



**GLOBAL COMMISSION ON
INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION (GCIM)**

COMMISSION MONDIALE SUR LES MIGRATIONS INTERNATIONALES (CMMI)
COMISIÓN MUNDIAL SOBRE LAS MIGRACIONES INTERNACIONALES (CMMI)

www.gcim.org

Migration in the countries of the former Soviet Union

**A paper prepared for the Policy Analysis and Research Programme
of the Global Commission on International Migration**

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September 2005

**The analysis provided in this paper is that of the author, and does not
represent the views of the Global Commission on International Migration.**

INTRODUCTION

The disintegration of the USSR has created a whole new migration situation in the post-Soviet space, above all in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) region. Though the newly independent states are developing independently, the CIS region remains from the point of perceptions and life strategies a common area for most of the population. With some exceptions, crossing internal CIS borders does not require a visa. The principal migration flows for member states is movement within the CIS region. The intra-regional character of this migration is largely due to family and cultural ties among CIS populations, as well as common transportation and communication systems, a common language of communication (Russian), similar educational systems, complementary labour markets, and similar mentalities and behavior patterns. At the same time, the disintegration processes within the CIS region are due to complicated historical legacies, unequal start-up possibilities, and differences in state regimes, policies and geopolitical situations in the newly independent states. Although the new states are integrating independently into the world system, they are also displaying certain commonalities. Migration like a smart barometer has reflected the transformational processes in the CIS region during all these years.

Under the influence of the Soviet doctrinal and political legacies, post-Soviet states have followed the path of state-building on the basis of an ethno-nationalist doctrine that segregates the population into representatives of the so-called titular nation and the rest of the population, categorized as “national minorities”. Nationalism and separatism, territorial claims, and hegemonic ambitions have provoked ethnic conflicts, civil wars and, as a result, refugee flows and internally displaced persons.

All of these factors have forced traditional migration reasons-- urbanization, the labour market and education--into the background. In the first half of the 1990s, the so-called forced repatriates have dominated migration flows within the CIS region. Forced repatriation means a kind of restoration of a “historical norm”, namely migration of citizens of the former USSR to “their” national states, i. e. states whose names coincide with the person’s ethnicity. The concept of “repatriation”, adopted from the experience of decolonization and other historic migrations, seemed to be politically correct, and was supported by the international community, including specialized agencies dealing with migrants and refugees. “Repatriation” meant first of all “return” of ethnic Russians to the territory of the Russian Federation, regardless of how long they’d lived outside Russia, regardless of their employment and social status. Ethnonationalist policies of the post-Soviet states and of Russia’s republics (ethnic autonomies) had a degree of wishful thinking that, say, representatives of ethnic Adygeis (Circassians), Armenians, Tatars, Kazakhs, Crimean Tatars, Ukrainians and of other ethnic groups should return to their “historical homelands”.

This political project has come true on the territory of the CIS only to a small extent, and even that has been due to economic and political, not ethnic, factors. The concept of repatriation frequently is at odds with the private interests of the people who have decided to migrate, and has nothing in common with social reality, so it’s not really seen by the migrants themselves as a “return to the homeland” but rather as leaving the place of his/her residence and birth. Nevertheless, this concept persists both in the migration discourse and in the political language till nowadays. For instance, in November 2004 the RF State Duma started discussing the draft federal law on repatriation, built on a nationalistic approach (resembling the approach of some of the international community) that considers immigration of ethnic Russians to Russia from

other CIS countries as natural and desirable thus building barriers for migrants of non-desirable ethnicity.

For the past thirteen years the predominant migration trend in the CIS region has been movement of ethnic Russians to Russia, but this was more because of local nationalisms in the new states, and because of crises in the economic sector they used to occupy leading positions in. However, this trend can be explained mainly by noting that ethnic Russians were always the most numerous and the most socially mobile group of the USSR's population. Also, regardless of all expectations and declarations, ethnic Russians did not constitute the majority in the migration flows in the CIS region, and the myth of an anticipated migration to Russia of 25 million ethnic Russians from the CIS and Baltic States simply did not come true. The declared reasons for forced migration more frequently concealed purely economic motivations, and the so-called repatriation of Russians in fact was an economic migration in search of better social living standards. Mass migration of other categories of ex-Soviets – ethnic Germans who migrated to Germany, Jews to Israel and Greeks to Greece – was to the greater extent not repatriation but economic migration.

In addition to personal insecurity (which gained importance in open conflict zones) and new post-Soviet nationalisms, an economic depression has become the most important reason for migration after the disintegration of the USSR. Industrial production in the CIS region has been reduced nearly by half, investments have been decreased three times, the number of officially registered unemployed reached 3.5 million, and salaries have been drastically reduced. Purely economic factors have determined the character of migration flows during the whole post-Soviet period. People migrated both inside and outside the CIS region in search of better living conditions. They migrated not only to escape poverty and ethnic tension, but also in pursue of individual advancement, i. e. to better their lives to the level of their personal expectations, given their educational background, financial resources, etc. It's quite another matter that their expectations did not always come true.

In addition to migration's negative factors (conflicts, economic crisis, etc.), there were and are still acting positive factors as well: acquired freedom of exit and entry, the emergence of a market economy and entrepreneurial aspiration, and the increasing educational level and economic resources of at least part of the population. The new opportunities for improving living standards that appeared during the deep societal transformations caused an increase in labour migration, commercial travel (including the so-called "shop tours"), international tourism and entertainment, as well as emigration. Private enterprise, land ownership, commercial and private financial activities have all developed, and created powerful incentives for the development of a labour market, which has reacted by becoming more mobile and flexible. New kinds of employment and sources of income have appeared. Socially active and mobile individuals welcomed new challenges and new possibilities. In turn, labour migration has become one of the most important stabilizing factors in the region of the former USSR. It has helped to prevent poverty from becoming more wide-spread, and has granted new opportunities to skilled and educated individuals who have improved their own lives in new spheres of economic activity.

Since the middle of the 1990's, the so-called forced migration in the CIS has gradually decreased, while at the same time labour migration has increased. The CIS region has a vast number of irregular migrants, workers who are illegal or in the shadow of the law for the simple reason that CIS countries have not yet learned to regulate and coordinate migration.

This uncertain legal status of labour migrants leads to various abuses, including forced labour. In turn, the real and imaginary threats from irregular migration to the stability and security of the CIS countries leads them to limit the freedom of movement, toughen border controls, and strengthen restrictive character of their migration policies. This pulls even more resources away from the implementation of integration programmes.

The Schengen agreement in neighboring European countries affects and impedes the integration of the CIS states into the world migration system. Those who advocate restricting migration policy see it as an indisputable argument in their favor. They advocate CIS borders to be strengthened in the same way that Schengen borders are strengthened, using the European Council's policies as positive examples to combat drug and human trafficking, irregular labour migrants and transiting criminals. This, however, is inconsistent with a developing market economy's demands, and it prevents the preservation of family ties in the region, and hampers humanitarian dialogue.

Tough border policies also contradict the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which considers freedom of movement as one of human basic rights. In the recent years, however, this right has been increasingly applied exclusively to movement within a country, while the cross-border movements are seen as a more complicated issue. As a result the interests of the people are often disregarded, as is shown by the example of the Kaliningrad region. In fact, it could be seen that a new iron curtain has been erected on the western borders of the CIS, severely reducing the possibilities for migration that had been previously developed by the CIS since the opening of their own borders. It has become necessary to seek new cross-border migration regulations.

MIGRATION TRENDS

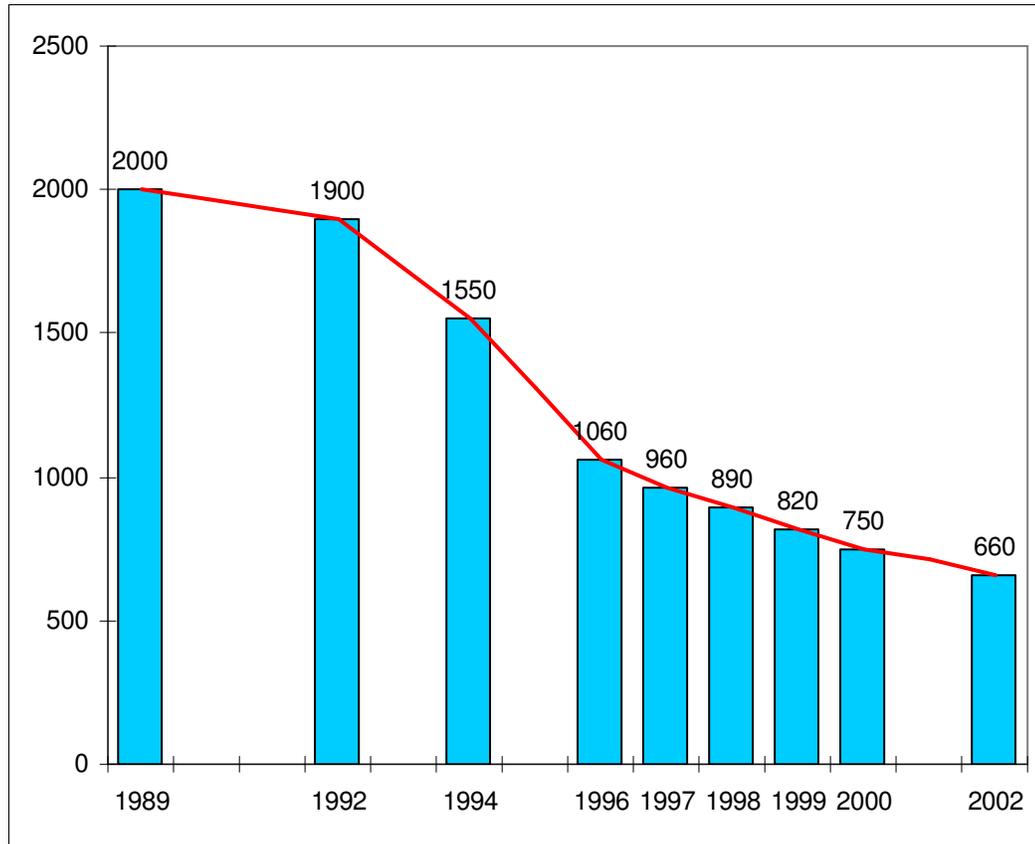
Movement between CIS countriesⁱ

Despite the closed character of Soviet society, the USSR's population was marked by a high degree of domestic migration. In the last decades of the country's existence, such movement was mainly family related and labour migration. After the disintegration of the USSR, some political and ideological commentators saw this as supposedly state-organized "Russian expansion" to the empire's peripheries. This was because the real scope of Soviet Union's freedom of movement was underestimated, and little was known about it in the West, where the USSR was occasionally seen as one big Gulag Archipelago. It is precisely for this reason that large movements of people, which became interstate movements after the break-up of the USSR, came to be seen as a kind of tectonic shift, and a hard-to-control challenge. Experts and politicians and, after them, the mass media and ordinary people in the CIS countries came to perceive such migration as an absolutely new phenomenon brought about solely by the disintegration of the USSR and its aftermath. However, this not the case.

First, it should be noted that, contrary to widespread notions, after the disintegration of the USSR, movement between the CIS countries dramatically decreased because of crises in the newly emerged states, and because the possibilities for legitimate migration were reduced. The statistically recorded number of migrants who moved from one CIS country to another

decreased to nearly one-third its previous total—from about 2 million people in 1989 to 660 thousand people in 2002 (Fig. 1).

Figure 1. Migration flows between CIS countries 1989-2002 (1000 persons)

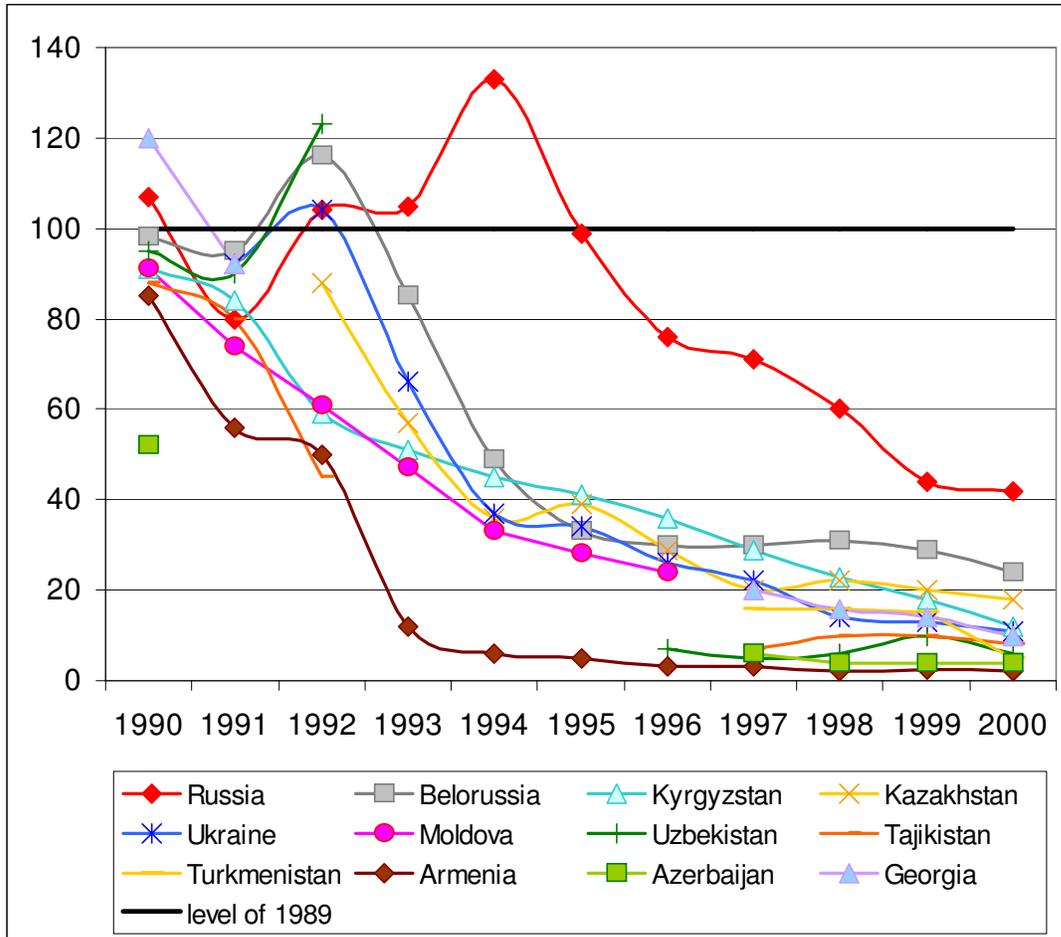


The break-up of the USSR had its effect because of the interruption in what were previously seen to be legitimately observed rights: a choice of residence and citizenship, the inheritance of property, and credit for past work service towards a state pension. Such legal ambiguities have affected millions of people. Indifference towards former fellow citizens is being overcome only slowly, and it is further complicated by separatism, anti-immigrant hostility, and mercantilist policies in the new states. As more and more time passes since the break-up, the new countries' legislations drift further apart, and it becomes even more difficult for its former citizens to obtain the citizenship of their host country and affirm their labour and property rights. Authorities of many CIS countries don't understand the role that migration processes and mobile populations play in the development of a market economy. They instead establish stringent requirements to citizenship, erect barriers to migration between the CIS countries, and make appealing declarations that they don't put into practice. As a result, migrants remain one of the least legally protected population groups in post-Soviet countries.

Some of the most serious causes for the decrease in mobility were the drop in economic production, the reduction in the number of jobs, the destruction of technical- and specialized-secondary educational systems, and decreasing stipends (which reduce access to education for nonresidents). All of this has reduced opportunities for young people, who normally constitute the largest share of migrants. For example, among citizens of CIS countries coming to Russia, the share of young people in the most mobile age group, 14 to 29 years old, dropped from 70%

(and sometimes more) of the total in the 1980's to 27% in 2002. Population mobility has also been strongly restrained by a slowly developing housing market, a lack of housing loans, and an inadequate mechanism of protecting owners' rights.

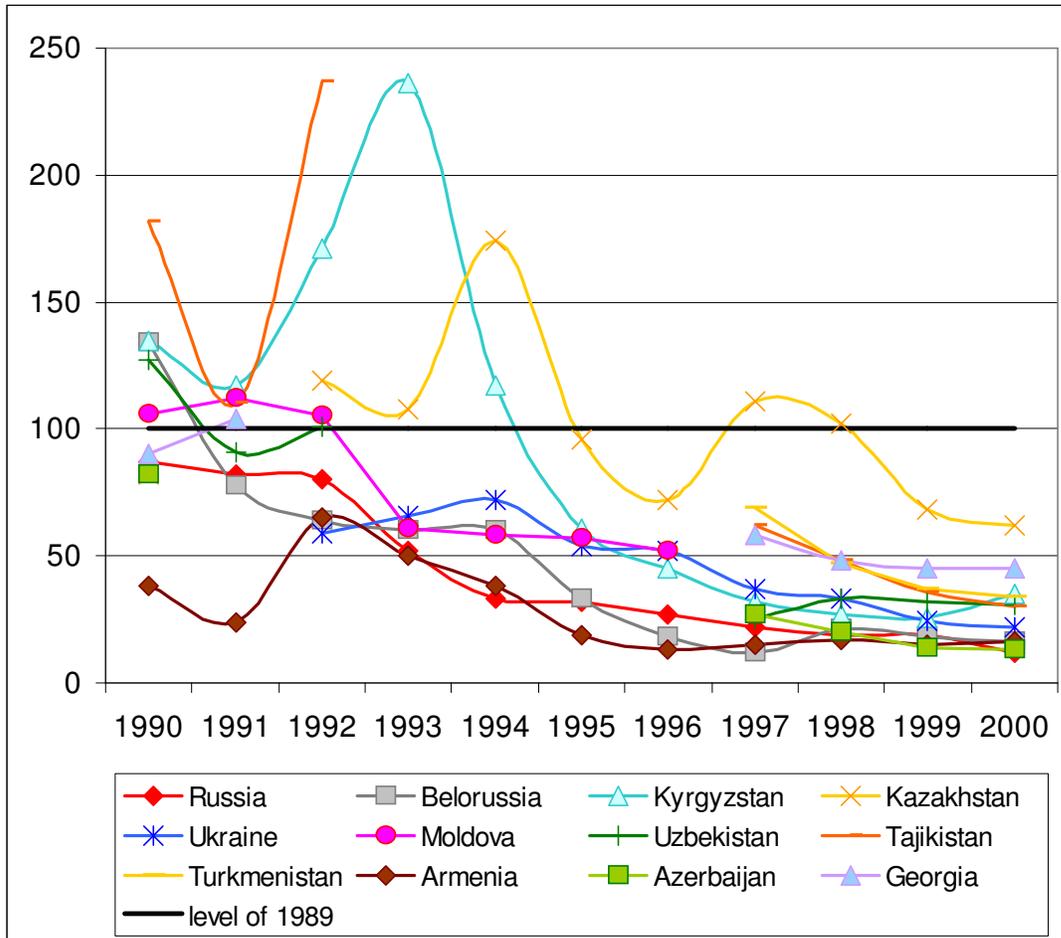
Figure 2. Immigration flows between CIS countries 1989-2000 (in per cent)



Source: CIS countries national statistics data, except Georgia, Moldova and Tajikistan; information on these countries for the period of 1997-2000 was obtained on the basis of statistics of correlative countries.

The decrease in population movement in the former USSR was all-encompassing. It affected all CIS countries' immigration and emigration. Immigration to all countries simultaneously decreased, and only in Russia was a short period of growth noted in 1994 (Fig. 2). Among CIS countries since 1989, immigration decreased least of all in Russia, yet even here it has dropped by more than half. At the opposite extreme is Armenia, where immigration has been at a standstill since 1993. In Belarus, immigration has decreased by three-fourths, in Kazakhstan by four-fifths, in Ukraine, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan by nine-tenths, and in the other countries it has practically stopped.

Figure 3. Emigration flows CIS countries 1989-2000 (as percentage of 1989)



Source: CIS countries national statistics data, except Georgia, Moldova and Tajikistan; information on these countries for the period of 1997-2000 was obtained on the basis of statistics of correlative countries.

Emigration shows similar tendencies, but compared with immigration it has been more affected by the countries' circumstances, such as refugees fleeing armed conflicts or an increase in repatriation (Fig. 3). Emigration from Russia has decreased the most, by nearly nine-tenths, and from Kazakhstan it has decreased the least—by 40%. A comparison of migration trends shows that the situations in the CIS countries are similar despite their political systems. The main vector of migration within the CIS countries has been directed towards Russia (Table 1), largely because of pulling cultural factors and because the country's better economic situation.

Table 1. Migration exchange in CIS countries 1998-2000 (1000 persons)

	1998			1999			2000		
	In-migration from CIS countries	Out-migration to CIS countries	Net migration	In-migration from CIS countries	Out-migration to CIS countries	Net migration	In-migration from CIS countries	Out-migration to CIS countries	Net migration
<i>Western region</i>									
Belarus	30,4	16,4	14,0	28,4	13,9	14,5	23,5	12,8	10,7
Moldova	9,9	15,2	-5,3	6,8	13,0	-6,2	4,0	16,6	-12,6
Russia	488,1	117,8	370,3	362,7	112,1	250,6	346,8	82,6	264,2
Ukraine	66,0	125,2	-59,2	61,1	91,0	-29,9	49,3	82,0	-32,7
<i>Transcaucasia</i>									
Armenia	1,6	18,0	-16,4	1,2	15,6	-14,4	1,0	17,1	-16,1
Azerbaijan	4,5	24,4	-19,9	4,2	17,7	-13,5	3,9	16,4	-12,5
Georgia	3,7	22,8	-19,1	3,2	21,2	-18,0	2,3	21,5	-19,2
<i>Central Asia</i>									
Kazakhstan	38,3	221,3	-183,0	35,4	148,2	-112,8	31,6	133,4	-101,8
Kyrgyzstan	10,1	13,1	-3,0	7,8	12,7	-4,9	5,3	18,1	-12,8
Tajikistan	2,5	21,3	-18,8	2,7	16,0	-13,3	2,0	13,1	-11,1
Turkmenia	4,0	13,6	-9,6	3,7	10,5	-6,8	1,2	9,9	-8,7
Uzbekistan	4,9	54,9	-50,0	8,3	53,6	-45,3	5,0	52,4	-47,4
C.I.S.	664,0	664,0	-	525,5	525,5	-	475,9	475,9	-

- Based on arrival registration in recipient countries: Migration Trends in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. 2001-2002 Review. 2002 International Organization for Migration.

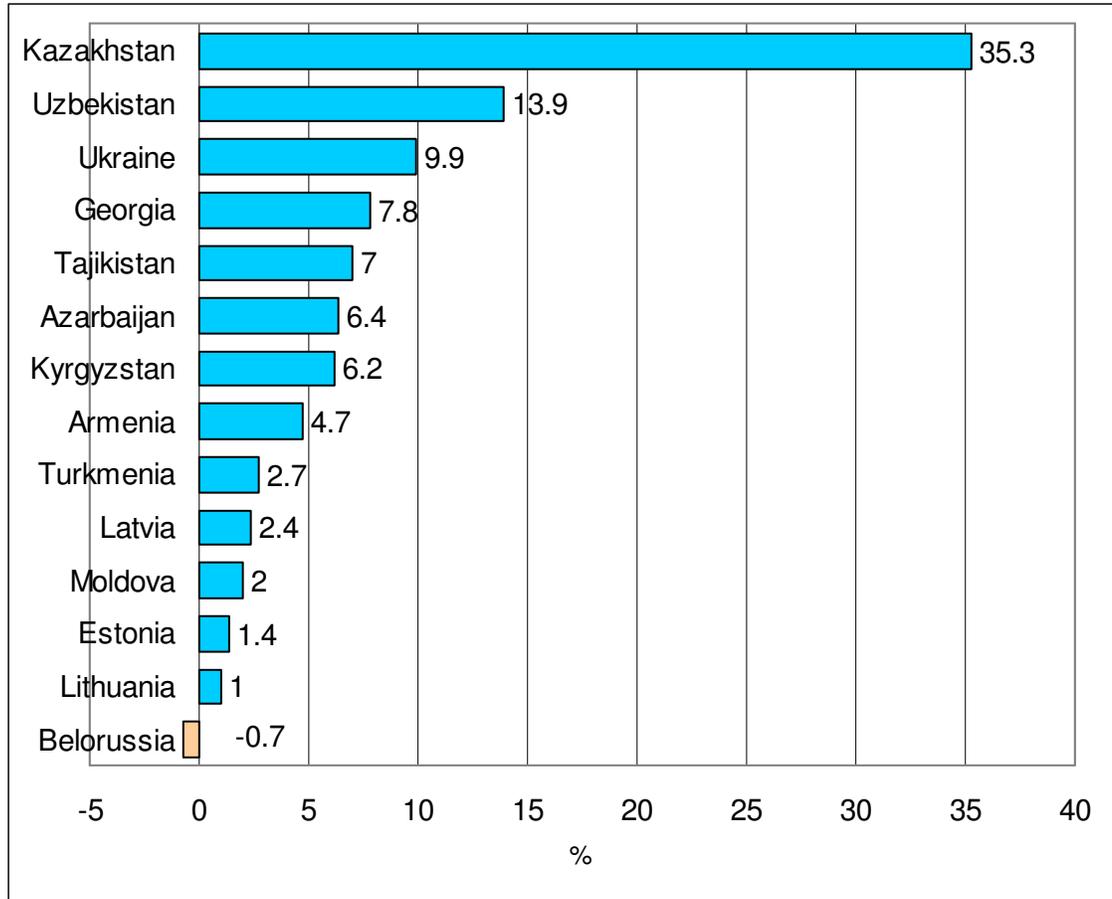
The World Bank estimates that Russia's per capita gross domestic product is 40 to 50 percent greater than Kazakhstan's and Belorussia's, 70 percent greater than Ukraine's, 160 percent greater than Azerbaijan's and Armenia's, nearly five times as great as Uzbekistan's and more than eight times as great as Tajikistan's. In the last five years 75% of those who changed their country of residence within the CIS moved to Russia, whereas in the 1980s only 40% did.

According to the last census, between 1989 and 2002 Russia received 10.9 million migrants from the post-Soviet countries (including the Baltic States). As many as 4.1 million people went in the opposite direction. Thus, the migration gain reached 6.8 million people. In terms of average annual figures, this is 2.7 times as many as in the 1980s. But this increase over the 1980's figure was not because of a growth in immigration, but because emigration from Russia ceased almost completely.

Migration trends show Russia's decisive role in migration movements within the CIS. Changes in Russia affect all migration flows. Russia became less attractive to migrants in the second half of the 1990s because of the war in Chechnya, the August 1998 default, a restrictive citizenship policy that eliminated preference for arrivals from the CIS, a decrease in attention to forced migrants, and an increase in anti-immigrant sentiments. All of these resulted in a lower mobility within the CIS, even after the end of open conflicts outside of Russia.

Russia attracts population from all CIS countries except Byelorussia, which is the only other country to have a positive balance with its Commonwealth partners for the past seven years. Russia's largest source of migrants is Kazakhstan, which provided 35.3% of its migrants in the post-Soviet period. Ranking second is Uzbekistan, which provided 13.9% of net migration, followed by Ukraine with 9.9% (Fig. 4). The South Caucasus countries account for 18.9%, Central Asian countries as a group for 29.8%, and the Baltic states for 4.7% of the increase in Russia's migrant population.

Figure 4. Net migration to Russia from the CIS and Baltic states 1992-2003 (in per cent)



Except for Russia and Belarus, all other CIS countries have lost population. The most significant losses were incurred by Kazakhstan. According to the 2000 census, 2 million people departed Kazakhstan since 1989, or 12% of its original population. However, emigration from Kazakhstan is rapidly decreasing thanks to an economic growth in the country. Kazakhstan is, in fact, becoming attractive as a regional destination for other Central Asians.

Persons of working age make up two-thirds and more of migrants. The share of seniors (15-20%) and women has increased. The high percentage of seniors is indicative that migration between the CIS countries has, to a certain extent, the character of forced movement.

Repatriation

The “repatriation” of Russians, Ukrainians and Belarusns accounted for 51%, 15% and 4% of migrants in 1998, 1999 and 2000, respectively (Table 2).

Table 2. Ethnic composition of migrants, migration flows between CIS countries 1998-2000

	1000 persons			%		
	1998	1999	2000	1998	1999	2000
Azerbaijani	18,8	15,6	15,0	2,8	3,0	3,1
Armenian	25,9	22,5	22,8	3,9	4,3	4,8
Belarusian	25,1	20,8	16,4	3,8	4,0	3,4
Georgian	6,5	5,8	5,5	1,0	1,1	1,2
Kazakh	19,4	16,1	16,2	2,9	3,1	3,4
Kyrgyz	2,5	2,3	2,1	0,4	0,4	0,4
Moldavian	6,8	5,4	4,9	1,0	1,0	1,0
Russian	358,4	266,4	238,8	54,0	50,7	50,2
Tajik	6,1	4,8	4,6	0,9	0,9	1,0
Turkmen	2,2	2,1	1,0	0,3	0,4	0,2
Uzbek	7,3	7,5	6,3	1,1	1,4	1,3
Ukrainian	103,2	79,9	69,0	15,6	15,2	14,5
Other	81,8	76,3	73,3	12,3	14,5	15,5
<i>Total</i>	664,0	525,5	475,9	100,0	100,0	100,0

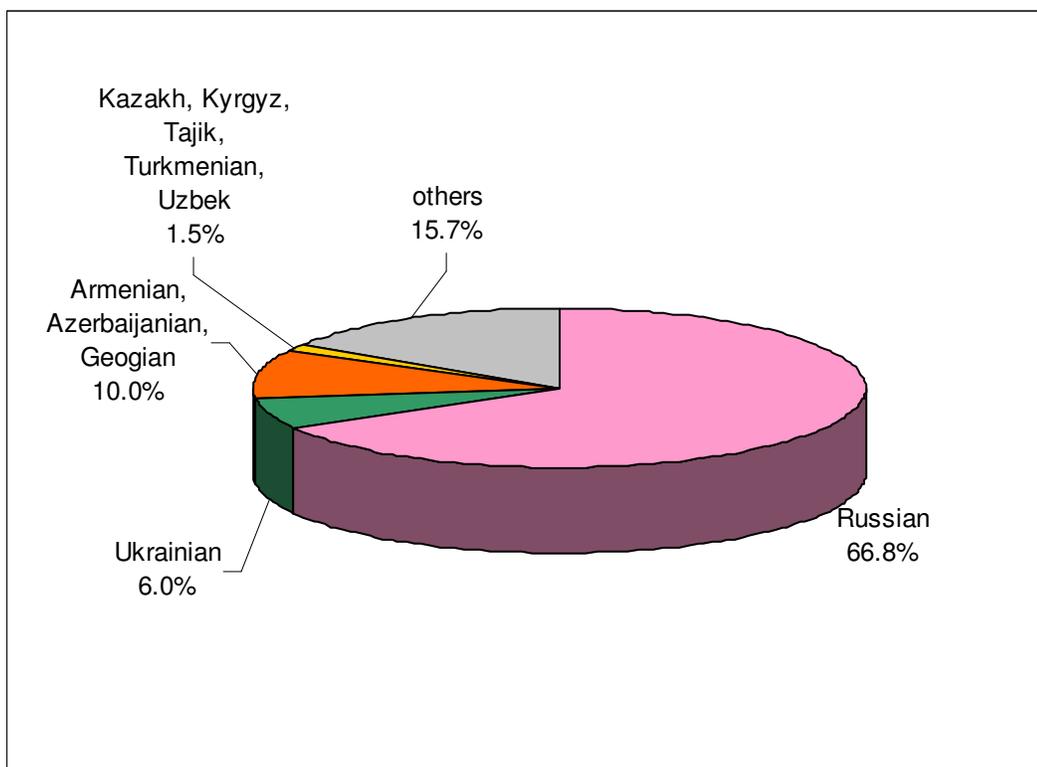
Based on arrival registration in recipient countries: *Migration Trends in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. 2001-2002 Review. 2002 International Organization for Migration.*

This still forms the bulk of migration flows within the CIS. The Slavic share of migration flows has been consistently high, although the volume of these movements is decreasing. This is the result of depleting the demographic potential, the waning of local ethno-nationalist sentiments, and of Slavs adapting to the conditions of resident countries. Between 1990 and 2003 about 4 million out of the 25.3 million ethnic Russians living in the post-Soviet countries moved to Russia. More than half a million Russians left the South Caucasus and Central Asian countries for Ukraine and Belarus. In the South Caucasus countries and Tajikistan the potential for such migration has practically been exhausted. The other Central Asian countries have lost 25% to 30% of their Russian populations each. Russians living in Ukraine and Belarus have not been part of this the migration movement, which indicates a greater stability in the European part of the CIS. Russians have also chosen to stay in the Baltic States, where losses have been less than 10% of the Russian population.

After 1995 the migration of Russians to Russia decreased seriously. This seems to be because of the armed conflict in Chechnya, as well as increasing difficulty to integrate under the new law on citizenship. Also, many CIS countries--particularly Kazakhstan--have become increasingly aware of the loss in intellectual potential and skilled labour. Such countries have actively tried to decrease emigration of Russians by increasing use of the Russian language, granting better access to the Russian information channels, and making concessions in citizenship rules. For recent years, there are also better conditions for employment. Experts estimate the remaining potential for Russian repatriation at approximately 4 million people; however, attracting those 4 million people to Russia will become increasingly problematic.

The South Caucasus and Central Asian countries have also seen the movement of the so-called titular populations. 850 thousand people moved to Russia from their "home" countries, 37% of them Armenians from Armenia and 33% Ukrainians from Ukraine (Fig. 5).

Figure 5. Net migration to Russia, by ethnic group 1992—2003 (in per cent)



At the same time, Belarusians, Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Turkmen are returning to their country of nationality, although the size of these flows is not large (Table 3). Kazakhstan is implementing a special programme to repatriate Kazakhs. Between 1991 and 2000, a total of 183.7 thousand Kazakhs “returned”: 62.7 thousand people from Uzbekistan, 22.1 thousand people from Turkmenistan, 10.5 thousand people from Tajikistan, 8.5 thousand people from Russia, 65.2 thousand from Mongolia, and small numbers from Iran, Turkey, Afghanistan, China, and Pakistan. ⁱⁱ Refugee flows and migration to Russia have resulted in an obvious ethnic homogenization of the South Caucasus countries, but similar but slower processes are also under way in Central Asia.

Table 3. Destination of ethnic migration flows 1998-2000

	1000 persons	%
Azerbaijani, total	49,4	100,0
to: Russia	35,7	72,3
Ukraine, Belarus	2,0	4,0
Azerbaijan	9,5	19,2
Armenian, total	71,2	100,0
to: Russia	62,0	87,1
Ukraine, Belarus	3,3	4,6
Georgia	0,9	1,3
Armenia	2,8	3,9
Belarussian, total	62,3	100,0
to: Russia	23,9	38,4

Ukraine	2,9	4,7
Belarus	32,3	51,8
Kazakh, total	51,7	100,0
to: Russia	19,2	37,1
Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan	3,4	6,6
Kazakhstan	28,8	55,7
Kyrgyz, total	7,0	100,0
to: Russia	2,2	31,4
Kazakhstan	0,5	7,1
Kyrgyzstan	4,1	58,6
Moldavian, total	17,1	100,0
to: Russia	10,3	60,2
Ukraine	2,5	14,6
Moldova	3,7	21,6
Russian, total	863,6	100,0
to: Ukraine	69,8	8,1
Belarus	32,2	3,7
Kazakhstan	51,4	6,0
Russia	682,0	79,0
Tajik, total	15,5	100,0
to: Russia	12,2	78,7
Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan	1,4	9,2
Tajikistan	1,5	9,7
Turkmen, total	5,3	100,0
to: Russia	1,8	34,0
Belarus	0,25	4,7
Uzbekistan	0,32	6,0
Turkmenistan	2,8	52,8
Uzbek, total	21,2	100,0
to: Russia	10,2	48,1
Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan	5,4	25,5
Uzbekistan	4,5	21,2
Ukrainian, total	252,2	100,0
to: Russia	156,1	61,9
Belarus	9,3	3,4
Kazakhstan	6,8	2,7
Ukraine	75,8	30,0

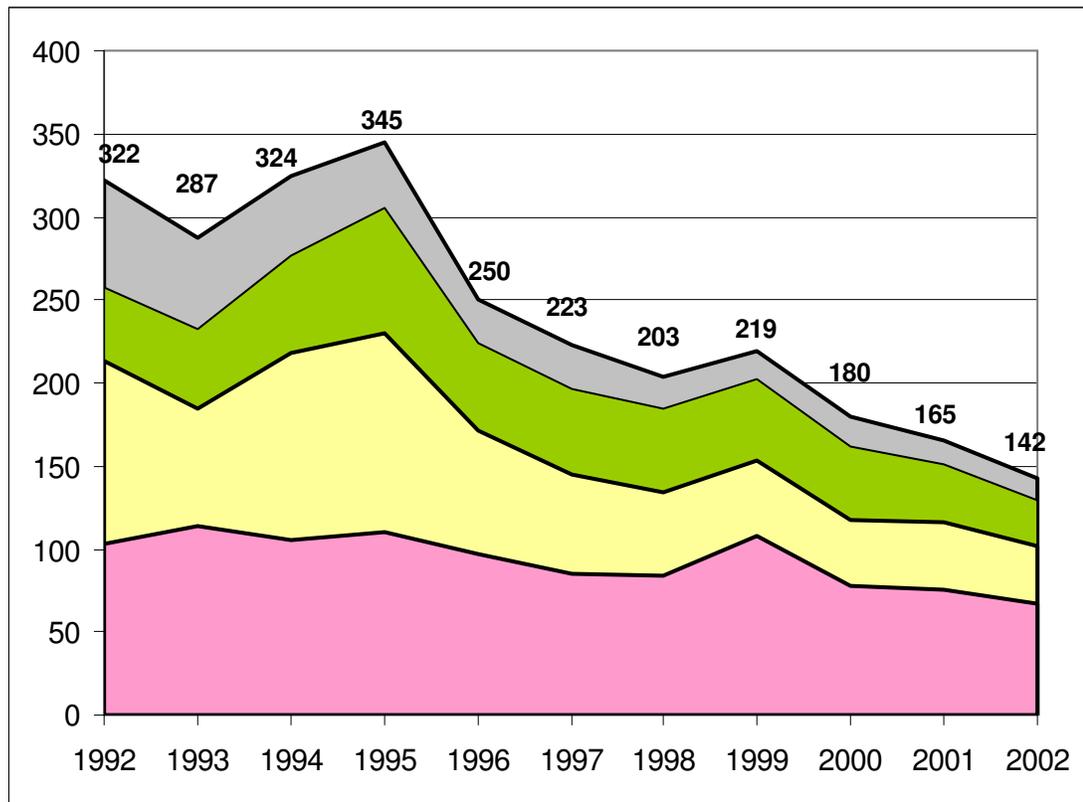
Source: *Migration Trends in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. 2001-2002 Review. 2002 International Organization for Migration.*

Migration to/from the CIS

Contrary to the catastrophic expectations of the early 1990s, emigration from CIS countries to destinations outside the region has been rather scanty. In the first half of the 1990s, a little

more than 300 thousand people per year emigrated. In the second half of the 1990s, more than 200 thousand people per year emigrated. In 2002 the total was approximately 140 thousand people.ⁱⁱⁱ Over the period since 1992, total recorded emigration has been 2.66 million people: 1.03 million (38.6%) from Russia, 757 thousand (28.5%) from Kazakhstan, and 540 thousand (20.3%) from Ukraine. The other countries account for 340 thousand (12.7%) of the total. Throughout this period, Russia, Kazakhstan and Ukraine have remained the main countries of origin (Fig. 6). In the same period, active emigration has been observed in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, which produced about 10% of the total departing for outside the CIS.

Figure 6. Emigration from the CIS states to outside the CIS region, 1992-2002 (1000 persons)



In the 1990s ethnic Germans and Jews comprised the largest components of emigration, and the most attractive destinations were Germany, Israel and the United States, which were the destinations of 56%, 22% and 11% of emigrants, respectively, between 1998 and 2000. Emigration to Germany prevails from Kazakhstan (91%), Kyrgyzstan (80%), and Russia (59%), as well as emigration to Israel from Belarus and Ukraine (53% and 40%). Since the late 1990s, emigration is becoming less and less based on ethnicity. In Russia, ethnic Russian emigrants now exceed Germans and Jews in number. In Ukraine, Ukrainians have also gained the lead among emigrants. The same is true with Azeris, Armenians and, probably, Georgians. This has not happened to the Central Asian peoples, however, whose titular nationalities emigrate to countries outside the CIS extremely rarely. The potential of Jewish and German departures is being exhausted, but Slavs still seem to show some emigration tendencies.

Unrecorded emigration is probably no less extensive than official emigration. Its main channels are through educational and labour migration. In the first half of the 1990's it was easy to depart for and then become naturalized in East European countries, which had visa-free entry and numerous Russian and Ukrainian diasporas. With the expansion of the European Union and the extension of the Schengen entry regulations to its new members, however, the possibilities for such emigration from the CIS have been reduced.

If we assume that official and unofficial emigration totals are approximately equal, then the total external losses of the CIS countries over the post-Soviet period may amount to about 5 million people. Such emigration tends to be a "brain drain" because it takes away the most educated population. These losses have been particularly severe for Kazakhstan and Armenia, which lost much of their population not only to "distant" countries but also to Russia. Kazakhstan has lost 80% of its Germans (about 800 thousand people) and 1.5 million Russians, Ukrainians and Belarusians^{iv} from a total population of 16.3 million in 1989. This seriously complicates the country's economic development.

Recorded immigration into CIS countries from non-CIS countries is negligible. Although the number of individuals living on a permanent basis probably runs into hundreds of thousands, only 20-30 thousand are recorded each year. A proper legal framework for their legalization has not yet been created, which further indicates a wary attitude towards foreigners in general, and a desire to limit their presence.

REFUGEES AND INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS

In the CIS, forced migration is gradually becoming a thing of the past. Emigration sentiments have decreased in many countries as local ethnonationalisms have decreased over the past ten years. However there are still problems relating to the status of minority languages, particularly Russian language (except in Kyrgyzstan, where Russian has a status of official language), and their use in educational systems. Ethnically motivated discrimination also persists in employment, particularly in government agencies, science and education, medical institutions. In migrants' host countries, the resolution to some problems with housing has been facilitated by state efforts (both sending and receiving countries) in creating legislation and special programmes. Bilateral and multilateral treaties and agreements, including simplified procedures on changing citizenship and voluntary resettlement, have played a positive role as well. However resolving the problems of forced migration and repatriation has largely become the responsibility of the migrants themselves. They have learned to cope with these problems through self-organization. In CIS countries hundreds of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) providing assistance have been set up. These NGOs help to build the public third sector and civil society at large. The international community and, in particular, international organizations (UNHCR, IOM, OSCE, and others) have provided substantial assistance to state authorities and the public sector to solve the problems of forced migration and repatriation, especially within the framework of Geneva's 1996 CIS involuntary displacement conference's "process of subsequent actions"^v.

Migration flows

Forced migration reached its peak in 1997 and has been decreasing since. More than 1.8 million people who were granted the status of a refugee, or were in a situation similar to that of recognized refugees (hereinafter referred to as refugees), or who were granted the status of a forced immigrant have moved from one country to another within the CIS.^{vi} Two-thirds of them were received by Russia, and over one-fourth was received by Armenia and Azerbaijan. The number of internally displaced persons is also 1.8 million: 39% in Tajikistan, 35% in Armenia or Azerbaijan (as a result of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict), 15% are in Georgia (as a result of conflicts in South Ossetia and Abkhazia), and 11% in Russia (from North Caucasus region, including Chechnya). The total number of forced migrants reached 3.6 million people.

The worst situation developed in Tajikistan and in the Nagorno-Karabakh area. In 1997, every eighth inhabitant of Tajikistan, every tenth inhabitant of Azerbaijan and every twelfth inhabitant of Armenia was a refugee or an internally displaced person (IDP). In Georgia, every fifth person who fled from Abkhazia was an IDP. It is only in Tajikistan, an overwhelming majority of IDPs returned to their homes. In Armenia, a policy of integrating refugees into the local community is being implemented. To promote the process of refugees' naturalization, the government has simplified the procedures for acquiring citizenship and implemented special information campaigns. However, the process is going slowly since the refugees are afraid that citizenship will mean the loss of refugee privileges. By the end of 1999, the number of refugees decreased by 23% from their peak.

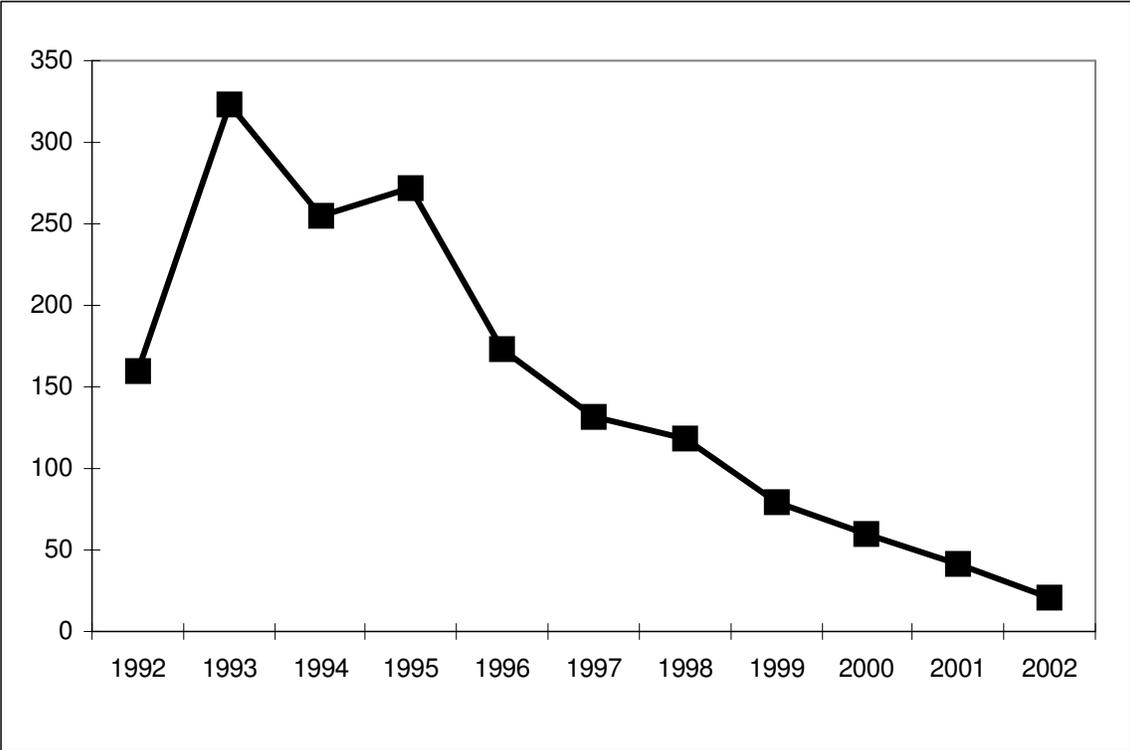
The situation in Azerbaijan continues to be grave. In 1998 as many as 120 thousand IDPs were living in tent camps, 60 thousand in dugouts, and 10 thousand in railway carriages^{vii}. The government does not encourage the integration of IDPs and refugees from Armenia, so there has been practically no decrease in these numbers. The volume of humanitarian assistance has decreased dramatically, however, so poverty has increased. According to national statistics, at the end of 2000 there were 219 thousand refugees in the country. This includes 24.5 thousand Meskhetian Turks who moved from Uzbekistan with plans to return to Georgia, and thus do not seek Azerbaijani citizenship.^{viii} The number of IDPs has not decreased in Georgia either since the conflict in Abkhazia, the main source of IDPs, has not been settled, and in fact it intensifies on an irregular basis. The number of IDPs in Russia has increased as a result of movement of persons displaced from Chechnya to Ingushetia. Compared with 1997, the total number of IDPs in the CIS region has decreased from 1.8 to 1.2 million people, but this happened exclusively on account of Tajikistan.

The number of refugees has decreased 2.7 times—down from 2 million at the peak to 700 thousand. If we add refugees counted by Azerbaijan national statistics to this number, the decrease is somewhat less, 2.0 times. The decrease has been mainly on account of Russia. Here the number of officially registered refugees and forced migrants from these countries decreased from a peak of 1,192 thousand at the end of 1997 to 361 thousand, by more than two-thirds, by the end of 2003. Every year an ever-smaller number of migrants from the CIS countries and the Baltic States are granted this status in Russia: in 1999—79 thousand and in 2003—less than 5 thousand.

The Russian classification of “forced migrant” does not fully agree with the international definition. An overwhelming majority of forced migrants (97.2%) are more properly described as “forced resettler”. Someone is eligible for this status in Russia if left his/her place

of residence in a CIS country or Baltic State and has accepted Russian citizenship. Internally displaced persons may also claim this status. In Russia, the fastest growth in the number of forced migrants was noted in 1993-1995 when it increased 255-288 thousand people per year. As opened hostilities in conflict zones ceased, the number of registered forced migrants decreased to 20.5 thousand people in 2002 (Fig. 7).

Figure 7. Recorded number of “forced migrants” to Russia 1992-2002 (1000 persons)



In all, between 1992 and 2002 a total of 1,632 thousand people out of more than 2 million of those who submitted corresponding applications were granted the status of forced immigrants and refugees in Russia. Among those who were granted status, 1,369 thousand people came from the CIS countries and the Baltic States, and 241.5 thousand people were internally displaced persons (Table 4).

Table 4. “Forced migrants” and refugees in Russia, registered 1992-2002 (1000 persons)

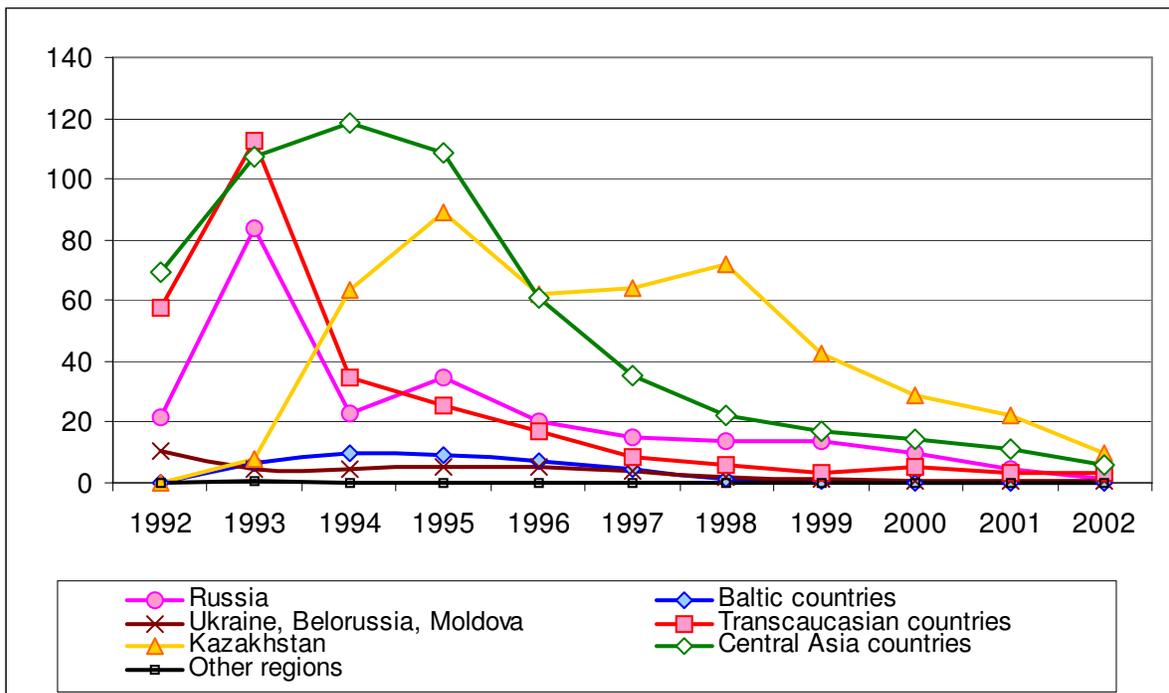
Year	Total quantity	including:		
		From regions of Russia	From CIS and Baltic countries	From other countries
	1632,9	242,6	1388,2	2,1
1992	160,3	21,8	138,3	0,2
1993	323,2	83,8	238,8	0,7
1994	254,5	23,0	231,4	0,1
1995	272,0	34,9	237,1	0,0
1996	172,7	20,4	152,2	0,0
1997	131,1	15,4	115,6	0,1
1998	118,2	13,9	104,1	0,2
1999	79,1	14,1	64,8	0,3
2000	59,2	9,7	49,3	0,2
2001	42,0	4,4	37,4	0,1
2002	20,5	1,2	19,3	0,1
2003	4,7	0,4	4,3	0,03

A total of 968. 8 thousand forced immigrants and refugees (60% of the total) were deregistered. This is mostly because their expired status. Forced migrants frequently do not extend their status, and quite a few new arrivals do not even apply for it, since they feel the status does not improve their situation. The migrants still have many problems, however, so this indicates the authorities’ desire to relieve themselves the responsibility of caring for them more than it shows an actual improvement in the situation.

As of the end of 2003, there were a total of 352 thousand forced immigrants, including 61. 4 thousand (17. 4%) internally displaced persons. This category does not include the hundreds of thousands of citizens who have left Chechnya since 1999 and who have temporarily been settled in neighboring areas. According to the former Russian Ministry for Federation Affairs’ Nationalities and Migration Policy, in January 2002 the number internally displaced persons in Chechnya and the adjacent regions amounted to 368 thousand.^{ix} At the end of 2003, a total of 8.7 thousand migrants, nearly all of them from the CIS and the Baltic States^x and only 362 persons from other countries (including 346 from Afghanistan), had the status of a refugee.

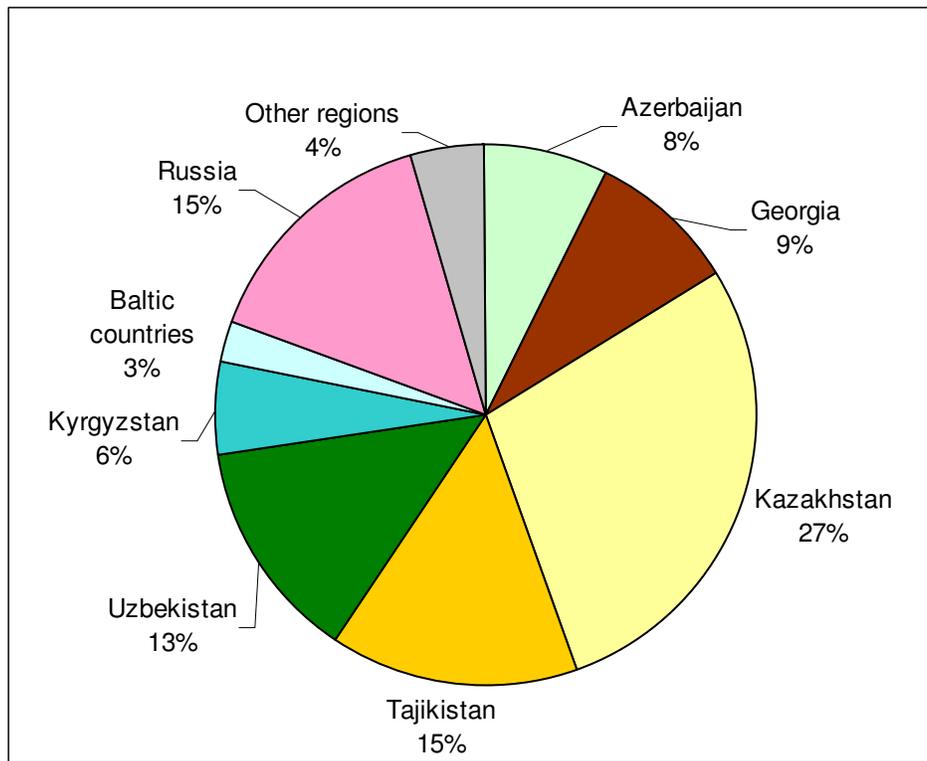
In the early 1990s, the greatest number of forced migrants came from Azerbaijan and Georgia, then from Tajikistan and, later on, from Kazakhstan (Fig. 8).

Figure 8. “Forced migration” flows to Russia, by years and regions of origin 1992-2002 (1000 persons)



The number of newly registered immigrants from this republic is dropping rapidly: 9,247 in 1999, 7,537 in 2000, 2,522 in 2001, 768 in 2002, and 163 in 2003. Since 1992 the greatest number of registered forced migrants in Russia came from Kazakhstan (26%), followed by Tajikistan (15%), Uzbekistan (13%), Georgia (9%), Azerbaijan (8%) and Kyrgyzstan (6%). The Baltic States produced only 3% of forced migrants (Fig. 9). Internally displaced persons constitute quite an impressive share—15%.

Figure 9. Countries of origin of “forced migrants” recorded in Russia in 1992-2002 (in per cent)



Prevalent among forced migrants and refugees are Russians (71%).

Among forced migrants, the share of children (25.7%) and elderly people (16.1%) has stably increased, whereas the share of able-bodied people (58.1%) has been lower compared with the total flow of migrants. Women constitute 55.1% of forced migrants. Forced migrants have a high level of education: 17.6% of them have a higher degree, and 32.2% have an incomplete higher degree or a secondary professional education (figures from 2002-2003).

Asylum seekers from countries outside the CIS

At the end of 2000, there were 26 thousand asylum seekers in the CIS who had come from other countries. An overwhelming majority of them were refugees from Afghanistan: ethnic Tajiks, Uzbeks, Turkmen, and others. They are concentrated in countries next to or near Afghanistan, and also in Russia. The position of asylum seekers in the CIS is complicated and legally uncertain, for in a situation where funds are short; priority is given to refugees of the titular nationality. It is only in exceptional cases that asylum seekers may expect to receive assistance from the governments. The number of asylum seekers is decreasing rapidly: in 2000 their number was half of the corresponding figure in 1998, when there were 52.4 thousand. This is related to difficulties in obtaining a protective status in CIS countries. According to UNCHR, these groups encounter similar difficulties throughout the CIS. As a rule, asylum seekers experience difficulties trying to file their applications, are not granted any legal status, and are prey for law enforcement agencies. The procedure for reviewing their applications goes slowly, and the percentage of refusals is high because of excessive use of the “safe third

country” concept and a restrictive definition of the term “refugee” from in the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. From 1997 through 2001 a total of 15 thousand Afghans submitted applications for the status of a refugee; 6,483 have been considered but turned down, while 8,262 are still under consideration.

As a result, asylum seekers more often than not end up as illegal migrants. They have no local registration, which deprives them legal employment and social protection. They are constantly subjected to fines and detention by law enforcement agencies, and can become a subject for racket. Yet they cannot go back home, since more often than not this remains dangerous for them. Above all, this concerns more than 100 thousand Afghans living in Russia. Most of them have been living in Russia for more than 10 years; their children have finished Russian schools and often can write no other language, and some of them have learned a trade at vocational schools functioning under the aegis of UNHCR. Nevertheless the legal status of the vast majority of Afghans remains unclear. The legal status of those who have illegally entered the country and submitted applications for refugee status should be subject to separate regulation in the CIS countries’ migration legislation.

The attitude of the Russia’s population towards migrants

Since Russia is the main host country in the CIS, the population’s attitude is important for integrating migrants. A large inflow of people in need of care in a situation where the host community has its own problems and groups in need has given rise to a wariness on the part of the locals. It was clear that adopting laws on refugees and forced immigrants involved steep obligations that it could not meet, and part of the population has begun to regard migrants as competitors for public assistance. Jealousy and suspiciousness towards migrants increased when migration was used as a factor in political debates. Politicians aggravated interethnic relations, and the mass media exaggerated migrant-related risks. As a result, hostility towards migrants has become widespread among the Russian population.^{xi}

The level of tolerance in most Russian cities is low. In most cases, the number of residents who consider migrants useful is between one-third and one-half of the number who believe that they have no positive effect.

At the same time, there are certain indications that anti-migrant intolerance is exaggerated. First, if the local authorities encourage reception of migrants, the population responds accordingly. The case of city of Belgorod—the center of a region having Russia’s highest rating in terms of receiving migrants, whose population is quite tolerant—is demonstrative in this respect. Second, in most cases young people are more tolerant towards migrants than the population on an average. This means there is a prospect for more successful integration of migrants in the future.

The main factor differentiating the attitude towards migrants is their ethnic affiliation. Russians prefer ethnic Russians from the former Union republics. Between half and 80% of respondents or more spoke out in their favour. In 1998, a total of 43% of respondents supported the idea of “Russia is for Russians” and in 2002—55%.^{xii} The number of urban people inclined to receive only Russians has increased. This trend shows that the population’s irritation against “non-Russian” migrants has reached a dangerous level. The titular migrants from the South Caucasus countries and the North Caucasus republics experience intolerance in

Russia the most. In regions which adjoin the Caucasus (Krasnodar, Stavropol, and Rostov regions) and which receive a massive inflow of immigrants from the Caucasus, the level of tolerance is extremely low. "Caucasophobia" has been caused by an increased inflow of Armenians, Azerbaijanis and Georgians, who come to Russia in search of earnings, as well as by the protracted conflict in Chechnya and the acts of terrorism that originated from conflict region.

As for migrants from third countries (Chinese, Vietnamese, Afghans, etc.) in Moscow, which has many such migrants, according sociological survey, nearly half of the city's residents do not object to their business in Russia and 30% would not object to giving them permanent jobs. However, only one fifth agrees that housing should be sold to foreigners from third countries, and only one tenth agrees that they could permanently reside in Russia. Overall, Russia's attitude towards migrants, including those from the CIS countries, can hardly be described as fair and moral. They agree with the infringement of migrants' rights, and quite a few of them personally take part in making discriminatory use of migrants' labour.

Migration policy

Except for Belarus, Moldova and Uzbekistan, the CIS countries have signed the 1951 UN Convention and 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. Russia did so in February 1993, and that same year it adopted the laws "On Refugees" and "On Forced Migrants", which provide for assistance to forced migrants and repatriates. However, these laws were poorly funded. The federal migration programme adopted in 1994 was only 20 to 30 percent financed. In the autumn of 1993, an attempt was made to combine the efforts of the migrant-sending and receiving countries in the CIS or, in other words, to divide the burden of expenses and responsibility among them—mainly, between Russia and the other countries. An agreement on assistance to refugees and forced migrants was concluded, but was not implemented. Most of the newly independent states did not support Russia granting the status of "refugee" and "forced immigrant" to migrants from other CIS states. This threatened to complicate their relations with Russia. Subsequently, the countries renounced multilateral agreements in favor of bilateral ones. Russia in particular concluded agreements to regulate the process of voluntary resettlements with Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan.

In August 1994, Russia's policy with respect to immigrants from the CIS countries became more clearly outlined. The government adopted "The Main Outlines of the Russian Federation State Policy Concerning Compatriots Living Abroad". Russia declared its strategic goals to be providing assistance to integrate Russian Diasporas and preventing a mass exodus from their countries of residence. The Russian state's legal and practical activities subsequently developed with this policy in mind. In May 1999, the law "On State Policy Concerning Compatriots" was adopted, although it had no effect on the socio-economic and legal status of "compatriots" in the CIS countries. The law turned out to be declarative, and a mechanism for implementing the declared rights was never developed. Allocated funds kept decreasing, and recipient organizations used part of the funding for other purposes, taking advantage that the funds couldn't be monitored outside Russia. Subsequently the decision was made to open Russian information and culture centers in the CIS countries and Baltic States in order to monitor the spending of funds from Russia's budget.

Since 1994, the Russian policy of receiving people from the CIS countries has remained basically unchanged in its contradictory character. On the one hand, the political leaders of Russia brings up the problem of “compatriots” on a top level, and the government affirms compatriots’ rights and needs in national legislation and special programs as well as in bilateral agreements and treaties with CIS countries. The latest initiatives include the approval in 2001 of a “Concept for Cross-Border Cooperation in the Russian Federation”, providing support for compatriots living in frontier areas abroad. On the other hand, the legislation regulating forced migrations has been toughened. In the summer of 1997, a new law on refugees was adopted. Unlike the law of 1993, it does not affect migrants from the CIS countries and the Baltic States. In the spring of 2002, a new law on citizenship was adopted. It reduced drastically the number of “compatriots” enjoying privileges in obtaining Russia’s citizenship. Since 2001, migration- and migration-policy-related issues were placed within the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation. In general, Russia’s migration policy has acquired a restrictive, controlling and coercive character.

Challenging these trends, lively public debates of the problem of resettlers and migrants from the CIS countries took place among representatives of government agencies, the expert community, and NGOs concerned that forced migrants have been deregistered even though the state has not fulfilled its promises to them. Many experts and NGOs’ activists advocate passing a special law on repatriation, notwithstanding the vulnerability of the very concept of repatriation. Urgent legalization (migration amnesty) of this category of immigrants is essential, and delay in solving this problem means Russia is avoiding its direct responsibilities as the legal successor of the USSR.

Today there are about 1 million former USSR citizens on the territory of the Russian Federation who have come to this country in the 1990s as a result of the USSR disintegration, conflicts and crises. Until now they have received no clear legal status, and are in the position of illegal migrants. Lacking Russian citizenship and having no registration, they have no rights, and are a vulnerable population group.

Many potential resettlers in the countries of origin have given up their migration intentions, or have postponed their decision to move to Russia, because of obstacles in solving the problems of forced migrants and repatriates, and because of poor state’s performance to facilitate adaptation and integration. Priorities in choosing countries of destination have changed, and preference is increasingly given to states outside the former USSR. Between 1998 and 2001, a total of 164.4 thousand citizens of the CIS countries applied for asylum in European countries. Their number keeps growing year after year—from 22.7 thousand people in 1998 to 54.2 thousand people in 2001 (Table 5).

Table 5. CIS citizens, seeking asylum in Europe 1998-2001 (persons)

	1998	1999	2000	2001	Total	
					people	%
Armenia	5332	8574	6711	6602	27219	16,5
Azerbaijan	3157	6216	3928	3472	16773	10,2
Belarus	630	1334	2426	2787	7177	4,4
Georgia	4108	3426	3571	6010	17115	10,4
Kazakhstan	390	1151	2693	1255	5489	3,3
Kyrgyzstan	17	428	893	586	1924	1,2
Moldova	1091	2592	3597	5169	12449	7,6
Russia	5833	11441	1728 5	1686 5	51424	31,3
Tajikistan	203	187	251	222	863	0,5
Turkmenistan	16	12	34	58	120	0,1
Ukraine	1826	3617	5171	9893	20507	12,5
Uzbekistan	138	631	1267	1271	3307	2,0
	22741	39609	4782 7	5419 0	16436 7	100, 0

Source: *Migration Trends in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. 2001-2002 Review*. 2002 International Organization for Migration. P. 188-191.

Illegal migrants from the CIS may simply be trying to legalize their position in Europe in order not to be expelled, a likely possibility particularly since the introduction of the Schengen visa regime. Among asylum seekers, 31. 3% are Russians, 37% are Armenians, Azerbaijanis and Georgians, and 25% are Ukrainians, Belarusians and Moldovans. Citizens of Central Asian countries seldom seek asylum in the West, and they make up only 7. 1% of the total. Great Britain, Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands, and Poland are the most popular countries of asylum.

LABOUR MIGRATION

Labour migration is the most dynamic and large-scale migration flow in the CIS. Its development had an explosive character and it has quickly become a widespread phenomenon.

Scales and directions

The interstate labour migration in the CIS region is estimated at approximately 6,5-7 million.^{xiii} Out of them some 1,5-2 million leave Russia in search of a job to outside the CIS while some 3 million enter Russia from the CIS states and some 2 million migrate to other CIS countries and to outside the CIS. These estimates are more likely to be underestimated than overestimated.

Ukrainian authorities assume that over 2 million Ukrainian citizens work abroad, half of them in Russia and another half in other countries, including 300,000 in Poland; 200,000 in Italy; 100,000-200,000 in Check Republic; 150,000 in Portugal; 100,000 in Spain; 35,000 in Turkey;

20,000 in the USA, etc. The level of population involvement into labor migration is particularly high in Western regions of Ukraine. For instance, some 10% of population in Zakarpatiye region is labour migrants; over 6% in Ivano-Frankovsk region; over 5% in Lvov region. Rural population in these regions participates more actively in labor migration than urban dwellers.^{xiv}

In Moldova the number of labor migrants is estimated at 600,000 out of whom more than half left for Russia in the 1990s, and the rest - mainly to Israel, Italy, Portugal, Turkey, etc. As the rules of the registration on the residence in Russia become more complicated, Moldova labor migrants have redirected to the Western countries. At present, every third labor migrant enters Russia.^{xv} The same trends have been recorded in Ukraine.^{xvi}

Russia is the main destination country for labour migrants from Azerbaijan and Armenia. The number of labour migrants from these countries is overestimated greatly. According to our estimates, they total not more than 1,5-2 million in Russia while this figure is quite often refers only to Azerbaijani migrants.

Russia has become the main host country for labour force from Central Asia. Some 97% of migrants from Tajikistan work in Russia, 70% from Uzbekistan, over 50% from Kyrgyzstan, totally from 1 to 1,5 million.^{xvii}

Kazakhstan receives labour force from Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan as well as from China while it supplies its labor force predominantly to Russia and a small part of it to outside the CIS. Kazakhstan has gradually become the leading regional importer of labor force. Over 200,000 labour migrants from Central Asia work in Kazakhstan out of whom 15% are from Uzbekistan, 30% from Kyrgyzstan and few from Tajikistan.

Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan are exporting labour force. These countries have high density of population in relation to their economic resources; they also have the low level of GDP per capita, high level of unemployment and rapid population growth.

Export of labor force from Kyrgyzstan is at the level of 300,000, mainly to Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation. Kyrgyzstan also receives labour migrants from Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and a small number from Turkey and other countries.

Uzbekistan sends abroad from 500,000 to 1 million labour migrants who work predominantly in Russia, Kazakhstan, South Korea; it also receives a small number of migrants from Tajikistan, few from Afghanistan and highly skilled labour force from countries other than the CIS.

In Tajikistan over 500,000 citizens are involved into labour migration. At the same time, a small number of foreign senior staff and highly skilled workers are working in this country as well as few labour migrants from Afghanistan. Tajikistan is also considered as a transit territory by Afghani migrants.

Turkmenistan is participating poorly in interstate migration processes.

The migration situation in Central Asia remains unstable and it responds to changes in economic and political life. Thus, increase of custom duties, toughening of border regime and

deterioration of socio-economic situation in Uzbekistan in 2000 provoked bankruptcy of small traders, and as a result the rise in flow of Uzbek migrants to Kazakhstan and Russia in 2003-2004. Blocking of the Tajik/Uzbek border site after the terrorist attacks in February 2004 in the city of Tashkent provoked reduction of the migration flows between Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, and favoured migration from Tajikistan through Kyrgyzstan to third countries.

According to the national sources, the maximum total interstate labour migration of the CIS population amounts to 8 million. On top of this, as estimated as 1 million labor migrants from countries outside the CIS work in the CIS states, mainly from China, Vietnam, North and South Korea, and Turkey.

Recorded (legal) labour migration in the CIS region, as of the beginning of 2004, totaled 500,000^{xviii}, out of them 380,000 worked in Russia including 180,000 citizens of the CIS states. Ukrainian citizens make up a large share of recorded legal migrants in Russia (27%), followed by Chinese citizens (19%) and citizens of Turkey (10%). In 2003, labour migrants from 131 countries were employed in Russia officially. Migrant workers are mainly employed in the construction sector, transport, forestry, trade; the share of migrants employed in industry is increasing.

Legal labour emigration to outside the CIS region is also not numerous. In 2002, some 46,000 Russian citizens and 42,000 Ukrainians obtained a work permit to foreign countries outside the CIS. Central Asian countries are actively looking for employment possibilities in the countries outside the CIS. For instance, some 5,000 people from Uzbekistan have been recruited officially in a five-year period, predominately in South Korea.^{xix} As it is seen from the comparison of a total scale of labour migration and its legally recorded part, the last named makes up a small share in a total flow.

Remittances

External labor migration allows countries-exporters of labor force to solve the problem of employment, improve living standards of the population as well as to ease social tension. Every third family in Azerbaijan, Armenia, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova and every tenth family in Russia, Ukraine and Kazakhstan depend on migration-related earnings and remittances of their relatives. The migration-related revenues are the main sources of subsistence for the overwhelming majority of migrants' households. According to data of the CIS Confederation of Trade-Unions, remittances amount to 20% of the domestic GDP in Tajikistan and 25% in Moldova. Moldavian national sources give a figure of remittances equal to the domestic budget revenues.^{xx} Azerbaijani migrants bring to their country some 2,5 billion US dollars annually that is 2,5 times much as the total foreign investments in this country.^{xxi} These indicators allow estimating the total sum of remittances by labour migrants in the CIS region.

Based on the above-mentioned share of remittances in relation to GDP, remittances to Moldova total 1,5 billion USD dollars, and to Tajikistan 1,3 billion US dollars a year. One could assume that remittances by Kyrgyz and Uzbek labour migrants are about the same as Tajiks, as their number in the CIS countries is approximately the same as well as kinds of activities. Thus, remittances to three Central Asian countries – Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and

Uzbekistan -- could be estimated at 4 billion US dollars. Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia have the similar number of labour migrants working abroad as well as the similar relative level of remittances. The remittances to Azerbaijan total some 2,5 billion US dollars and are equivalent to approximately 10% of the domestic GDP. Based upon these calculations, remittances to Armenia and Georgia total 1 billion US dollars to each. Summing up remittances by labour migrants from world countries to the CIS states, the figure turns out to be 8,5 billion US dollars.

According to Azerbaijani sources, the share of remittances from Russia makes up 60%. It is true as well for Armenia, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan (though the remittances from Kazakhstan are quite essential for this country). As for Uzbekistan, remittances from Russia total some 80% while almost 100% in Tajikistan (Russia is the main destination country for Tajik labour migrants). Based on the same logic, remittances from Russia to Moldova make up some 30%.

Far from all labour migrants transfer money to their native countries. For instance, many Ukrainians live in Russia with their families and spend all money here. The research study by the IOM Moscow^{xxiii} has established that as much as 50% of migrants transfer money to their native countries. Based on this and even higher ratio, remittances from Russia to the CIS states make up some 3-4 billion US dollars a year.

It is possible to give an estimate of remittances based on the survey data. According to the IOM Moscow research study, one labour migrant transfers or brings to his/her native country on average 1300 US dollars a year. Taking into account that 3-4 million labor migrants work in Russia and assuming that as much as 50% out of them send remittances, the total losses of Russia make up 2-3 billion US dollars a year. In relation to Russia's GDP, remittances to the CIS state make up a shade that is as maximum as 0,3%. Nevertheless, in the estimates by countries-recipients this sum is even smaller. According to expert estimates, in 2003 over 120 million US dollars were transferred to Kazakhstan through all channels; some 400 million to Uzbekistan. Some 256 million US dollars were transferred through banks alone to Tajikistan.

xxiii

Despite an immense volume of currency transfers from migrants, in Central Asian countries except Tajikistan, there are no systems of banking transfers convenient for migrants. Therefore, people bring money with them, hand money through their friends and relatives as well as use the Western Union services. It promotes corruption among transport personnel, at the border checkpoints and custom. It also results in the rise in racket and related crimes. Lack of legal channels for money transfer favored spreading of informal channels. An ancient mechanism of finance and credit operations, exchange and transfer of money referred to as "khavala" has been reconstructed in Muslim countries under the name of "throwing over". It is implemented through illegal financial structures connected to trade businesses. Money transfers are subjected to commission fees that depend on the transfer sum and distance. As a rule, the commission fee makes up from 0,5% to 2-3%. The whole system is based purely on trust and is widespread in places where there are no developed and reasonable systems of money transfer or population distrusts banks and official financial structures. "Khavala" is considered as a mechanism for financing terrorism, drug trafficking and money laundering. The system of money transfer without the opening an account was introduced in Tajikistan in 2003 and proved to be convenient for migrants; it has noticeably shrunk "khavala" in Tajikistan. In 2004 "khavala" was used only by 6% of migrants while the banking services by over 50%. As a result, the volume of money transfers from migrants to the accounts of the

National Bank increased from 300,000 US dollars in 2000 to 75 million in 2001 and 256 million in 2003.

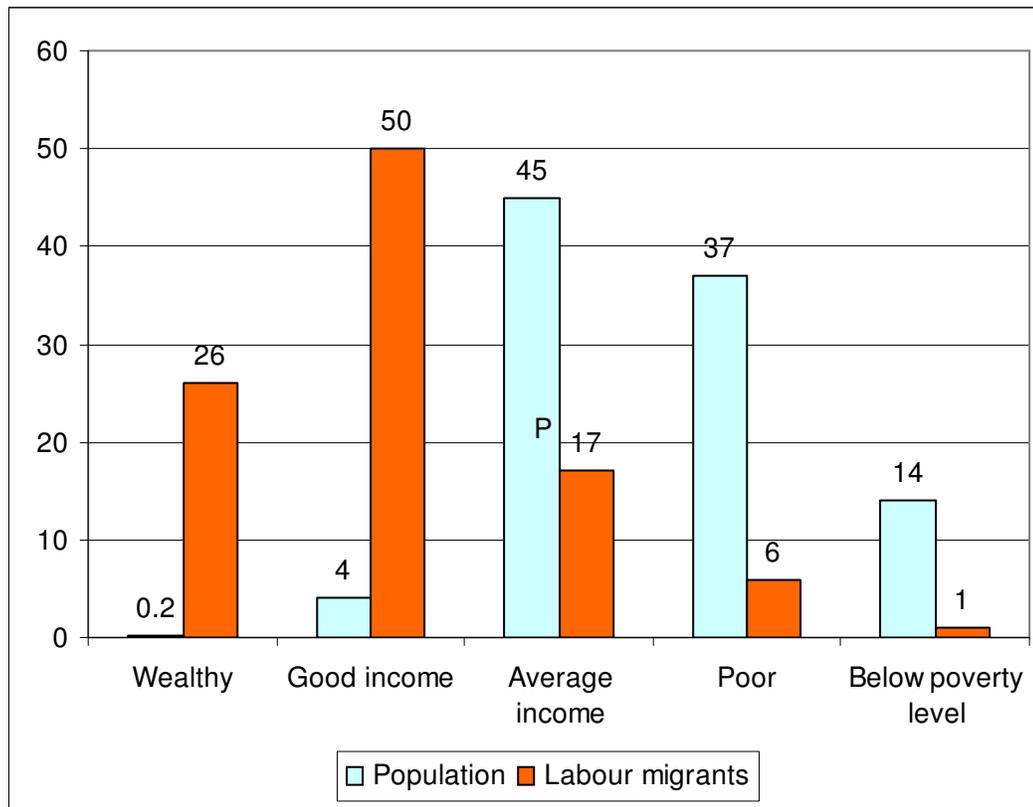
A similar problem is topical for all CIS countries. Racketeering of migrant workers by police is not uncommon even for Moscow's train stations. In order to protect themselves from racketeers, migrants hire train attendants to smuggle the money or use the service of Russian nationals. The problem with money transfer clearly traces back to the inertness of the authorities. As a result, a number of shadow or mafia-controlled financial and credit institutions have been established and they are expanding their activities.

Related social and economic factors

Seeking an alternative to the ailing state sectors in their national economies, CIS citizens opted for labour migration and thus created a new high-capacity employment niche, relying for the most part on their own initiative in the absence of support from the state authorities. For instance, in Russia, migrant workers account for approximately 7.5% of the total number of registered employees. This figure is almost evenly divided between external and internal labour migrants. Thus, migrant workers contribute greatly to their countries' economies, thereby providing for stability in the region.

Temporary labour migration is an effective mechanism for the formation of a middle class in post-Communist countries. This mechanism is sustained through grass-roots initiatives without government support, and, in fact, sometimes against their policies. The majority of labour migrants belong to the social group satisfied with their material situation: 60-80% of labour migrant families have ample means for all essentials, including food and clothing, and 30-50% do not have housing problems; 80% of migrant families describe their situation as "good and acceptable". These numbers are more or less even across the surveyed CIS countries. They tend to be 3-4 times higher as compared to the overall population of CIS states (Fig. 10).

Figure 10. Estimation of welfare level by host community and labour migrants in Russia 2000 (in per cent)



Thanks to their labour migration experiences, every third in Moscow and Almaty and every second in Moldova and other cities in Russia household improved their housing situations. Every third to fourth labour migrant supports or provides regular help to their grown-up children and parents. In Armenia, a country with the most difficult economic problems, many families were saved from starvation and poverty through commercial and labour migration.

Commercial and labour migration becomes a major business and market relations training ground for the populations of the new independent countries. Every fifth household in Russia and 8% and 12% of households in Moldova and Armenia respectively were able to use migrants' earnings to start their own businesses, and a smaller number of households expanded their family businesses. Every fifth enterprise in Uzbekistan was established with the aid of migrants' earnings.^{xxiv} Migrants have succeeded in creating cross-border partner networks of buyers and suppliers; they have acquired business skills and self-confidence.

The transnational labour migration facilitates the CIS countries' integration into international labour market, as many of their nationals get exposed to the different codes of conduct, work methods and cultures, as well as the various market risks. Labour migration changes people's lifestyles, as many learn to absorb cross-cultural innovations and improve their living conditions by gaining access to paid health care services, quality vacationing, and fee-paying educational facilities for their children. Visiting foreign countries is a major educational experience (in particular, female migrants). Labour migration contributes greatly to women's empowerment.

IRREGULAR LABOUR MIGRATION

Labour migration uses predominantly unofficial channels, and is therefore the main driving force for irregular migration in the CIS region. The most important reason for irregular migration spreading within the region includes economic crisis, unemployment and low living standards in the majority of CIS states. Of irregular migrants in Russia, only 30% had permanent employment in their native countries, and 16% were employed on a temporary basis. This situation makes people move to other countries in search of jobs, predominately in the shadow sector, and quite often they are involved in criminal activities. Other reasons for irregular migration are the CIS labour markets' huge shadow sector; inadequate migration and labour legislation, and a lack of coordination between the countries in this area; bureaucratic law-enforcement practices; corruption among executing structures; and disregard of the labour migration management by the CIS states.

The principal risks related to labour migration are closely related to its narrow legal framework within the CIS countries, especially in Russia. Imperfect legislation leads to exploitation by employers, and discrimination against migrants in labour relations (leading to unofficial employment, low pay, poor working conditions). This also pushes migrants to irregular employment, and makes labour migration one of the most corrupt sectors of social life. Migrants face corruption and fraud at every stage of the migration process, including recruitment agencies, border crossings, employment, payment for labour by an employer, and remittances. This complicates employment artificially, and it favours the business of "black mediators". It also provokes competition between migrants and local labour force. Migrants occupy some 30% of workplaces that could have been occupied by local laborers, which promotes an increase in anti-immigrant sentiments.

The spread of irregular migration in the region is accompanied by the rise in criminal activities. Those countries that experience an influx of irregular migrants also face an increase in corruption and organized crime. Irregular migration in the region has turned into a well-organized and extremely profitable business.

Human trafficking

Human trafficking is one of the most savage and cynical kinds of organized businesses in the area of irregular migration, as it deals with sexual exploitation of women and children. In Central Asia, it also and more frequently deals with men, who are sold into slave labour. The problem of trafficking in young girls and women, in particular from Moldova and Ukraine to Russia, has become increasingly important, and has taken on a criminal character. However, research studies show that up to 50% of women are aware of the hidden intentions when working with such groups, and are ready to work as prostitutes for the simple reason that they have no other source of income in their native country. They hope for the best, although they quite often hear about the tragedies that happen to girls who fall into the hands of those operating this lucrative business.

Trafficking in women to countries other than the CIS is increasing. This fact has been confirmed by statistics on criminal groups and on traffickers involved in organizing the trade in women. According to Belarus Ministry of Interior data, 40 groups of this sort were

apprehended in 1999, while 140 were apprehended in 2000. In Ukraine, 3,223 smugglers of migrants were arrested in 1999, and 3,739 in 2000.

Data on the deportation of women – CIS citizens - from some countries could serve as another indicator showing the scope of this phenomenon. In 2000, Turkey alone deported 6,600 Moldova citizens, of which 70% were girls and young women working in the sexual services. There are also direct estimates of the scale of trafficking in women. According to IOM data in Tajikistan, in the year 2000 some 1,000 women were trafficked from the country, predominantly to Arab Emirates and Turkey, explicitly for sexual exploitation. According to the estimates from the Kazakhstan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, tens of thousands of women have been trafficked abroad. IOM estimates that in Kazakhstan in 1999 alone some 5,000 women were trafficked out of the country.^{xxv} It's estimated that some 50,000 women from Russia are involved into illegal sex business in Western countries, and equally as many in China and South-Eastern Asia. In 2000, in Ukraine 3,298 women were recorded as victims of trafficking.

Central Asia has become a rapidly growing donor for the trafficking business. A survey conducted by the NGO “Crisis Center for Women and Children” in the city of Almaty in 1999-2000 pointed the instability of women's situation: two-thirds changed jobs during the recent five years, every fourth woman experienced involuntary unemployment, and every third woman was ready for temporary or permanent migration.^{xxvi}

Drug trafficking

Drug traffickers use established channels of irregular migration for drug smuggling. The majority of routes for trafficking in drugs come from Afghanistan, the world's number one producer of heroin; they transit Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Kazakhstan heading towards Russia; and then go onwards to the West. By Russian border services' data, more than 90% of the drugs seized at the state borders in 1999 were on the border with Kazakhstan. Citizens of CIS states are actively involved in this business, and for some of them it is their only source of income.

It should be noted that despite a widespread view that labour migration networks do not coincide with the routes of criminal migration (including trafficking in drugs). . The two flows coincide only occasionally, and as a rule they are brought together by random factors. For instance, labour migrants could be commissioned on a one-time basis to smuggle a small lot of drugs as payment in exchange for migration services and employment in a country of destination.

The spread of irregular migration provokes a rise in criminal activities in the CIS region. Irregular labour migrants contribute to an increase in criminality inside CIS countries through involvement of the local population in organized smuggling of new migrants. The irregular status of migrants and their legal vulnerability generates crimes against the migrants themselves, such as racketing and corruption. Every sixth irregular labour migrant has had a conflict with racketeers and gangsters of various sorts, and has suffered as a result.

Irregular employment of migrants

The economies of receiving countries suffer because irregular migrants don't observe tax laws. The number of violations of this sort is increasing, especially in the area of cash turnover as a result of irregular migrants' commercial activity. Irregular migration promotes maintenance and development of illegal, uncontrolled economic sectors, for both labour and goods. There is a great demand for an irregular labour force, cheap and obedient, in industries like construction, agriculture, entertainment and services; employers do not bear any responsibility for the migrants' social protection or observance of their human rights.

The employers in receiving countries, Russia above all, have gotten accustomed to employing migrants instead of local labourers, and to working outside the legal frames. They get an inexpensive labour force, do not need to pay social transfers, and evade taxes. This extralegal model is established and reproduced, and it assures the continued employment of exclusively irregular labour migrants.

Irregular labour migrants are cheap, and therefore compete successfully in the labour market with local labourers. They also cause a downward trend in average remuneration of labour in some industries, thus lowering living standards of the host population, or at least hampering their growth. According to sociological surveys, approximately 50% of workplaces occupied by irregular labour migrants in receiving countries are specifically intended for migrants, i. e. they are "reserved" for migrants for years, while the rest of the workplaces are so-called competitive, and are subject to competition with local labourers. Moreover, irregular labour migration is quite often connected to the smuggling business and other shadow businesses.

Health problems

Irregular labour migration is closely connected to real threats to the health of both migrants and host community. Irregular labour migrants do not pass any medical checkups and have minimal access to a medical care. By sociological surveys, less than 20% of labour migrants have access to a free medical care; about 20% use paid medical services; approximately as many obtain medical service through their friends and acquaintances; and more than 40% exercise self-treatment. Over 80% of irregular labour migrants do not have paid sick leave, even though their health is vulnerable due to poor living conditions, bad work conditions and overexploitation. Many labour migrants arrive from countries with bad sanitary-epidemiological conditions. The host community also faces a danger to health as irregular migrants often saturate markets with goods that do not fit sanitary standards.

The rise in irregular labour migration is also accompanied by the establishment of isolated ethnic communities, which do not follow the host population's ethnic, cultural and religious traditions. Quite often members of these communities integrate poorly into the host community, and often try to force their own values on receiving society. The activities of these ethnic communities are completely disregarded by state policy. The results are an aggravation of social climate and inter-ethnic tension in some CIS countries as well as in rise in extremist nationalistic groups.

Living conditions and rights of labour migrants

A legal status does not secure normal living and work conditions, such as access to social protection, for labour migrants. Sociological surveys show that legal labour migrants frequently live in harsh conditions. They often live on the territory of the enterprise where they are employed, several persons sharing one room with no place to bathe, cook, or wash. As a rule, they do not have medical or pension insurance. However, they can walk along the streets without fear at least - their faces are fatigued but not scared.

The situation of irregular labour migrants is much worse. By the sociological surveys, only 25% of irregular labour migrants have a written contract with an employer. A lack of formal agreement means the migrant labourers suffer from poor social and individual protection. Informal agreements are spread over the entire chain of migration: obtaining pre-departure information about migration options, job hunting, finding housing possibilities, medical care and access to schools for the children. Migrants employed in the informal sector are deprived of basic rights, and are vulnerable to any violations of the labour agreement. Exploitation is wide-spread: more than 24% of labour migrants are compelled to work overtime and weekends, some 30% are paid insufficiently or not at all, about 20% are compelled to perform additional work that is outside of their prescribed duties, and some 80% have no paid leave.

The most difficult problems of migrants include legalization, separation from their families, an absence of medical assistance, and poor accommodation. This is all accompanied by integration difficulties, the negative attitude of authorities, and intolerance from the host community. Some 50% of irregular migrants try to avoid public areas as often as possible in order to avoid encounters with law-enforcement officials and the hostile attitude of the host community. Only a minority (less than 10%) approach law-enforcement officials in the case their rights are violated.

The integration of migrants into the host community is a complicated social process that requires the creation of special programmes by the receiving countries. However, *none of the CIS states has made integration of labour migrants the subject of state policy.* The large extent to which informal relations in the process of migration and employment are spread in the CIS states shows the weakness and the lack of coordination of the countries' policies with regard to interstate labour migration.

The policies of CIS states

Within the CIS, the first attempt to establish a common labour market and to coordinate the policy in the area of labour migration and social protection of working migrants was made as early as 1994, when the "Agreement on Cooperation in the Area of Labour Migration and Social Protection of Migrant Workers" was signed. This agreement regulated procedures of recruitment, taxation, social security and medical care for migrant workers. It also included provisions for mutual recognition of diplomas and prior work service. The agreement envisaged that the number of legal foreign workers would be established on the basis of bilateral treaties between CIS countries. These treaties made provisions for authorities of the states to establish an annual quota for foreign labour migrants, or to introduce it if the labour market situation changes. However, the practice of establishing quotes on a basis of bilateral agreements has not even started.

Despite appeals to integration, no common labour market or even mutually compatible legal area exists within the CIS frameworks. All member states adhere to the principle of protecting their internal labour markets. Migration legislation is not always up to international standards, and is characterized by inadequacy, contradictions and a complex normative and legal basis.

In 1998, the CIS states signed a multilateral agreement to cooperate on countering irregular migration. The agreement laid down provisions for an information exchange among member countries, and it also listed the types of information and responsible state structures. However for the time being, none of the CIS states have the necessary information database at their disposal.

A rise in irregular migration is considered by CIS states as a threat to national security, and it is a permanent subject of their concern. From 1998 through 2000, the CIS states took some steps to delimitate borders and to strengthen border control, and to limit free movement across borders. As a result, by late 1999 the Bishkek Agreement had virtually ceased; this 1992 Agreement established an open migration regime on the basis of a free visa movement in the region. Many countries withdrew from the agreement, including Russia as the main receiving country. Following the 1999 agreement failure, the establishment of a free visa regime became possible within more narrow frameworks, such as the EURASEC framework or on the basis of bilateral agreements.

The development of national legislation in many member countries also moved towards stricter regulations, and as a result ceased to reflect agreements concluded earlier within the CIS. New immigration legislation in Russia -- "Law on the Legal Status of Foreign Citizens on the Territory of the Russian Federation", effective as of 2002 introduced complicated procedures for legalizing sojourn/residence. The legal employment of migrants requires a long time, and an enormous amount of paperwork both for migrants and for employers. This law also limits the freedom of movement for labour migrants on the territory of Russia. Due to this new legislation, an employer's procedures to obtain a permit to recruit a foreign labourer and then issue a work permit takes an average of six months. The law has limited the possibilities for legal residence of foreign labour migrants on the territory of the RF as well as their legal employment by employers. And no special preference has been provided for migrants from the CIS states.

In autumn 2002, new amendments were put into RF legislation that made employers more responsible for the illegal recruitment of foreign migrant workers, and increased the penalty by a factor of one hundred. However the procedures of registration and obtaining a work permit were not simplified. Such a paradigm of migration policy with respect to labour migration from the CIS states is particularly problematic because of the increasing rise in irregular migration and corruption. This sort of policy does not promote integration processes within the CIS region.

The choice of such a paradigm by receiving countries is largely explained by the lack of conceptual political and economic approaches to labour migration and its related benefits and threats for both the whole country and specific territories. It is partially connected to a lack of adequate methods to evaluate labour markets, including those on a regional level. The objective factor that hinders development of interstate labour migration in the CIS states is an underdeveloped housing markets in receiving countries, i. e. a civilized system of municipal rent or apartment hotels that could solve a problem with accommodation for migrants.

Ways to improve situation

In recent years, most of the CIS states have demonstrated a desire to participate in the migration dialogue and to cooperate. This shows recognition on their part that interstate labour migration problems in the region cannot be solved on a unilateral basis, and it requires joint efforts. The following steps are necessary: coordination and harmonization of the countries' policy, legislation and proceedings; establishment of an information exchange system that can track labour markets; development of a common institutional basis for regulating interstate labour migration; elaboration of an effective system on countering irregular migration and trafficking in human beings.

An informative, but not permissive, employment procedure for labour migrants from the CIS states should be introduced to develop a common labour market within the CIS that promotes the long-term development of both the region and the individual countries. As a first step, this problem could be solved within the frameworks of more narrow integration coalitions, such as the Common Economic Area (CEA) and Eurasian-Asian Economic Community (EURASEC).

Migration policy should address the following goals: to resolve interstate labour migration problems; to develop legal opportunities for migration and employment; to guarantee social and labour conditions to migrants equal to the citizens of the host country; and to combine the economic expediency of recruiting foreign labour with measures to protect internal labour markets.

CIS receiving countries can take some measures on expanding the legal area for labour migration, such as legalization (granting amnesty to migrants), and giving priority to labour migrants from CIS states who are residing and working long-term in another CIS state. In fact, a Working Group has been established in Russia under the Apparatus of the Plenipotentiary on Human Rights in the RF that is now preparing proposals on migration amnesty, including for labour migrants.

Governments should pay special attention to the following unresolved problems: providing labour migrants with guarantees on remuneration; providing them with accommodation for temporary residence; making medical care and social insurance available; and granting them the possibility to join trade unions. In Russia, a public organization was established in 2004, called "Workers Trade Union for Enterprises and Organizations Using a Foreign Labour Force", with the goal of lobbying for all of these issues on the state level and protecting rights of migrant workers.

One of the important tasks in the area of the CIS migration legislation is not only adopting new laws but also developing practical mechanisms for implementing legislation currently in force. A lack of mechanisms and imperfect mechanisms leads to neglecting existing legislation, as well as a lack of coordination among state entities. For instance, legislative provisions on expulsion and deportation are not implemented in practice. A lack of necessary legal framework, or an imperfect one, is one of the reasons that efficiency of control over irregular migration is so low.

IRREGULAR MIGRATION FROM NON-CIS COUNTRIES AND TRANSIT TO THE WEST

Problems related to irregular migration from the CIS states to Western countries take on special significance due to their increase in scale, the difficulties in regulation, and the close connection with asylum. This category of migrants is always searching out new ways, means and channels for illegal border crossing, and the CIS region is one of the routes for irregular transit migration. A large part of irregular migration to the region is spontaneous or organized transit to Western Europe, USA and Canada. This reflects the general migration situation, and the problems of stability and security in the originating countries. Irregular migration in the CIS has therefore become recently a subject to concern to many countries and the international community.

According to data on the number of trespassers, the majority of irregular migrants from countries other than former USSR are citizens of Bangladesh, Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, Vietnam and China. Citizens of Afghanistan make the greatest number of illegal border crossings, particularly into the Central Asian countries of Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan, although Belarus, Russia and Ukraine are used as transit routes to Central and Western Europe as well. In Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, the majority of irregular migrants-trespassers are Afghan citizens; in Armenia, they are citizens of India and Sri Lanka. Azerbaijan is used by Afghans and Iraqi Kurds for transit as well.

There are differences between the citizenship of irregular migrants who are resident and the citizenship of irregular migrants who are apprehended at the borders. In particular, Chinese citizens are the largest group of foreigners in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Russia. In Russia, the authorities are also concerned with the presence of irregular migrants from Vietnam and North Korea, the majority of whom are irregular labour migrants and small traders who entered the country legally, and who do not consider Russia as a transit route for further migration to the West.

Except for Afghans, Chinese, Mongols and Koreans, the overwhelming majority of irregular migrants (between 75% and 100%) enter CIS states not directly from their own countries, but through several transit countries. Afghans, Chinese, Mongols and Koreans more often enter Russia, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan directly from their home countries. Approximately 25% of Afghans reach Central Asian countries of the CIS through Iran and Pakistan, although a few of them also go through India. Another sizeable flow of transit migrants from the Middle East uses the sea route through Turkey on the way to Russia and Ukraine. The principal routes of irregular migration to the CIS led to Russia, or use Russia as a transit country. However, experts have recorded that irregular migration flows from Southeast Asia to Central and Western Europe had partially changed their transit routes to favor Turkey, Ukraine and Belarus, avoiding Russia.

A survey among irregular migrants apprehended in Belarus showed that the primary destinations for irregular transit migrants from countries other than former USSR traveling through the CIS states are Germany (65%), USA and Canada (15% each), France (9%), Belgium (6%), Holland (5%), Italy and Scandinavian countries.

Many migrants have lived in other ex-USSR countries, especially in Russia, Belarus and Ukraine, for a long time. However, the national legislations and law-enforcement practices

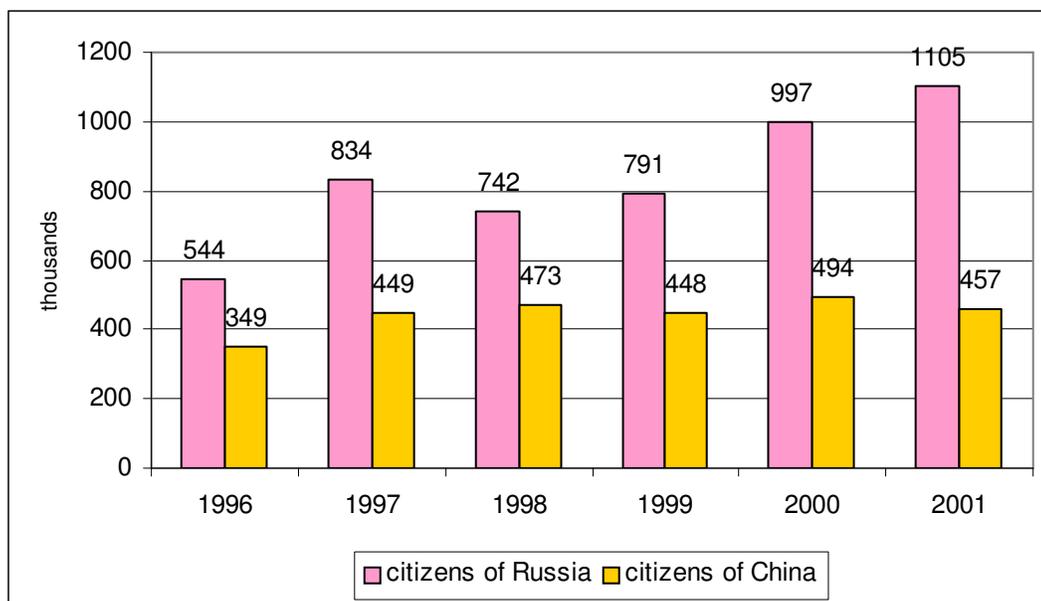
don't allow many of them to legalize their residence. At the same time, immigration policy and well-controlled borders of the Western countries prevent migrants from moving further to their destination, and a possible threat to life or a lack of funds prevents them from returning to their home countries. For example, up to 5,500 irregular immigrants are apprehended at the Ukrainian borders, while according to estimates by the Ukrainian Ministry of Interior, from 20,000 to 30,000 foreign citizens reside in the country illegally, including about 15,000 in the city of Kiev alone.^{xxvii}

The number of irregular migrants from countries other than former USSR residing on the territory of the CIS is often grossly overestimated. Realistic estimates of their numbers are quite modest. For instance, Russia, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan are seriously concerned with the demographic pressure of Chinese living near their border regions. The second concern is related to the high level of unemployment in China, and the imbalance between the size of the population and China's national resource potential. The number of Chinese in Russia is often estimated as a total of 2 million persons, thus leading to the phantom of a "yellow threat". Meanwhile, real estimates based on a research monitoring provide the figure of 250-400 thousand individuals, the overwhelming majority of them small traders, restaurant workers, construction, agriculture and timber operation workers. The population census conducted in 2002 in Russia showed 35,000 Chinese residing permanently in the RF.

The problem of Chinese migration is especially relevant to the Russia's Far East due to immense internal migration outflow. 17% of the population left the Far East from 1989 through 2003, and the region has to recruit a foreign labour force. In 2003, some 48,300 foreign labourers were recruited officially in the Far East region, including 20,600 from China, 7,200 from North Korea and 13.5 thousand from other CIS countries. It is possible to follow the dynamics of the foreign labour market by looking at the Khabarovsk region. In 2003, the number of Chinese citizens recruited in the region increased to 14,000 from 1,000 in 1999; citizens of North Korea - to 8,000 from 1,000; and Vietnamese - to 3,200 from 300. The overwhelming majority of Chinese enter Russia as tourists, since this channel doesn't require a visa, and then they become engaged in various labour activities on Russian territory. Most therefore become irregular migrants who overstay their visas.

The people of the Far East are afraid of Chinese expansion, and two-thirds of respondents to a poll expressed concern. Some 30% oppose the idea of permitting Chinese to settle permanently in this region, or allowing them to purchase land or housing. The Chinese themselves consider their business in Russia to be profitable, and 30% would like to obtain a Russian citizenship or a permanent residence. It is worth noting that China has become a real migration partner of Russia, and the number of Russians crossing the Russian-Chinese border is actually twice as many as compared to Chinese (Fig. 11).

Fig. 11. Russia/China border crossings by Russian and Chinese citizens



In the future a rapid increase of Chinese immigration to Russia is highly probable due to a demographic crisis in Russia, as internal human resources of the CIS states are insufficient to meet the growing shortage of manpower in the labour market.

The principal reasons for a rise in irregular migration from the “far abroad” countries to the CIS states are geopolitical, internal political and socio-economic. The first reason is the geographical location of the CIS region between developed and developing countries that makes it a natural transit area for migrants traveling to the West from Southeast Asia, Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan and other countries. Central Asian states of the CIS and Russian Far East have become the main “gateway” for entry and transit of irregular migrants. Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova and the northwestern regions of Russia are considered by irregular migrants as one of the main transit routes to the West. Russia is located between the countries of origin and the countries of destination, and has become one of the main transit routes for irregular migration to the Western Europe. In addition, the unstable situation in developing countries favours the development of irregular migration through the CIS region. Civil wars, a rise in extremism, terrorist attacks and the inevitable responses to these challenges promote irregular migration pressures on the region.

An important reason for irregular migration spread in the region is a deterioration of technical equipment and a lack of staff on the ex-USSR border in CIS countries with poor economies. The inadequate legislation and the “transparency” of internal borders inside the region, particular the Russia-Ukraine and Russia-Kazakhstan borders, also contributes to the irregular migration. Finally, a lack of coordination of visa regimes and legislation on the status of foreigners within the CIS is also part of the problem. Thus, several member states, namely Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Turkmenistan have unilaterally adopted a simplified procedure for admitting third-country nationals.

INTEGRATION OUTLINE

Demographic determinants

As of 1 January 2003, the population of the CIS totaled 281.4 million. By 2025 it is expected to be 283.6 million, according to the UN population forecast (medium variant). However, the demographic situation within CIS countries differs greatly. Since 1992, the most populated countries such as Russia and Ukraine have been experiencing a natural population decline, and this trend is likely to continue. By 2025 the population of these countries is anticipated to decrease by 6%, or 8.6 million in Russia and 2.7 million in Ukraine (Table 6).

Table 6. Population of CIS countries*

	Population, thousand		Growth 2025/2003 %	Below 15, %	65 and older %	Urban population %
	2003	2025				
C. I. S.	281,4	283,6	101			
<i>Western region</i>						
Belarus	9,9	9,4	95	18	14	70
Moldova	4,3	4,6	107	22	10	46
Russia	145,5	136,9	94	18	13	73
Ukraine	47,8	45,1	94	17	14	67
<i>Transcaucasia</i>						
Armenia	3,2	3,4	106	24	10	65
Azerbaijan	8,2	9,7	118	29	6	63
Georgia	4,7	3,9	83	20	14	52
<i>Central Asia</i>						
Kazakhstan	14,8	14,7	99	29	7	56
Kyrgyzstan	5,0	6,4	128	35	6	34
Tajikistan	6,6	8,6	130	42	4	25
Turkmenistan	5,7	7,7	135	38	4	45
Uzbekistan	25,7	33,2	129	38	4	37

*All data correct for middle of 2003, except population for 2025.

Sources: 2003 World Population Data Sheet, Population Reference Bureau, Washington (www.prb.org); UN World population projections to 2050, New York, 1998 – World Population Prospects: The 2002 Revision (<http://esa.un.org/unpp/>).

However, the UN population forecast for Russia in fact looks optimistic compared to what Russian demographers themselves predict. They predict that Russia will suffer the same population decrease, but by 2015, i. e. many years earlier^{xxviii}. By 2025, the projected population of Russia will be 12% less than the present. At the same time, the working-age population will decrease by 21%. In order to offset a natural decline of the working-age population, Russia would need to receive 1 million people annually from 2011-2015, and 1.5 million people a year in the long run. It is obvious that Russia will need large-scale immigration. Russia is already facing a growing demand for foreign labour. Statistics show that while 6% of Russia's enterprises experienced labour shortages in 2001, that figure

increased to 27% in 2002. The situation in Ukraine is no better; in the post-Soviet period its population has been decreased by 4 million or 7.7%, including a natural population decline of 3.2 million. Such a population decrease is also anticipated in Belarus, Georgia and Kazakhstan; however, the labour markets of Russia and Ukraine are the largest and therefore the most affected.

At the same time, Central Asian countries will face rapid population growth due to high fertility. By 2025, the population of these countries is anticipated to increase by 30% or 13 million; out of them 7.5 million will be in Uzbekistan. Azerbaijan will also see rapid population growth. All of these countries are interested in and are working towards increasing labour emigration. Thus, labour markets of the CIS states are complementary. It is an important prerequisite and a powerful incentive to integration processes.

Countries experiencing a shortage of manpower, specifically Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia and Ukraine, are actively discussing a number of issues within the framework of the Common Economic Area: free movement across the borders of member countries, easy employment of labour force, greater labour force mobility, and more efficient usage of the labour force. Russia recently simplified the Russia-Ukraine border crossing and the employment of Ukrainian nationals, which are good indications of this process.

Migration management measures

Despite all efforts, CIS states for the time being are unable to take into consideration mutual interests when responding to migration challenges and regulating border movements effectively. Migration trends clearly show a reduction of recorded migration flows among the countries, as well as stagnation in recruitment of foreign labour force, and a rise in irregular (unregistered) labour immigration and emigration. Consequently, measures taken by CIS states are inefficient. The situation with registering migrants in Russia is a good example. By law, a person who enters Russia must obtain registration in their place of residence within a three-day period. In reality only one person in six does so within a one-month period, and 25% avoid the procedure entirely, preferring to pay penalties if caught. The situation is no better with the legal employment procedure.

For regulation to be more efficient within the CIS, doctrinal approaches must be coordinated, then legislation and law enforcement. Nearly all member states have developed their migration policy concepts, and many use the consultative assistance of the IOM. Even at this stage, however, differences in the approaches to problems of external migration are evident. For instance, external migration is seen as repatriation of ethnic Kazakhs in Kazakhstan; as shuttle migration in Kyrgyzstan; as a mean to supply construction workers and wage labourers in Tajikistan; and as emigration and trafficking in human beings in Uzbekistan.

As member countries have different interpretations of terminology and concepts, there are serious problems when developing practical measures on implementation as well as in concluding bilateral and multilateral agreements. *It is necessary to take adequate measures to expand the legal possibilities for legitimate employment, including simplification of legal recruitment procedures.* This is especially important for Russia and Kazakhstan. In Russia, where the largest number of irregular migrants is concentrated, a large-scale immigration

amnesty is needed and urgent, with the goal of legalizing immigrants and securing protection of human rights for migrant workers.

Contradictions in the normative and legislative basis that impede the achievement of mutual interests should be eliminated. Proper development and coordination of interstate migration legislation reduces the migration risks, improves migrants' situation, and eases their confrontation with host communities, thereby promoting successful integration. Only common efforts can result in the successful provision of human rights to migrant workers, which will help to counter transnational crime, including traffic in drugs, traffic in human beings, irregular migration, and arms smuggling.

ⁱ Data on migration between the CIS countries is given according to: *Migration Trends in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. 2001-2002 Review*, International Organization for Migration, 2002, if other sources are not specified.

ⁱⁱ *Migration Trends in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. 2001-2002 Review*. p. 97.

ⁱⁱⁱ The estimates are approximate, which is explained by the incomplete records of emigrants. There are no data on Georgia, no data on Tajikistan since 1997 are available and no data on Moldova since 1998. Information about some countries (Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan) is published irregularly.

^{iv} Ye. Yu Sadovskaya. *Migratsiya v Kazakhstane na rubezhe XXI veka: osnovniye tendentsii i perspektivy* (Migration in Kazakhstan at the Turn of the 21st Century: Main Trends and Prospects), Alma-Ata, 2001, p. 27.

^v Regional Conference to address the problems of refugees, displaced persons, other forms of involuntary displacement and returnees in the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States and relevant neighboring states, held in Geneva, Switzerland, May 30-31, 1996, under the joint auspices of UNHCR, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

^{vi} Citizens of Russia who have left CIS countries and the Baltic states for Russia because of threatening circumstances, discrimination in respect of rights, etc. , and also internally displaced persons are eligible for the status of "forced immigrant".

^{vii} A. S. Yunusov. "Armyano-azerbaidzhansky konflikt: migratsionny aspekt" (Armenian-Azerbaijani Conflict: Migration-related aspect). In: *Migratsionnaya situatsiya v stranakh SNG* (Migration Situation in the CIS Countries), Moscow, Komplex-Progress Publishing House, 1999, pp. 77-89.

^{viii} *Migration Trends in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. 2001-2002 Review*, pp. 66-68.

^{ix} *Informatsionno-statistichesky sbornik FMS MVD Rossii* (Information and Statistics Collection of the Federal Migration Service of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia), 2002, No. 1, p. 53.

^x These are mainly persons who were granted the status from 1992 through 1997, when the categories of forced immigrants and refugees were not separated and refugee certificates were issued to persons arriving from the CIS.

^{xi} In this section, the findings of sociological surveys conducted by the Center for Migration Studies in various cities of Russia in 1999, 2002 and 2004 are used.

^{xii} *TsIRKON. Migratsiya: faktor obshchestvennykh nastryeniy. Analitichesky obzor* (TsIRKON Research Group. Migration: Factor of Public Sentiments. An analytical overview), Moscow, 2002. The data are given with reference to VTsIOM (the Russian Center for Public Opinion and Market Research).

^{xiii} Estimates without indication of the source have been received on the basis of sociological surveys on labour migration done by the Center for Migration Studies in 2001-2002 in Russia and other CIS countries. They are likely to be reliable as they are based on information from countries-exporters and importers of labour migrants. In this report the data of sociological survey was used that included a poll among more than 3,000 irregular migrants in Russia. The survey was conducted by the IOM Moscow Migration Research Programme in 2002.

^{xiv} *Naseleniye Ukraini. 2002. Ezhegodnyy Demographicheskiy Doklad* (Population of Ukraine. 2002. Annual demographic review). Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences. Institute for Demographic and Sociological Studies of the UNAS. Ukrainian State Committee on Statistics. Kiev. 2002. Pp. 128, 129.

^{xv} V. G. Moshnyaga. "Regulirovaniye trudovoi migratsii v Respublike Moldova: sostoyaniye I osnovniye etapy" (Regulation of Labour Migration in the Republic of Moldova: Current status and main stages). In: *Trudovaya migratsiya v SNG: sotsialnye I ekonomicheskiye efekty* (Labour Migration in the CIS: Social and economic impact). Moscow, 2003. Pp. 159-167.

^{xvi} S. Pirozhkov, E. Malinovskaya, A. Khomra. *Vneshniye trudoviye migratsii v Ukraine: socialno-ekonomicheskiy aspekt* (External Labour Migrations in Ukraine: Socio-Economic Aspect). Council on National Security and Defense of Ukraine. National Institute on International Security Problems. Kiev, 2003. P. 14.

^{xvii} Estimates on Central Asian countries are given by: *Labour Migration from Tajikistan*. International Organization for Migration in cooperation with the Sociological Service Center Shark. 2003.

^{xviii} V. P. Sherbakov, General Secretary, Confederation of Trade Unions. Report from the seminar on the problems of migrants workers in the CIS states held on 2 November 2004.

^{xix} L. Maksakova. *Migratsiya naseleniya: problemy regulirovaniya* (Migration of the Population: Regulation problems). Tashkent. 2001, p. 107.

^{xx} *Rynok truda v Respublike Moldova* (Labour Market in the Republic of Moldova). Economic and Social Yearbook. Chisinau. 2003, p. 278.

^{xxi} V. P. Sherbakov refers to all remittances as if sent from Russia but more likely these are remittances by all labour migrants. It is proved by data on Azerbaijan that is also confirmed by Azerbaijani sources but refer to remittances from all world countries.

^{xxii} See endnote 13.

^{xxiii} *Labour Migration from Tajikistan*. International Organization for Migration in cooperation with the Sociological Service Center Shark. 2003.

^{xxiv} L. Maksakova. "Migratsiya i ryok truda v Uzbekistane" (Migration and Labour Market in Uzbekistan). In: *Migratsiya i ryok truda v stranakh Sredney Asii* (Migration and Labour Market in Central Asian Countries). Materials from the regional seminar held on 11-12 October 2001 in the city of Tashkent. Moscow-Tashkent. 2002, p. 21.

^{xxv} E. U. Sadovskaya. *Migratsiya v Kazakhstane na rubezhe XXI veka* (Migration in Kazakhstan at the end of XX -- beginning of XXI Century). Almaty. 2001, p. 184.

^{xxvi} *Ibid*

^{xxvii} *Naseleniye Ukrainy* (Population of Ukraine). 2002. Pp. 138-139.

^{xxviii} *Naseleniye Rossii* (Population of Russia). Annual Demographic Review, Issue 10. Ed. By A. G. Vishnevskiy. Moscow. 2004.