, predominantly from China, DPRK and Vietnam. Migrants are primarily in demand in Primorye and Khabarovsk Territories and Amur Region, where they are employed in construction, agriculture, and forestry⁹⁰.

In the Russian labor market migrant workers from certain countries target certain industries. Studies indicate that migrants from Tajikistan work primarily in construction, housing and utilities; from Uzbekistan – in construction, agriculture, trade, housing and utilities. Migrant workers from

⁸⁹ Data of the Russian Federal Migration Service (www.fms.gov.ru), access date: 20 January 2013 [in Russian].

⁹⁰ **Ryazantsev S.V., Horie N.** Modeling labor migration flows from Central Asian countries to Russia. Socio-economic study. – Moscow, 2011. - P. 29-31 [in Russian].

Kyrgyzstan are employed in housing and utilities sector, service sector, transportation, and trade. Most Ukrainian and Belarusian labor migrants are construction and repair workers, work at industrial enterprises and in transportation. Moldovan migrant workers are primarily construction workers and drivers. Chinese and Vietnamese migrants prevail in trade, agriculture and consumer goods industry. Turkish workers are mostly employed in construction. Foreign top managers employed in banking, insurance, commerce and industry mostly come from 'far abroad' (USA, Japan, and Europe). This indicates that Russian labor market is divided into segments, where foreign labor migrants seek employment based on ethnicity and territory⁹¹.

One can identify five types of Russian territories by industry-based concentrations of foreign workers (fig. 4.3). The first type constitutes *territories with predominance of migrant workers in construction*: Smolensk, Yaroslavl, Rostov, Samara Regions, Krasnodar Territory etc. Moscow and Moscow Region can be classified as such, even though foreign workforce employment structure is very diverse there. This group comprises rather dynamic regions, where construction industry experienced development boom (at least before the crisis). Economic development of these regions required labor resources, which stimulated the influx of foreign workforce. The second type constitutes *regions with concentration of foreign workers in transportation* (for instance, Kaliningrad and Kaluga Regions). In many other Russian regions migrants also work as drivers of route taxi-vans, city buses and trolleybuses etc. Hiring of foreign workers by transportation industry has given rise to debate in Russia. Moscow authorities attempted to ban foreign nationals from working as drivers of route taxi-vans. Moscow authorities justified this position by their care about passenger safety, as far as many drivers from Central Asian countries have low qualification. Governor of St. Petersburg V.I. Matvienko argued that migrant drivers need additional training, as far as they do not have sufficient driving skills to drive in large Russian cities with heavy traffic. The third type constitutes *territories with concentration of migrant workers in production and transportation*. These are the regions in Central Russia, North West, Novosibirsk Region, and Zabaikalye Territory. The fourth type is represented by *territories with predominant employment of migrant workers in trade and service sector*: Bryansk, Oryol, Saratov, Penza Regions, Stavropol Territory, Ural regions, Altai and Primorye Territories. Here foreign migrants are employed in trade, restaurant business, and consumer services. The fifth type is represented by *regions with concentration of migrants in agriculture and forestry* (Karelia, Kalmykia, Novgorod, Volgograd, Astrakhan, Kirov, Omsk, Amur Regions, Krasnoyarsk and Khabarovsk Territories). Labor migrants are hired to do agricultural work at collective and private farms, sometimes they rent land lots and grow agricultural products, work in logging and wild crops harvesting.

⁹¹ **Ryazantsev S.V., Horie N.** Modeling labor migration flows from Central Asian countries to Russia. Socio-economic study. – Moscow, 2011.- P. 27 [in Russian].

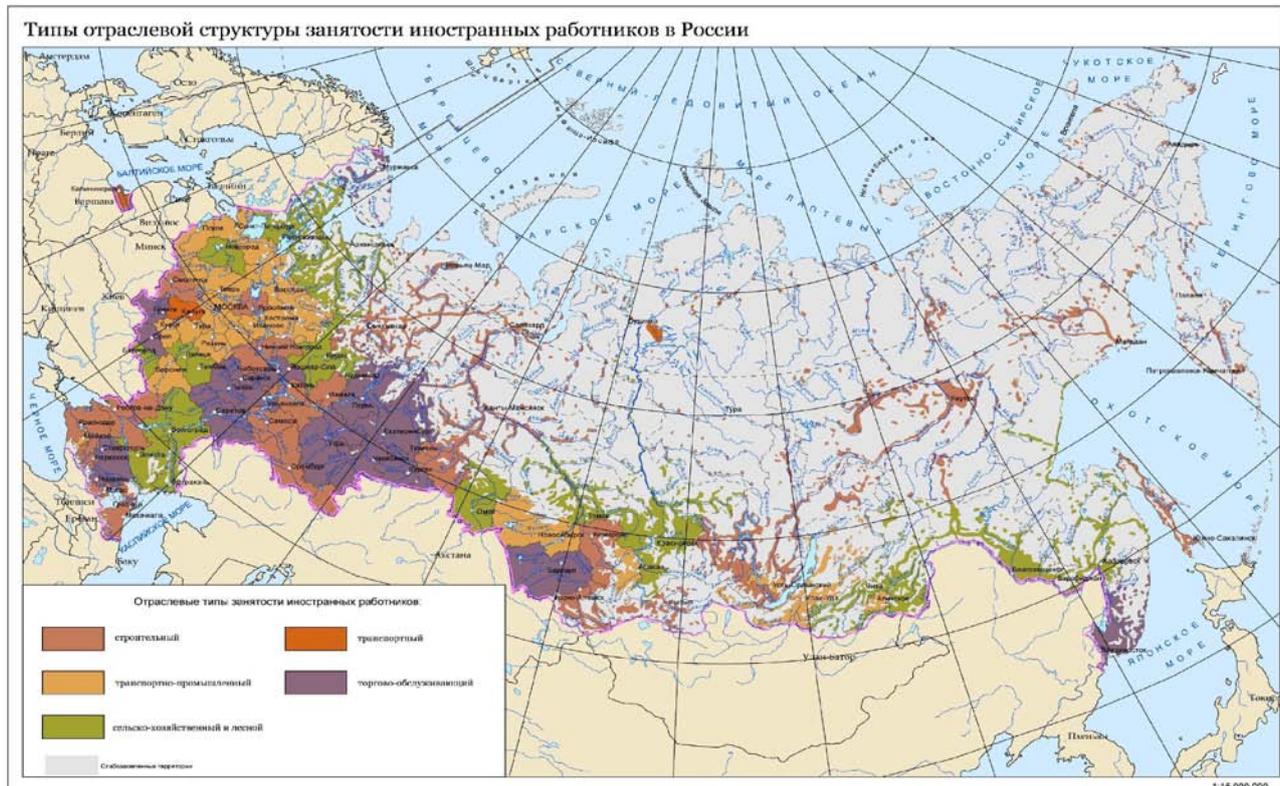


Fig. 4.3 Typology of Russian regions by industry structure of foreign workforce employment⁹²

Translation of the legend:

Construction
 Transportation and Production
 Agriculture and Forestry
 Territories with low population
 Transportation
 Trade and Services

Kazakhstan ranks second among CIS countries in terms of migration attractiveness for labor migrants. According to the Kazakh Ministry of Labor and Social Protection, in 2000-2010 the number of permits issued to foreign workers increased 3 times and reached 29.2 thousand in 2010⁹³, this figure being much smaller than in the Russian Federation. However there is an evident trend towards increase in the number of issued permits. The share of permits issued to foreigners who came to work in Kazakhstan on the basis of intergovernmental agreements remains rather low – between 1.5% and 5% a year (fig. 4.4). This indicates that labor migration in Kazakhstan is still weakly regulated. Studies show that in Kazakhstan significant number of labor migrants from Central Asia have no official registration and no work permit. According to the Kazakh Deputy Minister of Interior K. Tynybekov, in 2011-2012 more than 2 mln. foreigners were registered in the country, among them almost 1 mln. were citizens of the main donor countries – Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. Less than 1% indicated employment as the purpose of their visit, while 96% indicated private purpose⁹⁴. According to the Kazakh Deputy

⁹² **Ryazantsev S.V., Horie N.** Modeling labor migration flows from Central Asian countries to Russia. Socio-economic study. – Moscow, 2011.- P. 30 [in Russian].

⁹³ Data obtained in the form of table for official use following the request of Prof. S.V. Ryazantsev submitted to the Kazakhstan Ministry of Labor and Social Protection in 2011.

⁹⁴ **Tashkinbaev R.** Migrant workers will pay a tax for work permit in Kazakhstan / Tengrinews.kz Information Agency on 13 November 2012 (http://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/za-razreshenie-na-rabotu-v-kazahstane-trudovyye-migrantiyibudut-platit-nalog-223375/), access date: 1 December 2012 [in Russian].

Minister of Interior A. Kulinich, 50.5 thousand illegal migrants were detained in Kazakhstan in 2010, 12 thousand among them were Russian citizens, 46 persons were citizens of Belarus, while the rest came from Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan⁹⁵. According to expert estimates, from 300 thousand to 1 mln. labor migrants were employed in Kazakhstan (including illegal and undocumented migrants)⁹⁶. Most of them are citizens of CIS countries, who do not need visas to enter Kazakhstan. These figures seem exaggerated. According to our approximate estimates, between 200 and 400 thousand illegal labor migrants might be present in Kazakhstan⁹⁷. Economic crisis could to some extent contribute to the decrease in the number of undocumented labor migrants by reducing their influx.

Fig. 4.4 Number of permits issued to foreigners for the right to work in Kazakhstan in 2000-2010 (in the course of the corresponding year), thousands⁹⁸



Translation of the legend:

Number of foreign workers hired

Including on the basis of intergovernmental agreements

Geographical distribution of foreign workforce officially attracted to Kazakhstan differs significantly from the Russian situation. According to official data, approximately 85% of migrant workers come from outside the former Soviet Union. These are mostly workers and professionals from Turkey, United Kingdom, China, India, Hungary, Italy, USA and other countries. Turkish workers in Kazakhstan work primarily at construction sites. Joint U.S.-Turkish venture Bechtel-Enka built Atyrau oil processing plant and Aktau sea port. Turkish companies Okan Holding, Axel and Ceylan Ltd cooperated with Kazakhstan's Presidential Administration in building houses, a museum, a hospital complex and a university in the new capital of Astana. Turkish company Alsim Alarko built the bridge over the river Irtysh in Semipalatinsk and tobacco factory in Almaty Province. Professionals and

⁹⁵ **Tashkinbaev R.** Labor migrants will be able to come to Kazakhstan with their families / Tengrinews.kz Information Agency on 2 June 2011 (http://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/trudovyye-migrantyi-s-semyami-smogut-perezjzat-v-kazakhstan--189523/), access date: 15 December 2012 [in Russian].

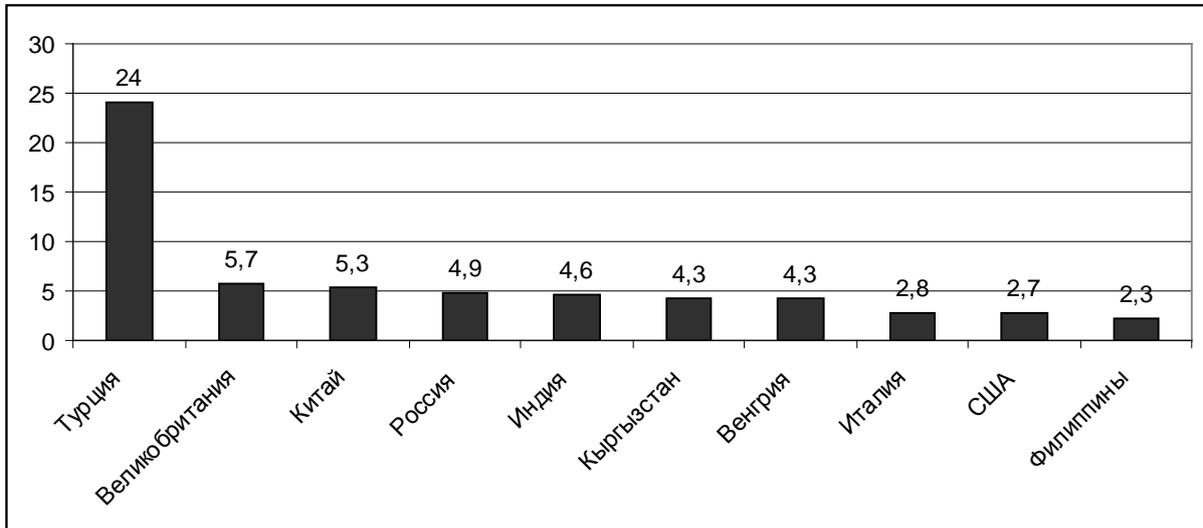
⁹⁶ **Toguzbaev K.** Labor of migrants and their children in tobacco plantations in Kazakhstan was labeled 'hellish' (http://rus.azattyq.org/content/labour_migrants_exploitation_tobacco/2099636.html), access date: 20 January 2013 [in Russian].

⁹⁷ **Ryazantsev S.V.** Labor migration in CIS and Baltic states: trends, consequences, regulation. – Moscow, 2007.- P. 189 [in Russian].

⁹⁸ Data obtained in the form of table for official use following the request of Prof. S.V. Ryazantsev submitted to the Kazakhstan Ministry of Social Protection in 2011.

workers from Hungary, United Kingdom and other countries work for contractors of Tengizchevroil in Atyrau Province⁹⁹.

Fig. 4.5 Number of permits issued to foreigners for the right to work in Kazakhstan in 1999-2005 by country of citizenship, thousands¹⁰⁰



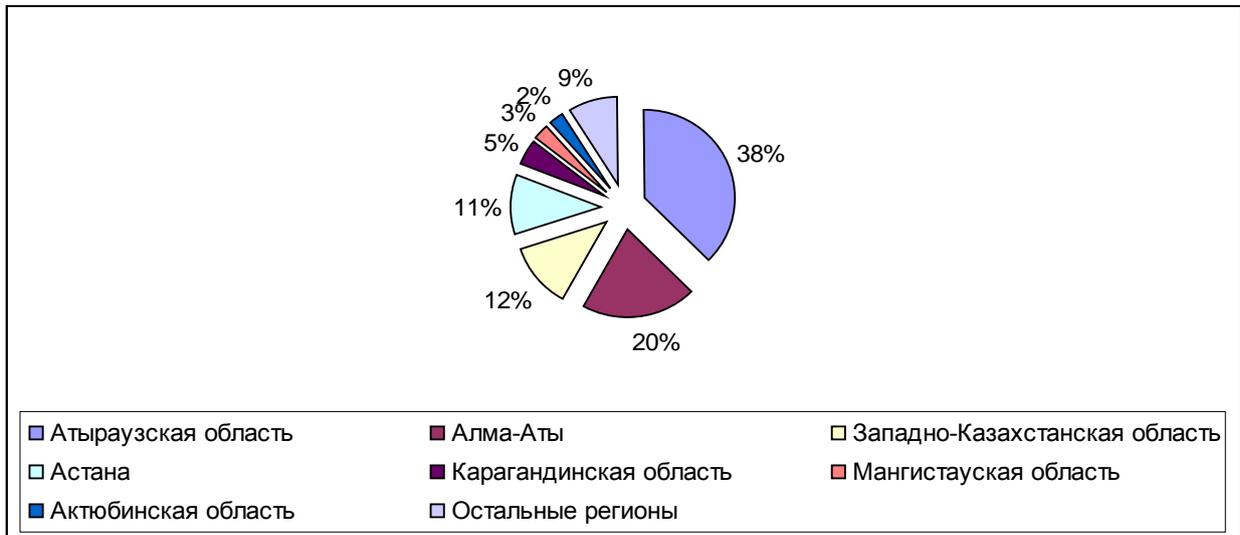
Translation of the legend: Turkey, United Kingdom, China, Russia, India, Kyrgyzstan, Hungary, Italy, USA, Philippines

Approximately 60% of registered foreign workers are employed in the oil and gas sector, in foreign companies in Atyrau, Mangistau, Aktobe and North Kazakhstan Provinces. The remaining foreigners are employed in the service sector, transportation, education etc. Approximately one third of foreign workers are employed by two largest cities in the country – Astana and Almaty (fig. 4.6).

⁹⁹ **Топилин А.В.** Labor market of Russia and CIS member states: realities and development prospects. - Moscow, 2004.- P. 133 [in Russian].

¹⁰⁰ Data obtained in the form of table for official use following the request of Prof. S.V. Ryazantsev submitted to the Kazakhstan Ministry of Labor and Social Protection in 2011.

Fig. 4.6 Geographic distribution of foreign labor migrants in Kazakhstan in 2000, thousands¹⁰¹



Translation of the legend:

Atyrau Province
Astana
Aktobe Province

Almaty
Karaganda Province
Other provinces

West Kazakhstan Province
Mangistau Province

According to official data, in Kazakhstan labor migrants from former Soviet countries account for only 15%¹⁰². The share of Central Asian countries in the overall structure of official labor migration in Kazakhstan is minuscule. Although in fact migrant workers from this region are unofficially employed practically everywhere in the markets, at construction sites, service sector and trade. Experts note that in Kazakhstan unregulated labor migration has been on the rise over the recent years. However it is difficult to estimate its scale for several reasons, including absence of the visa regime with most former Soviet countries and high level of informal employment in some economic sectors, such as trade, construction, hospitality business and transportation. In 2006 in the course of legalization of labor migrants 164.5 thousand foreigners working without proper documents were identified¹⁰³.

According to official Kazakhstani data, there are very few labor migrants from Tajikistan. In 2010 Tajikistan was not even among top ten key countries in terms of officially registered labor migrants in Kazakhstan. At the same time, according to estimates of the Tajikistani Migration Service, around 100 thousand Tajik labor migrants work in Kazakhstan, almost 70 thousand among them are employed in retail trade. Many Tajiks sell vegetables and fruits at Kazakh open markets¹⁰⁴. According to the Ministry of Labor and Social Protection of Kazakhstan, around 4 thousand labor migrants from Kyrgyzstan were in the country in 2010¹⁰⁵. At the same time, according to the Kyrgyzstan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, from 20 to 28 thousand Kyrgyz labor migrants work at markets, construction sites, in

¹⁰¹ Data of the Kazakhstan Ministry of Labor and Social Protection.

¹⁰² Data obtained in the form of table for official use following the request of Prof. S.V. Ryazantsev submitted to the Kazakhstan Ministry of Labor and Social Protection in 2011.

¹⁰³ Ni V. Rights of migrant workers in Kazakhstan: analysis of national legislation, international standards and law enforcement practice. – Almaty: ILO, 2008.- P. 12 [in Russian].

¹⁰⁴ Sarkorova A. Kazakhstan limits the rights of guest workers (http://www.bbc.co.uk/russian/international/2012/10/121030_kazakhstan_migrants_restrictions.shtml), access date: 20 January 2013 [in Russian].

¹⁰⁵ Data obtained in the form of table for official use following the request of Prof. S.V. Ryazantsev submitted to the Kazakhstan Ministry of Social Protection in 2011.

the service sector and in the fields of Kazakhstan without official permits¹⁰⁶. Several thousand Kyrgyz migrants regularly get hired to do seasonal work for tobacco industry in the southern regions of Kazakhstan. At tobacco farms position of migrant workers can be considered especially hard, as rights violations are widespread and vary from non-payment of wages to forced labor¹⁰⁷. The two countries have very complicated relations, and this often has an impact upon migrants. Furthermore, it is known that generally negative attitude to Uzbek migrants is typical for the south of Kazakhstan, where some territories are still contested.

Labor migration has many positive socio-economic consequences for Russia and Kazakhstan as recipient countries. Migrant workers fill many non-prestigious niches in the labor market with hard labor conditions which local residents do not always agree to fill. Foreign migrants are the driving force of different economic sectors. Construction industry in large Russian cities can serve as a good example: its growth is associated with the use of imported cheap labor. In 2011 Director of the Russian Federal Migration Service K.O. Romodanovskiy noted that labor of migrant workers created 8% of the Russian GDP¹⁰⁸. At the same time labor migration has a number of negative consequences for recipient countries: it stimulates the growth of black economy, brings down the wage level, transforms ethnic composition of the population, forms ethnic enclaves, and contributes to the increase in ethnic tension.

Studies demonstrate that labor of migrant workers from different countries is widely used in different economic sectors and their labor is used practically everywhere across Russia. In many industries enterprise hire Russian workers on the paper, but foreign migrant workers are the ones who actually do the work. Housing and utilities sector are a good example. As far as wages of migrants are lower, the difference represents the net profit of enterprise owners. There is a serious social, or humanitarian, aspect of the problem. Migrant workers live in very bad conditions, get a much smaller salary, are exploited by employers, their labor and human rights are violated. In fact one talk about emergence of the forced labor segment in some Russian industries. Due to labor price dumping some local workers do not want to seek employment in a particular industry, and employers lose interest in hiring them¹⁰⁹.

Labor migration also has significant positive consequences for home countries of migrants. The primary one is considerable flow of remittances sent to relatives and families of migrants in the countries of origin. For instance, in Tajikistan remittances from abroad exceed 35% of GDP, and in Kyrgyzstan they amount to around 15% of GDP¹¹⁰. The largest remittances are received by Tajikistan, in 2010 around 2.1 bln. U.S. dollars were transferred to the country from abroad (table 4.1). Approximately 1 bln. U.S. dollars were transferred to Kyrgyzstan. This is the money that went through official channels (banking system, system of remittances, postal service). Unofficial transfers through private intermediaries, train stewards, and relatives remain unaccounted for. The World Bank does not offer data for Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. According to mass media, in 2011 physical persons from Russia transferred 4.3 bln. U.S. dollars to Uzbekistan (average size of transaction was 523 dollars).

¹⁰⁶ Kyrgyz migrants in Kazakhstan face job-related problems (<http://tengrinews.kz/sng/u-kyrgyzzskih-migrantov-v-kazahstane-poyavilis-problemyi-s-rabotoy-221844/>), access date: 20 January 2013[in Russian].

¹⁰⁷ **Toguzbaev K.** Labor of migrants and their children in tobacco plantations in Kazakhstan was labeled 'hellish' (http://rus.azattyq.org/content/labour_migrants_exploitation_tobacco/2099636.html), access date: 20 January 2013 [in Russian].

¹⁰⁸ Due to crisis the number of migrant workers in Russia went down by 13% / "Work.ua" website (<http://www.work.ua/news/world/269/>), access date: 1 December 2012 [in Russian].

¹⁰⁹ **Ryazantsev S.V.** Workers from Central Asian countries in Moscow housing and utilities sector (working report). Working report, ILO: Subregional bureau for Eastern Europe and Central Asia. – Moscow: IOM, 2010.- 69 p. (www.ilo.org/public/russian/region/eurpro/moscow/projects/migration.htm), access date: 1 December 2012 [in Russian].

¹¹⁰ Migration and Remittances Fact book 2011, 2nd Edition, Washington DC, The World Bank, 2011, p.14.

Uzbek migrants working in Kazakhstan, Ukraine, South Korea, China, United Arab Emirates, USA and Western Europe send home at least half a billion dollars¹¹¹.

Table 4.1 Dynamic of remittances from abroad to the Central Asian countries in 2003-2010, mln. U.S. dollars¹¹²

Country \ Year	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Tajikistan	146	252	467	1.019	1.691	2.544	1.748	2.065
Kyrgyzstan	78	189	322	481	715	1.232	882	1.037
Kazakhstan	148	166	178	186	223	192	124	131

Remittances were mostly sent by labor migrants working in Russia. In 2010 the volume of official financial flows from Russia to different countries was more than 15 bln. U.S. dollars. The main financial flow was directed to Uzbekistan (22%), Tajikistan (18%), Ukraine (12%), Armenia (9%), Kyrgyzstan (8%) and Moldova (8%). Two CIS countries – Uzbekistan and Tajikistan – together received over 5.5 bln. U.S. dollars from labor migrants working abroad (fig. 4.7).

Fig. 4.7 Remittances from Russia to the countries of migrants' origin in 2010, mln. USD¹¹³



Translation of the legend:

Volume of remittances, mln. USD

Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Ukraine, Armenia, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Azerbaijan, Georgia, China, Kazakhstan, Other countries

Recipients of remittances

Economic crisis of 2008-2009 affected labor migration and remittances. Director of the Russian Federal Migration Service K.O. Romodanovskiy stated that in the first quarter of 2009 migration to Russia decreased by 13%, or by 700-800 thousand persons¹¹⁴. During the crisis some migrant workers lost their jobs and went to their home countries, which automatically reduced the volume of remittances.

¹¹¹ Skokov I. Who will become the second largest ethnicity in Kazakhstan?

(http://news.headline.kz/chto_v_strane/kto_stanet_vtoryim_po_chislennosti_etnosom_v_kazahstane.html), access date: 20 January 2013 [in Russian].

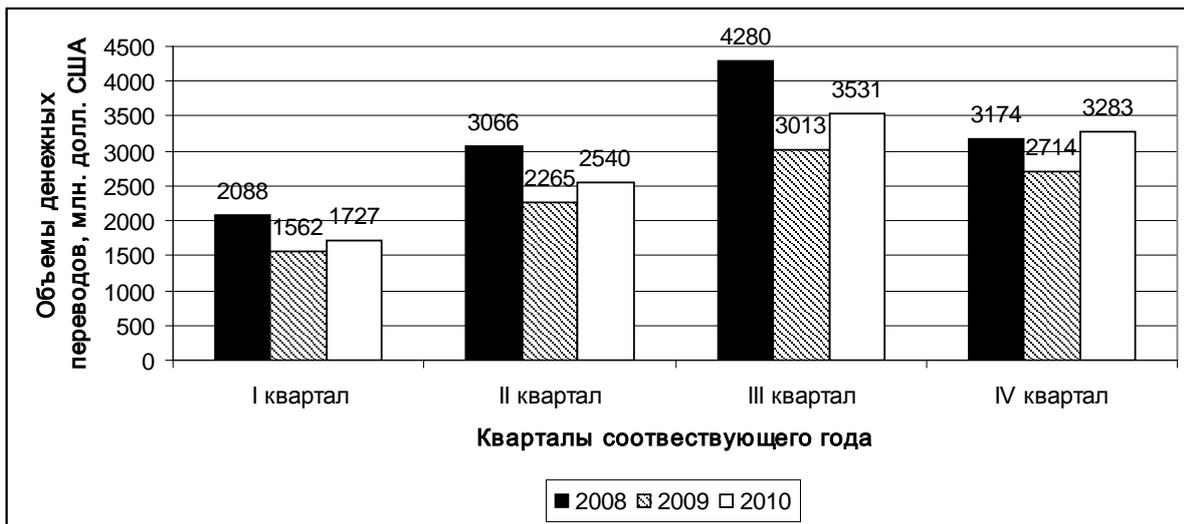
¹¹² Migration and Remittances Fact book 2011, 2nd Edition, Washington DC, The World Bank, 2011, p. 149, 156, 238.

¹¹³ Data of the Russian Central Bank (<http://cbr.ru>), access date: 12 January 2012 [in Russian]

¹¹⁴ Due to crisis the number of migrant workers in Russia went down by 13% / "Work.ua" website (<http://www.work.ua/news/world/269/>), access date: 1 October 2013 [in Russian].

According to the Russian Central Bank, in 2009 remittances from Russia to the CIS countries went down by approximately one third (fig. 4.8.). Similar data exist for the countries that are remittances recipients. According to the Director of the Tajik Research Center Shark M. Olimov, in 2009 remittances from labor migrants in Russia transferred to the Central Asian countries went down by 30%¹¹⁵. Experts claim that remittances are dropping due to smaller average transfers, while their frequency remains approximately the same. Another important reason for reduced remittances from Russia to the CIS countries are instances of late payments to migrants that became twice as frequent as before¹¹⁶.

Fig. 4.8 Remittances from Russia to the CIS countries in 2008-2010 (quarterly), mln. USD¹¹⁷



Translation of the legend:

Volume of remittances, mln. USD

I quarter, II quarter, III quarter, IV quarter

Quarters of the corresponding year

Accumulated savings and remittances of migrant workers allow reducing the balance of payments deficit, help migrants sustain their families, reduce unemployment and social tension. Economies of countries that are donors of labor migrants can be considered ‘migration-dependent’. Labor migration became not only the way for considerable share of the CIS population to survive, but also a real mechanism of economic integration in the region.

Section 5. Regulation of labor migration in Russia and Kazakhstan: approaches and contradictions

Migration policy of Russia and Kazakhstan with regards to labor migration is influenced by many objective and subjective factors that change dynamically. Meanwhile authorities of the two countries do not have sufficiently flexible instruments for labor migration regulation. In Russia one can consider introduction of patents in 2010 for labor migrants employed in the private sector as a revolutionary breakthrough. Patent became a very simple, accessible and cheap form of permit for some migrant workers in Russia. However asymmetric introduction of such flexible instruments in the context of

¹¹⁵ ‘Big Three’ of the CIS lost half of remittances from Russia / “Newsru.com” Agency (<http://www.newsru.com/finance/25may2009/gastarbeiters.html>). Access date: 1 December 2012 [in Russian].

¹¹⁶ ‘Big Three’ of the CIS lost half of remittances from Russia / “Newsru.com” Agency (<http://www.newsru.com/finance/25may2009/gastarbeiters.html>), access date: 1 December 2012 [in Russian], access date: 1 December 2012 [in Russian].

¹¹⁷ Russian Central Bank. <http://cbr.ru>. Access date: 1 October 2012.

retaining a not so flexible system of labor migration regulation may lead to serious labor market deformations. Our latest study demonstrates that in the situation when a work permit is difficult to obtain, some labor migrants from the CIS countries obtain patents not because they work for private persons, but also because a patent is a more accessible alternative to a work permit¹¹⁸.

At the same time work permits remain inaccessible and expensive for migrants. They are issued by territorial bodies of the Federal Migration Service on the basis of a quota that is annually approved by the Russian Government, and then the Ministry of Healthcare and Social Development (now the Ministry of Labor and Social Development) distributes them between Russian regions and different professional groups of migrants. However, the system through which permits are issued is not transparent for migrants and employers. Even those employers who stated their desire to hire migrant workers in advance do not have such an opportunity. For this one can blame the absence of quota assignments to specific employers, as well as non-transparent and corrupt system that surrounds the quotas. Official state fee for the quota is 2 thousand roubles, while its unofficial price reaches 25-30 thousand roubles (through intermediaries)¹¹⁹. And this price is paid both by employers for permission to hire a foreign worker from visa countries and by migrant workers from visa-free countries who apply directly to the Federal Migration Service to obtain work permits. In fact there is a shadow system trading in foreign workforce quotas in the country.

In this situation it is not very important what quota will be approved for the next year. Main labor market actors (companies and migrant workers) will still find themselves in the position when they have to pay intermediaries for the opportunity to get legal. For instance, in 2003 and 2007 quota was spun out of thin air, so only 40% and 20% were used respectively. On the contrary, in mid-2008 authorities had to urgently increase the quota that had already been filled in June. As a result, instead of over 1.8 mln. permits that were announced for 2008 around 3.4 mln. work permits were issued to foreign citizens in Russia. Thus, the initial quota was exceeded almost twice. The quota of 5.2 mln. work permits for foreign migrants was set for 2009. However global economic crisis slowed down the development of some industries and resulted in the rise of unemployment, so Russian authorities reviewed the foreign workforce quota. Prime Minister Vladimir Putin argued in favor of double reduction of the foreign workforce quotas in 2009. He explained the reduction of quota by the impact of economic crisis: "It is primarily necessary to ensure employment opportunities for Russians who find themselves jobless. And foreigners will only be hired to positions not filled by Russian citizens". In the end quota for 2010 was reduced almost twice and amounted to 2.6 mln. work permits¹²⁰. In fact this is figure jugglery that does not reflect the real needs of the Russian labor market, especially if one keeps in mind domestic labor resources that no one takes into consideration when setting the quota. The quota is manipulated intentionally or unintentionally, thus supporting the existing shadow market of work permits rather than regulating labor migration in Russia.

Russia currently does not have a clear justification for labor migration regulation. At present Russian authorities simply register labor migration from abroad instead of managing it. The system of quotas for foreign workforce in Russia raises serious criticisms. First of all, there is no clear mechanism for evaluation and methodology for identification of the real need for foreign workforce and the system of permits is non-transparent and corrupt. One can frequently see the situations when application is filed by one employer, and the quota is used by a different employer. And the one who

¹¹⁸ **Ryazantsev S.V., Gorshkova I.D., Akramov Sh.Yu., Akramov F.Sh.** Practice of using patents for labor activities by foreign nationals who are migrant workers in the Russian Federation (research results). - Moscow, International Organization for Migration, 2012.- P. 13 [in Russian].

¹¹⁹ **Ryazantsev S.V., Gorshkova I.D., Akramov Sh.Yu., Akramov F.Sh.** Practice of using patents for labor activities by foreign nationals who are migrant workers in the Russian Federation (research results). - Moscow, International Organization for Migration, 2012.- P. 20 [in Russian].

¹²⁰ Data of the Russian Federal Migration Service (www.fms.gov.ru), access date: 1 December 2012.

stated the need for foreign workers is denied, because ‘there is no quota’ for him, though it is impossible to verify that due to non-transparency of the system.

In June 2012 President Vladimir Putin signed a new Migration Policy Concept that states that Russia needs foreign workforce and the system of its attraction needs to be improved¹²¹. However the place of labor immigration in the overall structure of migration processes has never been conceptualized. There is no clear understanding of how to replace it with domestic labor resources (there are 5-6 mln. officially registered unemployed in the country)¹²². Mechanisms of counteraction to corruption and shadow market of quotas for permits issued to employers and migrants are not clarified. Opportunities associated with labor of foreign students in the Russian labor market are not outlined. To be fair one should acknowledge certain ‘breakthroughs’. For instance, for the first time the Concept outlined Russian priorities in attraction of highly qualified labor migrants and migrant investors. Russian migration policy is also characterized by geographic priorities: CIS countries are considered the main sources of foreign workforce.

In a transparent quota system quotas would be assigned to specific employers without the right to resell. Analysis of the current situation and generalization of different countries’ experience of labor migration regulation indicates that identification of clear needs for foreign workforce ought to be the foundation for policy with regards to labor migration from abroad. One ought to rely primarily on economic and geopolitical interests of Russia. Before defining the policy with regards to foreign labor migrants, one ought to have an idea about these needs and directly link them to the prospects of socio-economic development of the country. Until recently the idea of doubling GDP was announced as such a priority. Obviously this goal can be achieved by two methods or by combination thereof. On the one hand, one can increase the size of employed population; on the other hand, one can and should enhance labor productivity, modernize equipment and develop advanced technologies, using tax instruments to stimulate entrepreneurs investing money into modernization of production.

Justifications that most employers offer regarding the need to hire foreigners are not always so straightforward. It is currently profitable to hire foreign workers, because they are illegal. They depend on employers, one can save a lot when paying for their labor (by paying them less or not paying at all), they are easier to keep in submission and frighten by lack of registration, work permit or non-payment of wages. It is evident that if wages are increased in sectors that hire a lot of foreign workers, then some jobs can be taken by the local population. Some employers believe that it is better to hire a worker who has proper housing, family and children in the city. But in this case one has to increase wages and observe labor legislation. Not all employers are willing to do that and that is why there is a temptation to save on labor remuneration. Moreover, everyone does that – from ordinary persons who hire a foreign worker to repair a flat or clean a country house to executives of large enterprises.

There is a similar situation in regulation of labor migration in Kazakhstan. Starting from 2001 demand for foreign workforce in Kazakhstan has been assessed on the basis of quota that is annually set by the government. Procedure of quota setting relies on the Law on Employment of Population and is regulated in greater detail by the Government Regulation of 19 June 2001 No. 836. Annual quota is set on the basis of suggestions put forward by local executive bodies and formulated by analyzing domestic labor market and collection of employers’ applications. Starting from 2004 the government has been gradually increasing the annual quota for foreign workforce to be employed in the Republic of Kazakhstan. Initially the quota was applied primarily to foreign companies working in Kazakhstan, in order to allow them to attract a limited number of foreign executives, professionals and workers to perform functions and work that require high qualification. However lately foreign workforce has been actively hired by Kazakh employers, for instance, in construction and agriculture. Taking that into account, since 2006 government quota for foreign workforce comprises quotas for qualified workers

¹²¹ Russian Migration Policy Concept until 2025. - Moscow, 2012.

¹²² Data of the Russian State Statistical Service (www.gks.ru), access date: 1 July 2013.

and agricultural workers¹²³. Foreign workforce quota is approved by the Ministry of Labor and Social Protection of Kazakhstan and is usually equal to approximately 55-65 thousand persons a year¹²⁴. Labor migrants must obtain work permits through legal persons and for that they need residence permits. Procedure is rather cumbersome, lengthy and bureaucratic. That is why many citizens of the Central Asian countries work in Kazakhstan illegally¹²⁵.

Migration policy of Kazakhstan in the field of labor migration regulation is inconsistent. On the one hand, authorities of the country are moving towards legalization of undocumented migrants. For instance, from 1 August to 31 December 2006 in Kazakhstan a one-time action was carried out to legalize labor migrants with unregulated status from the CIS countries (migration amnesty). Labor migrants who are legally staying in the country, but were earlier engaged in labor activities in Kazakhstan without employers obtaining proper permits, were given the right to get registered and continue their labor activities on legal grounds for the period not exceeding three years, provided that they get registered with law enforcement bodies. At the same time legalized migrant workers were not given the right of free access to the national labor market. They were only given an opportunity to switch to formal labor relations with the employers who registered them¹²⁶.

In 2011 the parliament of Kazakhstan adopted an amendment to the legislation on legal status of migrant workers and their families that gave an opportunity for a labor migrant's family to move to his or her country of stay¹²⁷. Kazakh Minister of Labor and Social Protection G. Abdykalikova stated that as a rule high-class professionals, rather than unskilled workers, come to the country for a long period of time, so one should create proper conditions for their families¹²⁸.

In 2012 new legislative amendments were developed in Kazakhstan introducing the mechanism for legalization of labor migrants in the private sector relying on the Russian example of patents for migrant workers¹²⁹. Foreigners must pay a preliminary payment under individual labor tax, this sum is 3236 tenge (approximately 22 USD) for every month, for which the permit is issued. Work permits are issued for the period from 1 to 3 months and can be extended for the period of up to one year. Based on agreement, migrants conclude labor contracts for work in private households and services associated with maintenance of real estate for physical persons. According to Kazakh Deputy Ministry of Interior K. Tynybekov, amendments to the law will allow creating a mechanism for legalization of illegal labor migrants, strengthening control over their stay, increasing budget revenue on the basis of

¹²³ **Ni V.** Rights of migrant workers in Kazakhstan: analysis of national legislation, international standards and law enforcement practice. – Almaty: ILO, 2008.- P. 11-12 [in Russian]
(http://www.ilo.org/public/russian/region/eurpro/moscow/info/publ/right_migrant_kaz_ru.pdf)

¹²⁴ Data obtained in the form of table for official use following the request of Prof. S.V. Ryazantsev submitted to the Kazakhstan Ministry of Social Protection in 2011.

¹²⁵ 30 thousand illegal migrants from Kyrgyzstan work in Kazakhstan (<http://tengrinews.kz/sng/30-tyisyach-nelegalnyih-migrantov-iz-kyrgyzystana-rabotayut-v-kazahstane-217272/>), access date: 20 January 2013 [in Russian].

¹²⁶ **Ni V.** Rights of migrant workers in Kazakhstan: analysis of national legislation, international standards and law enforcement practice. – Almaty: ILO, 2008.- P. 9 [in Russian]
(http://www.ilo.org/public/russian/region/eurpro/moscow/info/publ/right_migrant_kaz_ru.pdf)

¹²⁷ **Tashkinbaev R.** Labor migrants will be able to come to Kazakhstan with their families / Tengrinews.kz Information Agency on 2 June 2011 (http://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/trudovyie-migrantyi-s-semyami-smogut-perezjzat-v-kazahstan--189523/), access date: 15 December 2012 [in Russian].

¹²⁸ **Tashkinbaev R.** Labor migrants will be able to come to Kazakhstan with their families / Tengrinews.kz Information Agency on 2 June 2011 (http://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/trudovyie-migrantyi-s-semyami-smogut-perezjzat-v-kazahstan--189523/), access date: 15 December 2012 [in Russian].

¹²⁹ **Tashkinbaev R.** Migrant workers will pay a tax for work permit in Kazakhstan / Tengrinews.kz Information Agency on 13 November 2012 (http://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/za-razreshenie-na-rabotu-v-kazahstane-trudovyie-migrantyi-budut-platit-nalog-223375/), access date: 1 December 2012 [in Russian].

income tax paid by migrant workers, reducing corruption in the field of migration, and obtaining more precise statistics on labor migrants. Estimated budget revenue will amount to approximately 4 to 6 bln. tenge¹³⁰.

On the other hand, from time to time Kazakhstan authorities tighten their position of labor migrants by adopting new normative acts. In 2011 a law was adopted that deals with counteraction to illegal labor migration from third countries¹³¹. It envisages measures aimed at identifying and accounting for illegal migrants, as well as suppressing channels and bodies that contribute to or are engaged in illegal labor migration. The law envisages improvement of the mechanism for expulsion of illegal labor migrants to their home countries, as well as restriction of entry to the Customs Union countries for the violators. The law envisages that there will be a provision, according to which citizens of the Customs Union countries will be able to stay in Kazakhstan for 90 days without registration, and citizens of other countries – up to 30 days with mandatory registration within 5 days¹³².

In January 2013 Kazakhstan authorities introduced restrictions on activities of foreign nationals in trade and entrepreneurship¹³³. Under new rules, seasonal labor migrants do not have a right to work in retail trade and to get engaged in small-scale entrepreneurship. Migrant workers must have an individual entrepreneur certificate and obtain a residence permit. Restriction will have a significant impact upon seasonal labor migrants, many of whom are illegally employed in Kazakhstan. Most open market salesmen do not have work permits and they arrange their arrival as a private visit paying ‘rent’ to the market administration. Now all migrants are obliged to obtain residence permits and get registered as individual entrepreneurs, in order to pay taxes. However, in order to get registered in Kazakhstan, they have to take themselves off the register in their home country. According to Kazakh Deputy Minister K. Tynybekov, this measure can annually bring 24 mln. USD to the state budget (the tax is around 20 U.S. dollars and approximately 100 thousand people are employed in this sector)¹³⁴. By making such statements, Kazakhstani officials confirm the presence of a larger number of illegal migrants from Central Asia in the country. In Kyrgyzstan actions of Kazakh authorities lead to migrant workers’ protests. Approximately 70 labor migrants who had been working in Kazakhstan for several years came out to protest near the government building in Bishkek on March 19, 2012. Protesters demanded the Kyrgyzstan Cabinet of Ministers to negotiate migration policy, as well as passport and visa issues with their Kazakhstani counterparts. They also insisted on adoption of a provision on registration in the place of residence by way of notification within 90 days for the citizens of Kyrgyzstan. Protesters asked their government to consider together with their Kazakhstani counterparts the idea of introducing a single payment for the right to be engaged in trade for the period of one

¹³⁰ **Tashkinbaev R.** Migrant workers will pay a tax for work permit in Kazakhstan / Tengrinews.kz Information Agency on 13 November 2012 (http://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/za-razreshenie-na-rabotu-v-kazahstane-trudovyye-migrantiyibudut-platit-nalog-223375/), access date: 1 December 2012 [in Russian].

¹³¹ **Tashkinbaev R.** Migrant workers will pay a tax for work permit in Kazakhstan / Tengrinews.kz Information Agency on 13 November 2012 (http://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/za-razreshenie-na-rabotu-v-kazahstane-trudovyye-migrantiyibudut-platit-nalog-223375/), access date: 1 December 2012 [in Russian].

¹³² **Tashkinbaev R.** Labor migrants will be able to come to Kazakhstan with their families / Tengrinews.kz Information Agency on 2 June 2011 (http://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/trudovyye-migrantiyis-semyami-smogut-perezjazat-v-kazahstan--189523/), access date: 15 December 2012 [in Russian].

¹³³ **Tashkinbaev R.** Migrant workers will pay a tax for work permit in Kazakhstan / Tengrinews.kz Information Agency on 13 November 2012 (http://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/za-razreshenie-na-rabotu-v-kazahstane-trudovyye-migrantiyibudut-platit-nalog-223375/), access date: 1 December 2012 [in Russian].

¹³⁴ **Badenova S.** Control over migrants is tightened in Kazakhstan / ‘Voice of Russia’ Radio (Golos Rossii) on 3 January 2012 (http://rus.ruvr.ru/2013_01_03/V-Kazahstane-uzhestochajut-kontrol-nad-migrantami/) [in Russian].

year¹³⁵. Tajikistan is also concerned by the decision made by Kazakhstan authorities, as far as restrictions directly affect Tajik migrants and complicate their stay in the country¹³⁶.

Despite some progressive steps in the legislation of Kazakhstan, there have been no visible improvements in the real position of migrant workers, many of whom are still outside the legal field, live and work without documents, in very harsh conditions, affected by corruption and exploited by employers. Unregulated large-scale influx of labor migrants from Central Asia might increase social tension in the cities of Kazakhstan. From time to time police carry out special raids and mass deportations of migrants. Hundreds of persons are deported, but hundreds of thousands are coming to Kazakhstan in search of jobs. Their number is not going down in Kazakhstan, as far as migrant workers are determined to earn their living here and constantly keep coming back thanks to corruption and transparent borders. Furthermore, law enforcement agencies lack efficient organization and coordination of actions for regulation of migration flows. Meanwhile, policy ought to be guided not by the principle of prohibition that does not work in the long term, but by the principle of regulation that ensures intergration of migrants¹³⁷.

Section 6. Mechanisms of regional and bilateral regulation of migration between Russia, Kazakhstan and Central Asian countries

After the Soviet Union collapsed and the Commonwealth of Independent States was established, interstate cooperation was launched in the field of migration regulation. In the course of several years numerous multilateral agreements were concluded and got intertwined into an extremely complex system of migration legislation in the post-Soviet space. This also reflects the current state of affairs in the field of migration legislation.

On October 9, 1992 Agreement on Visa-Free Movement of Citizens of the CIS Countries in the Territory of Its Member States was signed in Bishkek. It states that “citizens of Parties have a right to enter, exit and move around the territory of Parties without visas, provided that they have documents proving their identity or citizenship”¹³⁸. In addition to that, visa-free regime of entry, exit and movement within member states of the Bishkek Agreement was established for citizens permanently residing in third countries. Agreement reaffirmed the right of CIS member states to undertake special measures to protect their borders and territories under extreme circumstances by carrying out passport and other types of control¹³⁹.

On November 13, 1992 Agreement on Mutual Recognition of Visas of CIS Member States was concluded in Moscow. It states that “each Party recognizes entry, exit and transit visas issued to foreign nationals by competent bodies of the Parties”¹⁴⁰. Visas give the right to unimpeded transit through territories of other CIS states to the destination or entry point to the third country. Procedure

¹³⁵ Kyrgyzstan nationals complained about Kazakhstan migration services / “Tengrinews.kz” Information Agency (<http://tengrinews.kz/sng/kyrgyzstantsyi-pojalovalis-na-migratsionnyie-sljbyi-kazahstana-210481/>), access date: 18 January 2013 [in Russian].

¹³⁶ Kyrgyzstan nationals complained about Kazakhstan migration services / “Tengrinews.kz” Information Agency (<http://tengrinews.kz/sng/kyrgyzstantsyi-pojalovalis-na-migratsionnyie-sljbyi-kazahstana-210481/>), access date: 18 January 2013 [in Russian].

¹³⁷ **Tynyshpaeva A.** In Kazakhstan authorities identify illegal migrants by looking for their children at schools (http://rus.azattyq.org/content/migrants_children_kazakhstan/2138008.html), access date: 18 January 2013[in Russian].

¹³⁸ Agreement on Visa-Free Movement of CIS Member States in the Territory of Its Participants // Bulletin of International Treaties. – No. 10, 1993.- P. 34 [in Russian].

¹³⁹ **Kulmatov T.Sh., Slastunina O.A.** Legal regime of movement of the CIS member states citizens // Journal of the Russian Law. – No. 10, 2003.- P. 14 [in Russian].

¹⁴⁰ Agreement on Mutual Recognition of Visas of CIS Member States // Bulletin of International Treaties. – No. 4, 1992.- P. 16 [in Russian].

of stay and movement of foreign nationals temporarily staying in the territory of member states, including with a purpose of transit, was determined in accordance with their national legislation¹⁴¹. Bishkek and Moscow agreements of 1992 maintained visa-free regime for citizens of member states in considerable part of the CIS space.

Table 6.1 Agreements in the field of migration regulation within CIS (sample for Russia and Central Asian countries, put together by the author)

Country	Membership in Bishkek Agreement on Visa-Free Movement of Citizens of the CIS Countries in the Territory of Its Member States (9 October 1992)	Membership in Moscow Agreement on Mutual Recognition of Visas of CIS Member States (13 November 1992)	Membership in Agreement on Mutual Visa-Free Travel of Citizens (30 November 2000)
Kazakhstan	Withdrew on 10 October 2000	Member	Member
Kyrgyzstan	Member	Member	Member
Russia	Withdrew on 5 December 2000	Member	Member
Tajikistan	Member	Member	Member
Turkmenistan	Withdrew on 9 June 1999 r.	Not a member	Not a member
Uzbekistan	Withdrew on 16 April 2000	Withdrew on 23 March 2000	Not a member ¹⁴²

In March 1992 Agreement was signed between CIS member states on Guarantees of Rights of Citizens of CIS Member States in the Field of Retirement Benefits that allowed partially regulating the issues associated with employment history and retirement benefits for persons from former Soviet republics who had come home after the collapse of the Soviet Union. In April 1994 all CIS member states signed Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Workforce Migration and Social Protection of Migrant Workers. In accordance with this document, procedure of hiring personnel, age, qualification and other requirements are established by employer on the basis of legislation that is in force in the state in question, if it is not otherwise stipulated in bilateral agreements. Unfortunately, ratification of this agreement uncovered contradictions between certain CIS member states. Agreement never entered into force for two countries – Georgia and Turkmenistan¹⁴³. In December 1994 Agreement was signed within CIS on Cooperation in the Field of Work Safety and Definition of Occupational Injury Sustained by Workers outside their Country of Residence. Agreement on Cooperation of CIS Member States in Combat against Illegal Migration was signed in March 1998. Agreement was signed by nine CIS member states – all, except for Turkmenistan, Georgia and Uzbekistan. This agreement established that entry of citizens of these countries into one of the member states is possible, provided that they fulfill the requirements of its national legislation on the rules of entry, exit and stay. In the context of large-scale geopolitical change multilateral agreements in the field of migration regulation concluded between CIS countries allowed ensuring normal functioning of social mechanisms required

¹⁴¹ **Kulmatov T.Sh., Slastunina O.A.** Legal regime of movement of the CIS member states citizens // Journal of the Russian Law. – No. 10, 2003.- P. 16 [in Russian].

¹⁴² Visa-free regime between Russia and Uzbekistan relies on a bilateral agreement.

¹⁴³ **Shulga V.A., Topilin A.V., Drozhzhinova G.A., Proskuryakova O.A.** State of market and population migration in CIS: Analytical report // CIS Economy. - Issue 4. - Moscow: CIS Executive Committee, 2000.- P. 105 [in Russian].

for the daily life in large part of the post-Soviet space by alleviating negative consequences of the USSR collapse for the population.

The new take on migration regulation at the regional level was associated with intensifying economic and political integration in the post-Soviet space. Examples of such integration were establishment and development of the Union State of Russia and Belarus, Eurasian Economic Community (EurAsEC), Treaty on Collective Security, GUUAM, Central Asian Economic Community, and Customs Union.

In April 1998 the Interstate Council of the Customs Union member states that later established the Eurasian Economic Community adopted the Statement “On Ten Simple Steps towards Simple People”, where one of the most important steps towards improving lives is “providing citizens with free and equal right to cross borders of four states, border, customs, and other types of control”¹⁴⁴. In order to implement this provision, the Council of Heads of Government of the Inter-State Council of Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Russia adopted Agreement on Ensuring Free and Equal Right of Physical Persons to Cross Borders of the Customs Union Member States and Free Transfer of Goods and Currency by Them¹⁴⁵. This Agreement envisages that Parties will undertake measures to arrange in state border crossing points, as well as in international air ports, through which air communication is organized between Customs Union member states, the transfer of physical persons and their goods within priority-based, facilitated procedure, including creation of special ‘corridors’ when necessary. Physical persons are transferred within priority-based, facilitated procedure on the basis of valid documents confirming their permanent residence in the territory of one of the Customs Union member states¹⁴⁶.

In May 2000 the Interstate Council in Minsk composed of the heads of state of Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia and Tajikistan approved the main directions of humanitarian cooperation between these countries. One of the main provisions was preservation of existing visa-free regime of crossing internal borders within the Customs Union while at the same time pursuing common visa policy with regards to third countries¹⁴⁷. Integration process in the field of migration continued further on. In November 2000 the governments of Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia and Tajikistan signed Agreement on Mutual Visa-Free Travel of Citizens¹⁴⁸. Agreement envisages that citizens regardless of their place of residence have a right to enter, exit, transit through and stay in the territories of five countries without visas on the basis of one of the valid documents listed in appendices to the Agreement. Citizens of member states enter and exit from the territory of each of the member states through entry points open for international communication, provided that they have valid documents drawn up in accordance with legislation for the right cross the border. Agreement does not restrict the right of each Party, if that Party believes it necessary, to switch to a different regime with one or several member states of the Agreement. Furthermore, it is stated that governments of the member states have a right to undertake special measures to protect their borders and territories in emergency situations, including those compromising their security. These measures are temporary in nature and can take the

¹⁴⁴ Decision of the Interstate Council of the Republic of Belarus, Republic of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz Republic and Russian Federation of 28 April 1998 No. 25 On Adopting the Declaration “On Ten Simple Steps Towards Simple People” // Appendix to Rossiyskaya Gazeta. – 12 May 1998. [in Russian].

¹⁴⁵ Decision of the Council of Heads of Government at the Interstate Council of the Republic of Belarus, Republic of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz Republic, Russian Federation and Republic of Tajikistan No. 24 of 24 November 1998 // Bulletin of international treaties. – No. 6, 2000. [in Russian].

¹⁴⁶ **Kulmatov T.Sh., Slastunina O.A.** Legal regime of movement of the CIS member states citizens // Journal of the Russian Law. – No. 10, 2003.- P. 17 [in Russian].

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. P. 18.

¹⁴⁸ EurAsEC information bulletin. – No. 1, 2001.- P. 19 [in Russian].

form of relevant restrictions on entry, exit, stay, movement and transit¹⁴⁹. In 2004 Agreement was signed within CIS on Mutual Acknowledgement and Equivalency of Documents on Secondary (General) Education, Elementary Professional and Secondary Professional (Specialized) Education.

The new stage of deepening relations in the field of labor migration regulation started in 2010, when the Customs Union member states – Russia, Kazakhstan and Belarus – signed an agreement that allowed citizens of these countries to freely get employed in the territory of the Customs Union¹⁵⁰. In accordance with the Decision of the Higher Eurasian Economic Council of 19.12.2011 No. 9, this document entered into force on January 1, 2012. If it is implemented successfully, it will in fact remove administrative barriers, including permits and workforce quotas. Despite liberalization of labor migration processes, the countries protect their interests. This agreement includes norms envisaging protection of national security, for instance, in economic sectors that have strategic importance. Here the governments have a right to establish personnel limitations. Agreement also does not cover governmental measures aimed at social protection from unemployment. Nevertheless, lawyers note that “development of the EurAsEC legislative framework may lead to gradual harmonization of national legislation of the member states and formulation of common migration policy and common regulation”¹⁵¹.

Table 6.2 Agreements and treaties in the field of labor migration regulation (sample for Russia and Central Asian countries, put together by the author)

Country	Membership in Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Labor Migration and Social Protection of Migrant Workers (15 April 1994)	Agreement on Cooperation of CIS Member States in Combat against Illegal Migration (6 March 1998)	Bilateral treaties with other CIS member states on labor activities of citizens
Kazakhstan	Signed	Signed	Belarus, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan
Kyrgyzstan	Signed	Signed	Russia, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan
Russia	Signed	Signed	Armenia, Belarus, Moldova, Ukraine, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan
Tajikistan	Signed	Signed	Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan
Turkmenistan	Did not enter into force	Did not sign	No
Uzbekistan	Signed	Did not sign	Kazakhstan

¹⁴⁹ **Kulmatov T.Sh., Slastunina O.A.** Legal regime of movement of the CIS member states citizens // Journal of the Russian Law. – No. 10, 2003.- P. 18 [in Russian].

¹⁵⁰ For details see Eurasian Development Bank (2012). Analysis of the economic effect, as well as institutional and legal consequences of ratification of Agreement on Legal Status of Migrant Workers and Their Family Members and Agreement on Cooperation in Combat against Illegal Labor Migration from Third States for member states of the Common Economic Space (Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia). – St. Petersburg: Eurasian Development Bank [in Russian].

¹⁵¹ **Skachkova G.** (2012) Legal aspects of migration management [in Russian], CARIM-East Research Report 2012/25, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, San Domenico di Fiesole (FI): European University Institute.

Bilateral relations in the field of migration regulation are also pursued by CIS member states. The Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan take a very active part in this process.

Russian Federation concluded several agreements with the Republic of Kazakhstan: Agreement of 20 January 1995 on Legal Status of Russian Federation Citizens Permanently Residing in the Republic of Kazakhstan and Republic of Kazakhstan Citizens Permanently Residing in the Russian Federation; Agreement of 20 January 1995 on Facilitated Procedure of Citizenship Acquisition by the Russian Federation Citizens Arriving in the Republic of Kazakhstan for Permanent Residence and Republic of Kazakhstan Citizens Arriving in the Russian Federation for Permanent Residence; Agreement of 26 January 1995 between the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Government of the Russian Federation on Cooperation of Border Regions of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation; Agreement of 6 July 1998 on Regulation of the Resettlement Process and Protection of Settlers' Rights. Russian Federation also concluded a number of agreements with the Republic of Tajikistan: Treaty of 7 September 1995 on Regulation of Dual Citizenship Matters; Agreement of 10 October 1992 on Regulation of Resettlement Processes and Protection of Settlers' Rights. Russia has the following agreements with Turkmenistan: Treaty of 18 May 1995 on Cooperation with a Purpose of Protecting Rights of the Russian Minority in Turkmenistan and Turkmen Minority in the Russian Federation; Treaty of 18 May 1995 on Legal Status of Russian Federation Citizens Permanently Residing in Turkmenistan and Turkmenistan citizens Permanently Residing in the Russian Federation; Agreement of 23 December 1993 on Regulation of Dual Citizenship Matters; Agreement of 23 December 1993 on Regulation of the Resettlement Process and Protection of Settlers' Rights.

Russian Federation also concluded agreements regulating labor migration with other Central Asian countries – Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan¹⁵². Agreements outline the main provisions and principles of sending and accepting citizens (migrants) or other categories of citizens (for instance, interns and students) from Russia to work in these countries, as well as citizens of corresponding states to work at enterprises, associations and organizations in Russia.

Procedure of bringing migrant workers from Central Asian countries to Russia is in principle the same as procedure envisaged for labor migrants from other countries. It is regulated by general norms of the Russian legislation determined by the Federal Law No. 115-FZ of 25 July 2002 on Legal Status of Foreign Citizens in the Russian Federation¹⁵³, when it comes to attraction of foreign workers from visa-free countries. At the same time there are some aspects that make citizens of Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan different from migrant workers coming from other CIS countries. These aspects are covered by bilateral intergovernmental agreements regulating labor migration with Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. There is Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan on Labor Activities and Protection of Rights of the Russian Federation Citizens in the Republic of Tajikistan and Republic of Tajikistan Citizens in the Russian Federation, signed on 16 October 2004 in Dushanbe. Tajikistan approved the treaty in January 2005, but Russia withheld ratification until July 2006 and started implementation in January 2007. Tajik-Russian Group for Migration was established, and heads of the two countries' migration services meet twice a year, in order to discuss and resolve bilateral problems associated with migration. This agreement largely facilitated relations of the two states in regulation of the workforce migration from Tajikistan to Russia. Migrant workers are guaranteed protection. For instance, this agreement guarantees social protection and medical assistance, makes an attempt to avoid double taxation, regulates import and export of equipment and financial means required for labor activities and acknowledgement of education documents.

¹⁵² In 2007 Russia signed Agreement with Uzbekistan on Status of Migrant Workers in exchange for Agreement on Readmission.

¹⁵³ Version of 2010 as a result of amendments introduced by the Federal Law "On Introducing Amendments to the Federal Law On Legal Status of Foreign Citizens in the Russian Federation and Certain Legal Acts of the Russian Federation" adopted on 1 July 2010.

However, all declared guarantees and measures are already covered by other national and international normative documents, while some norms directly contradict the Russian legislation. The first serious check carried out by control bodies revealed a number of drawbacks in Agreement implementation. The Board of Audit Chamber of the Russian Federation that carried out this check together with the Agency for Financial Control and Combat against Corruption of the Republic of Tajikistan noted that procedure of identifying the need for foreign workforce and setting foreign workforce quotas does not correspond to the rules of issuance of work permits to foreign nationals. This prevents full legalization of labor migration and alleviation of tension in the field of housing. Hence it did not bring down the number of crimes committed by foreign nationals and against foreign nationals and did not eliminate corruption-related risks.

Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and Government of the Republic of Tajikistan on Labor Activities and Protection of Rights of the Russian Federation Citizens in the Republic of Tajikistan and Republic of Tajikistan Citizens in the Russian Federation (2004) is characterized by legal inconsistencies. For instance, par. 2 of article 4 envisages the possibility of extending work permits for no longer than one year following the justified request coming from employer. However, reasons for which the period can be extended are not indicated, which enables migration service inspectors to resolve this issue at their own discretion without relying on clear criteria. The same provision introduces additional burden for employers who hire foreign workers not envisaged by the Russian legislation. For instance, work permit can be extended following the justified request of an employer or customer who obtained a proper permit to hire and use foreign workers. Meanwhile, par. 9 of article 13.1 of the Federal Law on Legal Status of Foreign Citizens in the Russian Federation envisages that employers or customers can hire foreign nationals from visa-free countries without obtaining permits for attraction and use of foreign workforce.

According to article 6 of that agreement, customer of work (services) issues to its foreign worker a corresponding document certified with a seal, containing information on duration of employment and salary. However, signatory parties did not take into account that under article 2 of the agreement and according to the Civil Code of the Russian Federation work (services) can be commissioned by a physical person who does not have a seal. Article 10 requires migrant workers from Tajikistan to have excerpts from medical treatment records certified by medical expert board in the place of residence, indicating vaccinations, as well as medical report on professional aptitude. At the same time migrant workers from other countries must present only medical certificates on absence of diseases from the special list approved by the Russian Government. As a result migrant workers from Tajikistan find themselves in a more vulnerable position.

In October 2012 during official visit of the Russian President Vladimir Putin to Tajikistan a roadmap was signed that sets the tasks for further development of legislative framework in the field of migration, as well as joint short-term steps. Later on, on 8 February 2013 Agreement was signed between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Tajikistan on Procedure of Stay of the Republic of Tajikistan Citizens in the Russian Federation¹⁵⁴ that is meant to change the situation. This agreement freed Tajikistan citizens temporarily staying in the Russian Federation from the obligation to get registered with competent authorities in the recipient state within fifteen days from the date of entry. However, it is too early to evaluate the impact of this agreement on migrants from Tajikistan, especially if one takes into account that it has not been ratified as of September 2013.

It is also expected that the Russian Government will make a decision to sign a protocol amending the Agreement between Russia and Tajikistan of 16 October 2004. Russian Federal Migration Service put forward a draft regulation on signing this protocol drawn up to implement provisions of the Russian-Tajik memorandum of intent to further cooperate in the field of migration. The memorandum

¹⁵⁴ Russian Federal Migration Service (2013). Agreement was signed between Russian Federation and Republic of Tajikistan on Procedure of Stay of Citizens of the Republic of Tajikistan in the Territory of the Russian Federation [in Russian] http://www.fms.gov.ru/press/news/news_detail.php?ID=59837

identifies the need to develop and sign an international treaty envisaging work permits for the period of up to three years for Tajikistan citizens working in Russia. In order to implement the above-mentioned memorandum provisions, draft regulation suggests a draft protocol drawn up by the Federal Migration Service, agreed upon by interested federal executive bodies and coordinated with the Tajik party. This draft protocol envisages the possibility of issuing work permits to Tajikistan citizens for the period of their labor or civil contract, but for no longer than three years.

According to expert estimates, migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan are presently better off than workers from Tajikistan in Russia, primarily because Russia and Kyrgyzstan have an Agreement on Facilitated Procedure of Citizenship Acquisition. This agreement enables Kyrgyzstan citizens to acquire Russian citizenship within a rather short timeframe and does not oblige them to obtain work permits to get employed in Russia.

Furthermore, there is Agreement of 1996 between the Government of the Russian Federation and Government of the Kyrgyz Republic on Labor Activities and Social Protection of Migrant Workers. This agreement gives certain advantages to migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan. For instance, they can work on the basis of labor contracts concluded for the period of up to two years with a possibility of extension for one year.

Intergovernmental Protocol signed by the Russian Federation and the Kyrgyz Republic in 2005 to amend the Agreement expanded the range of preferences offered to workers from Kyrgyzstan. The Protocol freed employers or work (services) customers who hire migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan from having to make an advance payment to finance their departure from Russia after the end of employment, as it is required by the Federal Law on Legal Status of Foreign Citizens in the Russian Federation. Instead, reimbursement of return trip of those migrant workers after the end of their employment in Russia is envisaged in their labor or civil contract. Moreover, the Protocol stipulates that citizens can get registered in the recipient country as individual entrepreneurs without establishing a legal person, if they intend to be engaged in entrepreneurial activities in accordance with procedure of hiring and using foreign workforce in the recipient state, regardless of their term of stay in the country.

However, amendments introduced by the 2005 Intergovernmental Protocol gave rise to contradictions. For instance, the Protocol states that foreign workers are not covered by established procedure relevant for migrant workers who are employed by offices of legal persons from other member states. At the same time, under par. 4 of article 13 of the Federal Law on Legal Status of Foreign Citizens, those foreign workers do not belong to the category of citizens exempt from this procedure.

The Protocol also stipulates that the state registration of individual entrepreneurs who intend to hire foreign workers is carried out regardless of their term of stay in the recipient country. However, this norm does not comply with par. 1 of article 22.1 of the Federal Law on State Registration of Legal Persons and Individual Entrepreneurs. According to that provision, foreign workers temporarily or permanently residing in the Russian Federation can be registered as individual entrepreneurs, i.e. the Federal Law does not cover the category of persons temporarily staying in Russia. In this context agreement concluded by Russia and Kyrgyzstan in October 2012 was a positive development. According to this agreement, Kyrgyz citizens can obtain work permits for the period of up to three years at once.

Bilateral readmission agreements of Russia with Central Asian countries represent a special category of agreements that can be seen as a new mechanism of combat against irregular migration¹⁵⁵. At present there are such agreements between Russia and Uzbekistan (signed in 2007)¹⁵⁶, Kazakhstan

¹⁵⁵ Korneev, O. (2012) 'Deeper and Wider than a Common Space: EU-Russia Cooperation on Migration Management', *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol.17, No.4.

¹⁵⁶ CARIM-East (2012) Agreement between Government of the Russian Federation and Government of the Republic of Uzbekistan on Readmission (concluded in Tashkent on 04.07.2007), CARIM-East legal database. Florence: European University Institute.

(signed in 2012)¹⁵⁷ and Kyrgyzstan (signed in 2012)¹⁵⁸. Russia and Tajikistan are negotiating a similar agreement. Possibility of concluding such agreements with each other is also discussed by Central Asian countries; this can potentially create a network of readmission agreements in the region.

The Republic of Kazakhstan is also a signatory of many bilateral agreements with Central Asian countries dealing with labor migration. Among them one should mention 1997 Agreement between Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Government of the Kyrgyz Republic and Government of the Republic of Uzbekistan on Creation of Legal, Economic and Organizational Conditions for Free Movement of Workforce; 2002 Agreement between Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan and Government of the Kyrgyz Republic on Labor Activities and Social Protection of Migrant Workers Employed in Agriculture in the Border Regions; 2006 Agreement between Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan and Government of the Kyrgyz Republic on Labor Activities and Protection of Rights of Migrant Workers, Citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan Temporarily Working in the Kyrgyz Republic, on Labor Activities and Protection of Rights of Migrant Workers, Citizens of the Kyrgyz Republic Temporarily Working in the Republic of Kazakhstan; 2006 Agreement between Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan and Government of the Republic of Tajikistan on Labor Activities and Protection of Rights of Migrant Workers, Citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan Temporarily Working in the Republic of Tajikistan, on Labor Activities and Protection of Rights of Migrant Workers, Citizens of the Republic of Tajikistan Temporarily Working in the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Bilateral agreements regulating migration can be considered a rather efficient instrument protecting rights of migrants outside their home countries. In the field of labor migration this instrument is most actively used by Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan that signed agreements with Russia and Kazakhstan and a number of other recipient countries. Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan are less active, when it comes to agreements on labor migration regulation. Nevertheless, Uzbekistan has a number of agreements with Russia, while Turkmenistan pursues de facto isolationist policy in the field of migration.

Conclusion

Russia, Kazakhstan and other Central Asian countries formed a strong migration system that is characterized by large-scale labor migration. It is not only economic development of donor countries that depends on labor migration. The same is true for recipient countries (Russia and Kazakhstan), where considerable share of GDP is generated by foreigners. This dependency will keep rising in the context of demographic crisis and shrinking labor resources.

Labor migration has serious socio-economic consequences for donor and recipient countries. And these consequences are not always positive. However, the larger the 'shadow' component of migration, the larger the negative consequences for economy. In the meantime, informal and illegal relations in the field of migration and undocumented status of labor migrants in Russia and Kazakhstan are not natural. In many cases this can be explained by corruption schemes surrounding migration and desire to exploit the labor of rightless and dependent people.

Evolution of migration policies of Russia and Kazakhstan, as well as of other Central Asian countries is not coordinated. Although Kazakhstan partially copies many aspects of migration regulation in Russia, their policies are not conceptually linked. As a result there is a need for stronger multilateral and bilateral cooperation between various Central Asian countries, Kazakhstan and Russia.

¹⁵⁷ CARIM-East (2012) Agreement between Government of the Russian Federation and Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan on Readmission (concluded in Astana on 07.06.2012). CARIM-East legal database. Florence: European University Institute.

¹⁵⁸ CARIM-East (2012) On Signing the Agreement between Government of the Russian Federation and Government of the Kyrgyz Republic on Readmission and Executive Protocol on Implementation of Agreement between Government of the Russian Federation and Government of the Kyrgyz Republic on Readmission, CARIM-East legal database. Florence: European University Institute.

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