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Population Mobility in the Commonwealth of Independent States: Whither Common Migration Policy?

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CARIM-East
Creating an Observatory of Migration East of Europe

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About the CARIM-East project:

This project is the first migration observatory focused on the Eastern Neighbourhood of the European Union and covers all countries of the Eastern Partnership initiative (Belarus, Ukraine, the Republic of Moldova, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan) and Russian Federation.
The project's two main themes are:
(1) migration from the region to the European Union (EU) focusing in particular on countries of emigration and transit on the EU's eastern border; and
(2) intra-regional migration in the post-Soviet space.
The project started on 1 April 2011 as a joint initiative of the European University Institute (EUI), Florence, Italy (the lead institution), and the Centre of Migration Research (CMR) at the University of Warsaw, Poland (the partner institution).
CARIM researchers undertake comprehensive and policy-oriented analyses of very diverse aspects of human mobility and related labour market developments east of the EU and discuss their likely impacts on the fast evolving socio-economic fabric of the six Eastern Partners and Russia, as well as that of the European Union.

In particular, CARIM-East:
• builds a broad network of national experts from the region representing all principal disciplines focused on human migration, labour mobility and national development issues (e.g. demography, law, economics, sociology, political science);
• develops a comprehensive database to monitor migration stocks and flows in the region, relevant legislative developments and national policy initiatives;
• undertakes, jointly with researchers from the region, systematic and ad hoc studies of emerging migration issues at regional and national levels;
• provides opportunities for scholars from the region to participate in workshops organized by the EUI and CMR, including academic exchange opportunities for PhD candidates;
• provides forums for national and international experts to interact with policymakers and other stakeholders in the countries concerned.
Results of the above activities are made available for public consultation through the website of the project: http://www.carim-east.eu/.

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Abstract

This working paper[1] reviews trends in population and labour migration between countries comprising the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and Georgia, which account for most of the population and territory of the former USSR (FUSSR). Although, CIS countries continue to experience problems with the availability and quality of their migration statistics, the paper draws on a variety of regional sources (e.g., population censuses, population registers and migrant surveys) to show the evolving migrant flows between these countries and the resultant changes in migrant stocks.

The paper also shows the evolution of the migration flows in the CIS region from those largely determined by the pre-1990 all-Union development objectives of the FUSSR, through population resettlements, which followed the collapse of the USSR in the early 1990s, to the market-influenced, intra-regional labour mobility of the 2000s. At present, the differentials in the level of economic development between CIS countries and the relatively high, by regional standards, level of wages in Russia determine the main directions of migration flows within the CIS region. These movements are dominated by temporary labour migration the scale of which has been large even during the Global Financial Crisis of the late 2000s. Thus, 25 years after the breakup of the Soviet Union, Russia continues to be the main magnet for intraregional migration flows, although Kazakhstan is becoming more and more attractive as a receiving country.

Last but not least, the paper also discusses successive attempts to create the common, all-CIS migration policy by member states, areas of policy convergence and impediments to achieving the more coordinated approach to the regulation of population mobility and, especially, labour flows within the region.

Streszczenie

Niniejsze opracowanie[2] dotyczy trendów demograficznych i migracyjnych na terytorium krajów członkowskich Wspólnoty Niepodległych Państw (WNP) i Gruzji, czyli na obszarze skupiającym większość ludności i powierzchni byłego ZSRR. Chociaż w krajach WNP nadal występują problemy z dostępnością i jakością statystyki migracyjnej, tekst został oparty na różnorodnych regionalnych źródłach informacji (w tym: spisach powszechnych, rejestrach ludności i sondażach migracyjnych), co ma na celu pokazanie zmian w przepływach ludności między tymi krajami i zmian w zasobach migracyjnych.

W opracowaniu przedstawiono też ewolucję przepływów migracyjnych na obszarze WNP, od tych, które w dużej mierze zależały od celów rozwojowych całego ZSRR przed 1990 r., przez przesiedlenia ludności, które nastąpiły po upadku ZSRR na początku lat 1990., do wewnątrzregionalnej migracji ekonomicznej w latach 2000., wynikającej z uwarunkowań rynkowych. Obecnie różnice w poziomie rozwoju gospodarczego między krajami WNP są relatywnie duże, według standardów regionalnych, a poziom wynagrodzeń w Rosji determinuje główne kierunki migracyjne w regionie WNP. Ruchy te są zdominowane przez migrację zarobkową o charakterze tymczasowym, której skala pozostała duża nawet podczas globalnego kryzysu finansowego w końcu lat 2000. W ten sposób, 25 lat po rozpadzie Związku Radzieckiego, Rosja jest nadal głównym obszarem docelowym dla wewnątrzregionalnych strumieni migracyjnych, chociaż coraz bardziej atrakcyjnym krajem przyjmującym staje się Kazachstan.

Last but not least, w tekście omówiono też kolejne próby stworzenia wspólnej dla wszystkich krajów WNP polityki migracyjnej, odwołującej się do państw członkowskich, obszarów konwergencji polityki i przeszkód na drodze do osiągnięcia bardziej skoordynowanego podejścia do prawa migracyjnego, w szczególności regulującego mobilność ekonomiczną wewnątrz regionu.

[1] The paper draws in part on Chudinovskikh, O. (2011) and an earlier paper presented by the author at a conference jointly organized by the European Commission and the OECD "Growing Free Labour Mobility Areas and International Migration", Brussels, 14-15 November 2011. The research leading to the reported results was partly funded under the European Community's Seventh Framework Programme (grant agreement No. 266864; Project SEARCH).

[2] Opracowanie częściowo opiera się na: Chudinovskikh, O. (2011) oraz wcześniejszym referacie prezentowanym przez autorkę podczas konferencji organizowanej wspólnie przez Komisję Europejską i OECD "Growing Free Labour Mobility Areas and International Migration", Bruksela, 14-15 listopada 2011 r. Badania, z których pochodzą prezentowane wnioski, były częściowo finansowane w ramach 7. Programu Ramowego Komisji Europejskiej (grant agreement Nr 266864; Projekt SEARCH).

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Introduction

When reviewing the current migration situation in countries that emerged following the collapse of the Soviet Union it should be remembered that all these states are former Soviet republics that were parts of a single national entity: the USSR. Thus, during the Soviet era, all migrations between these republics were internal rather than international: all intra-USSR migrants were Soviet citizens who moved within the boundaries of the same sovereign state. The Russian language was the common, official language of the USSR.

This shared Soviet legacy is still clearly visible today as personal ties between residents of the new states continue to be maintained, the Russian language continues to be widely used throughout the area, and there is a vast diaspora comprising people coming from various parts of the former Soviet Union. In particular, a common language endures, albeit on a smaller scale, as in most newly independent states the Russian language is no longer the official national language, is taught less frequently in schools, and has ceased to be used as the principal language of instruction in all tertiary educational institutions.

This working paper reviews trends in population and labour migration between members of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and Georgia, which comprise most of the population and territory of the former USSR (FUSSR). It aims to show the changing migrant flows within the region and the resultant changes in migrant stocks. It tracks the evolution of migration flows within the CIS region from the Soviet era to the population resettlement following the collapse of the USSR in the early 1990s, and then to the market-driven, intra-regional labour mobility of the 2000s. The paper also discusses successive attempts to create the common, all-of-CIS migration policy by the Russian Federation and other CIS member states. It highlights the areas of policy convergence and impediments to achieving a more coordinated approach to the regulation of intra-regional population mobility and, especially, obstacles to more orderly and efficient control of labour flows within the region.

1. Regional cross-border mobility of people since the late 1980s: A historic perspective

1.1 Migration in the FUSSR

The FUSSR was a relatively closed country in that population mobility, both external and to a large extent internal, was controlled by the state. With few exceptions, population movements into and out of the USSR were relatively insignificant.[3] In essence, until the collapse of the Soviet Union, the

[3]Between 1950 and the end of 1980s large-scale, international migrations were: the population exchange between Poland and the USSR in 1955-1958; the repatriation of Armenians to the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic before 1958; return emigration from China before 1961; and emigration to Israel in 1969-1975.

population of the FUSSR republics was changing due to natural increase and migration balance with the other Soviet republics.

To a large extent, the scale and directions of migrant flows in the FUSSR reflected the distribution of investments throughout the Union and, thus, strategic development and regional objectives of Soviet central planners. In many developing regions new jobs in priority industries had to be filled by migrants from other republics.[4] To meet these objectives well-paid jobs were often created where there were shortages of population (e.g., Far North and Siberia) or where local population lacked the necessary skills and qualifications (for example, in Central Asia). To a lesser extent, migrant flows also reflected the inter-republic differences in population growth rates and the quality of life.[5] However, not all migrant moves were centrally directed by economic and social planners: there was some scope for private decisions and, thus, some destinations were preferred to others. In the 1970s and 1980s, in addition to larger cities, the most attractive places to move to were the Baltic republics, the Black Sea coast of Ukraine and Russia, and the foothills of North Caucasus.

In the 1950-1960s considerable resources were invested in reconstruction and modernization of industry in Ukraine to rectify the damage incurred during WWII; in the development of heavy industry and agriculture of Kazakhstan; and in the construction of industrial facilities in the Central Asian and Baltic republics. At that time, Russia and Belarus were the main suppliers of labour to other republics. However, when the growing proportion of investments was directed to the development of sparsely populated areas in the Far North, Siberia, and the Far East, the migration inflow to Russia started to increase. In the mid-1970s, with the intensive development of oil and gas fields in Western Siberia, Russia became a focal point for migrants, in particular those from Ukraine. High demand for labour and government policies[6] encouraged people who had earlier left for Kazakhstan, the Caucasus, and Central Asia to return to Russia.

The 1989 census of population shows that more than 30 million people or 10.6 per cent of the USSR population resided in republics other than those they were born in (see Table 1). More than half (65%) of them resided in Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus and 67 per cent of the inter-republic migrants *originated* from these three republics. The largest proportion of population born in another republic was observed in Latvia, Estonia, Kazakhstan, and Armenia. Of the small number of non-native-born, inter-republic migrants in Central Asia, the majority resided mainly in urban areas and accounted for between a quarter and a half of the total urban population in these republics.

[4] For example, unlike the peoples of European origin, the indigenous peoples of Central Asia and Caucasus were in the early stages of demographic transition and urbanisation and, thus, were characterized by low spatial mobility and either unable or unwilling to take up new jobs.

[5] Significant variations in the quality of life (e.g., disposable income, access to social services, quality of public infrastructure) persisted between the republics even though the Soviet social and regional policies aimed at achieving greater equality of living standards between different parts of the country. To reduce inter-regional inequality, a proportion of the central budget was redistributed from the economically developed to the less developed republics.

[6] That offered financial inducements to those working in the Far North and equivalent priority areas established in 1960s.

Table 1 Distribution of the USSR population by republics of residence and birth - 1989, thousands

Republic	Population total (thousand)	Resident population born in			Resident population born in		
		republic of residence (thousand)	another republic (thousand)	abroad or not identified (thousand)	republic of residence (per cent)	another republic (per cent)	abroad or not identified (per cent)
Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic (RSFSR)	147,022.0	134,556	11,472.1	994.1	91.5	7.8	0.7
Ukraine	51,452.0	43,877.3	7,119.9	454.9	85.3	13.8	0.9
Belarus	10,151.8	8,828.2	1,268.5	55.1	87.0	12.5	0.5
Uzbekistan	19,810.1	18,055.6	1,701.6	52.8	91.1	8.6	0.3
Kazakhstan	16,464.5	12,500.8	3,749.8	213.8	75.9	22.8	1.3
Georgia	5,400.84	5,025.8	362.1	12.9	93.1	6.7	0.2
Azerbaijan	7,021.2	6,585.7	416.9	18.6	93.8	5.9	0.3
Lithuania	3,674.8	3,279.5	375.8	19.5	89.2	10.2	0.5
Moldova	4,335.4	3,721.6	596.3	17.5	85.8	13.8	0.4
Latvia	2,666.6	1,960.8	692.0	13.7	73.5	26.0	0.5
Kyrgyzstan	4,257.8	3,552.3	671.9	33.5	83.4	15.8	0.8
Tajikistan	5,092.6	4,640.3	442.8	9.4	91.1	8.7	0.2
Armenia*	3,304.8	2,103.2	734.4	467.2	63.6	22.2	14.1
Turkmenistan	3,522.7	3,197.7	317.9	7.1	90.8	9.0	0.2
Estonia	1,565.7	1,146.5	411.1	8.1	73.2	26.3	0.5
USSR total	285,742.5	253,031.0	30,333.1	2,378.4	88.6	10.6	0.8

Source: *1989 USSR Population Census* CD, East-View Publications/CIS Statistical Committee.
Note: *The Armenian statisticians consider these results flawed due to the incorrect count of refugees and internally displaced persons following the 1988 earthquake and the Karabakh conflict. Also, in 1950s, there was a significant inflow of Armenians from abroad to Armenia.

Shortly before the fall of the Iron Curtain the volume of emigration from the USSR had dramatically increased. It took the form of the mass return (repatriation) or emigration of German, Jewish, Greek, and other peoples to their historic homelands. The total number of emigrants who left the USSR in 1988-1990 was about 800 thousand. Large-scale migration to countries outside of the Soviet Union started to influence the demographic dynamics, especially in Soviet republics that had low fertility. The emigration from Russia in 1989-1990 was estimated at 16 per cent of the natural increase of the country's population during this period.

1.2 The breakup of the Soviet Union: The turbulent 1990s

Immediately after the breakup of the Soviet Union the volume and structure of interstate migrant flows within the area of the FUSSR significantly changed. Russia continued to be the major centre of attraction for hundreds of thousands of migrants - both permanent and temporary - from other former Soviet republics. According to Russian statistical sources,

about 6 million migrants from other republics of the FUSSR entered Russia between 1992 and 1999 (Rosstat data).

The observed increase in the volume of migration to Russia was partly due to the mass movement of refugees and displaced persons as a result of political tensions and ethnic conflicts that erupted during the late Soviet period. The first wave of refugees was caused by the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict (1987-1991). It was followed by ethnic armed conflicts in Central Asia: Fergana (Uzbekistan, 1989), Novy Uzen (Kazakhstan, 1989), and Osh (Kyrgyzstan, 1990). After the breakup of the Soviet Union a number of severe armed conflicts occurred: the Civil War in Georgia (1991-1993), the Nagorno-Karabakh War (1991-1994), the war in Abkhazia (1992-1993), the war in South Ossetia (1991-1992), the armed conflict in Transdniestria (1992), the civil war in Tajikistan (1992-1997), and the first Chechen war in Russia (1994-1996). The conflicts produced large movements of refugees. For example, the UNHCR estimated that the Karabakh war caused about 300 thousand refugees to flee to Armenia, about 230 thousand to Azerbaijan, and displaced internally nearly 570 thousand persons. Similarly, about 280 thousand people left the areas of ethnic conflicts in Georgia (UNHCR, 1994, 1995, 1996, 2000, 2007).

A number of political events that followed the declaration of independence of the former Soviet republics (e.g., the enactment of new state language laws) and the rise of local nationalism accelerated the repatriation of the Russian-speaking population from Kazakhstan, Central Asia, Caucasus, and Moldova to Russia, as well as to Ukraine and Belarus. The outflow peaked in 1992-1996. The Russian-speaking population included both the ethnic Russians and other Russian speakers, including indigenous peoples and members of ethnically mixed families for whom the Russian language was either their mother tongue or their day-to-day spoken language. In Russia, the number of people who were granted refugee-status as forced migrants from the former Soviet republics exceeded 1.3 million (Mkrtchyan, 2002). The departure of Russian-speaking population was also socially costly for the source countries. In the former Soviet republics of Transcaucasia and Central Asia the Russian-speaking population mainly comprised scientific and technical intelligentsia. As new, post-Soviet states asserted their sovereignty in the early 1990s and the Russian-speaking population migrated, the population of people of European origin in these regions dropped from tens down to few per cent.

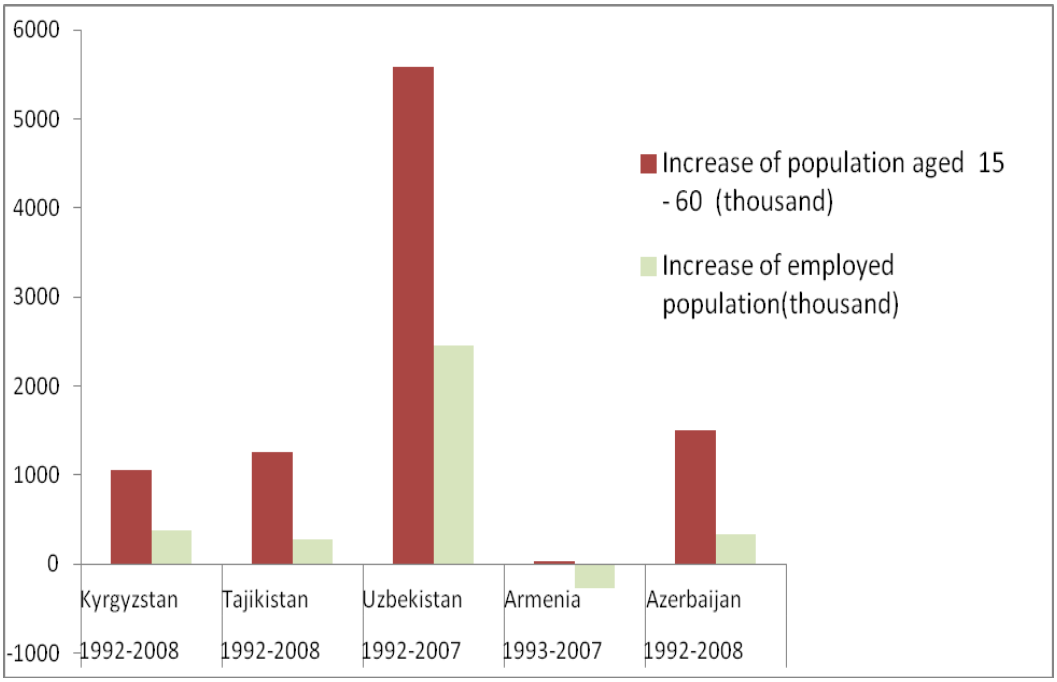
By 1992, the migrant inflow to Russia was also inflated by the returning Soviet Army servicemen, as units of the Soviet Army were disbanded in different parts of the FUSSR. The introduction of private property rights and the processes of privatization of housing, land, and

businesses prompted the return migration of those who had previously left to work in other Soviet republics. On the other hand, due to the higher cost of education outside of their new home states, the number of cross-border students (educational migrants) declined in the early 1990s.

These developments reflected the deepening economic crisis in the CIS area. The most serious situation was observed in Georgia, Moldova, and Tajikistan, where the GDP per capita decreased by approximately 70 per cent in the mid-1990s. As the old Soviet-style division of labour crumbled and directions of trade changed, the mutual economic dependence of the former Soviet republics weakened. The large Soviet-era industrial enterprises were the first to suffer the loss of markets and, as the majority of the Russian-speaking population in the CIS region was employed by such firms, large scale job losses followed. The crisis subsequently spread to small and medium businesses and the agricultural sector. Mass unemployment ensued and wages declined sharply. In Russia, the drop in production in the Far North and Siberia caused an outflow of migrants from these regions to Central Russia as well as to the new independent states, mainly Ukraine and Belarus. The Russian default of 1998 was the low point of the post-Soviet economic decline (CIS Stat 2011).

Employment in the CIS region began to increase in the late 1990s as the economic crisis drew to an end. However, in Central Asia, the population of working age people (aged 15 to 60 years) rapidly increased and the creation of new jobs was insufficient to absorb the growing number of job seekers. The most severe economic and demographic imbalances occurred in Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan (see Figure 1).

Figure 1 Changes in working age population and changes in employment in selected CIS countries



Source: Own calculations using data from the UN Population Division Database and the ILO LABORSTA database.

1.3 The recovery of the 2000s

In the 2000s, the migration patterns in the CIS region have been predominantly intra-CIS movements of workers and settlers. This applies in particular to countries of Central Asia. During that decade, about 4 million people have changed their country of permanent residence within the CIS and the annual flow of (settlement) migrants has been estimated at 300-400 thousands in recent years. Also, temporary migration was much larger than migration for permanent residence. Annual estimates of the number of temporary migrant workers, including those with irregular status, have come close to between eight and ten million persons[7] (this is discussed further below).

For example, in Russia between 2007 and 2009, over a million temporary labour migrants annually obtained work permits while immigration for permanent residence was less than 300 000 persons per year. In 2010, following changes in legislation[8], the number of immigrants seeking permanent residence decreased to 192 000 whereas the inflow of migrant workers was still very significant, roughly one million persons: 863 000 work permits were issued and 157 000 (domestic

[7] Estimates of permanent-type migration flows are based on annual statistics produced by the national statistical agencies in most CIS states. Estimates of labour migration flows are based on administrative data on work permits issued in the RF and data collected through household surveys and censuses in migrant-sending countries of CIS.

[8] These involved changes in naturalization procedures and caused a decline in registered immigration flow: as a rule, most foreigners were counted as immigrants after they were naturalized. The period between the application submission and the grant of citizenship was also very short and fluctuated between three months and a year.

work) patents were sold to allow individuals to work in private households[9]. In 2011, despite the continuing Global Financial Crisis (GFC), ordinary work permits (subject to quotas) were issued to 1.2 million people in Russia and over 50,000 individuals were allowed to work outside quota requirements. Also, 856 000 patents were sold. Thus, in 2011, the total number of foreigners granted temporary permission to work in the Russian labour market approached 2 million people while immigration for permanent residence was over 350 000 persons.[10]

In the 2000s, Kazakhstan emerged as another, albeit smaller, centre for migrant inflows. Although the scale of official labour migrant inflows to Kazakhstan may seem comparable to immigration to that country (both at around 30-40 thousand per year in 2008-2011), this is a significant underestimate as most labour migrants in Kazakhstan work illegally and are not counted in official statistics (Shokamanov, 2008). It was estimated that the average stock of in-country, mostly illegal, labour migrants was between 200 000 and 400 000 in the late 2000s (Szalus, 2010).

The predominance of temporary forms of migration is also illustrated by the statistical data of the CIS source countries. According to the statistical agency of Tajikistan, 677 thousand and 736 thousand people left the country to work temporarily abroad in 2009 and 2010 respectively. The formal emigration for permanent residence was only 10.3 and 8.3 thousand people in those two years.[11]

It can be said that the current migration patterns in the CIS area, dominated by labour mobility, are fundamentally different from those in the early-1990s, which were dominated by flows of forced migrants seeking permanent residence outside their former republic of residence in the USSR or emigrating from the area of the FUSSR altogether.

1.4 The emergence of Russia as a magnet for CIS migrants

Since the 1990s, the Russian Federation has continued to be a magnet for intra-CIS labour migrants. This is due to the persistence of significant wage rate differentials between Russia and the rest of the CIS area (see Figure 2). Except for a brief period of crisis caused by Russia's financial default in 1998, Russian wages have been much higher throughout the 1990s and the 2000s than those in other CIS countries, including Kazakhstan. Also, the wages received by migrants in Russia are often competitive with those in some Western countries. In the mid-2000s, the Russian wages of migrants from Moldova

[9] This is the new channel of simplified admission for foreigners from countries having visa-free arrangements with Russia. It was established in July 2010 to allow individuals to work in private households. The price of a patent is about 25 Euro (1000 Rubles) and a monthly fee of the same sum extends the validity of the document for up to one year. A bank receipt suffices to confirm it. After a year a patent-holder can buy a new patent (from the Federal Migration Service). Patent holders are allowed to stay in Russia as long as they wish providing their patent is still valid.

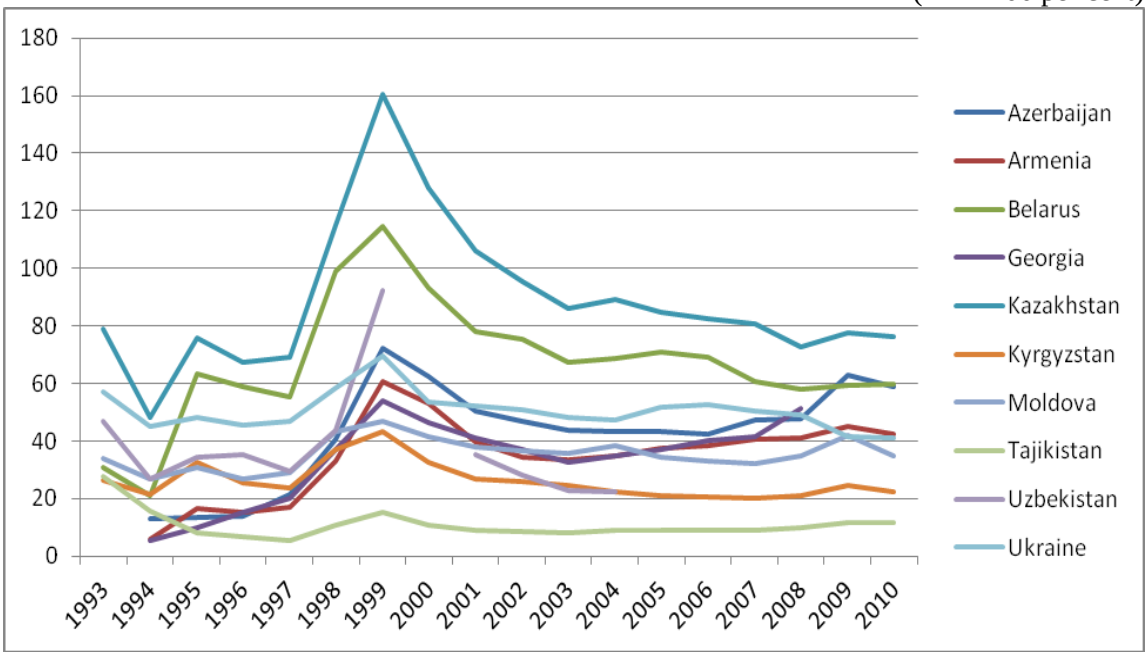
[10] The dramatic growth of immigration to the Russian Federation as compared to 2010 was due to the changed rules of statistical data collection. For the first time the data included not only the 132 thousand migrants registered at the place of their permanent residence but also more than 224 thousand people registered at the place of temporary residence for more than a year.

[11] The data on temporary exit for work are based on migration cards filled at the border upon leaving the country. This is likely to result in a degree of double counting. Emigration data shows the number of persons deregistered with the bodies of internal affairs due to their exit from the country for permanent residence abroad.

were not much lower than wages obtained by Moldovan migrants in countries such as Italy, Portugal, or Greece. In addition, Russia had an advantage of familiar work environment, language, and low travelling costs (Cesnokova, 2006). The higher salary factor is crucial for most migrants, even given the vacancies in the sending country (Labour migration and productive use..., 2009).

Figure 2 Average nominal wages in CIS countries and Georgia as a percentage of the average nominal wage in the Russian Federation 1993-2010

(RF = 100 per cent)



Source: based on CISstat data

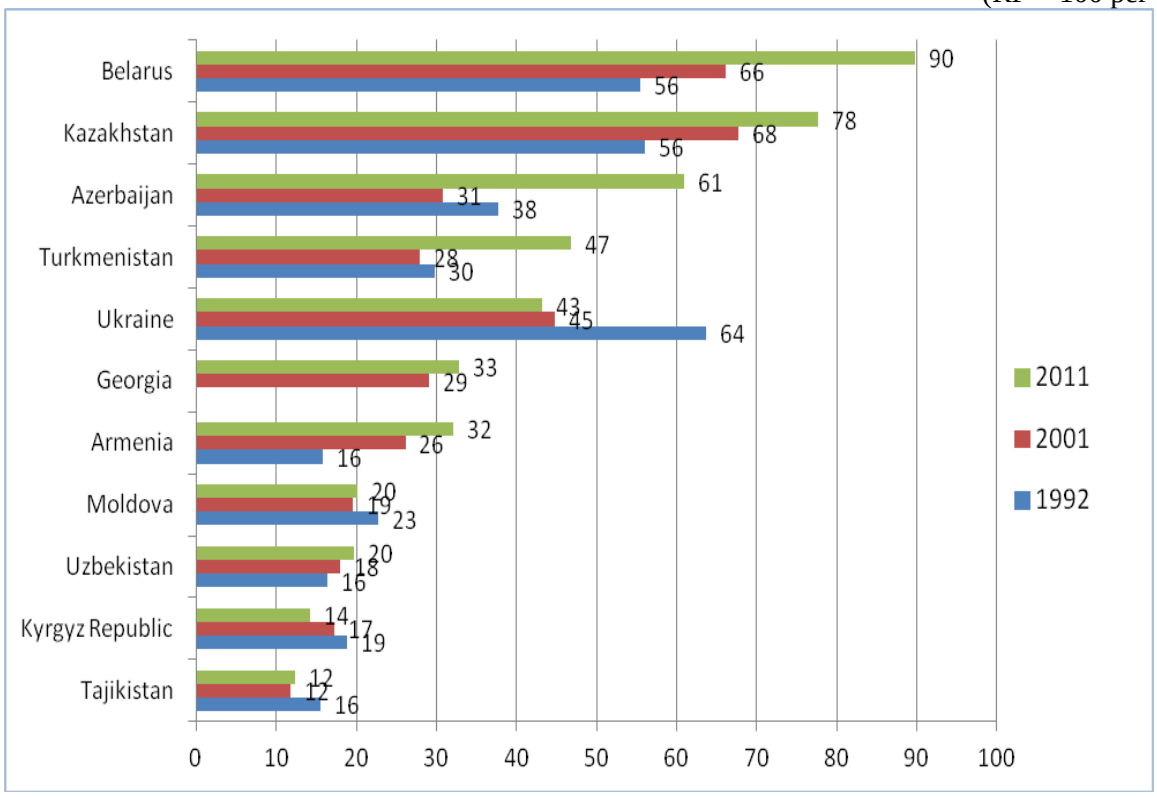
Russia's gross domestic product per capita is also higher than that in other CIS countries (see Figure 3) - a relatively high index in Belarus may decrease significantly due to the worsened economic situation in the country in 2011.

By the 2000s, the economic factors, in particular income differentials, and demographic differences led to the formation of stable flows of both permanent and temporary labour migrants from CIS countries to Russia. It was estimated that 85 per cent of labour migrants from Kyrgyzstan, almost all labour migrants from Tajikistan, 85-90 per cent of labour migrants from Armenia, most of the migrants from Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Belarus, and about 50 per cent of those from Ukraine and Moldova were working in Russia in the late 2000s[12].

[12] Estimates based on data collected through household surveys (and other sources) in migrant-sending countries.

Figure 3 Gross Domestic Product per capita (based on purchasing-power-parity) as a percentage of the Russian Federation GDP per capita, 1992-2011

(RF = 100 per cent)



Source: derived from the International Monetary Fund, World Economic Outlook Database, April 2012

Generally, factors accounting for the inflow of migrants to Russia included:

- higher wages compared to other CIS countries;
- high demand for labour in some sectors such as construction, services, transport, and agriculture. About one million job vacancies remained unfilled in Russia in 2009 despite the GFC;
- visa-free regime for citizens of other CIS member states;
- personal relationships between the citizens of Russia and other CIS countries, as well as the existence of vast diasporas and migrant networks;
- knowledge of Russian language and migrant familiarity with the everyday life in Russia;
- geographic proximity, existing transport links, and the low cost of market entry.

Future patterns of migration in the CIS area will continue to depend on the development of Russia. This is because the existing considerable differences in living standards and wages between the migrant-sending states and the Russian Federation are unlikely to disappear in the near future and may increase. Russia will continue to create more job vacancies and offer higher wages because of the expected rapid decline in the working age population and the continuing high demand for labour. For most migrants from Central Asia diversification away from Russia may be both financially too costly and socially too difficult, Russia is therefore likely to remain their main destination country. Russia

may also deliberately broaden the range of countries from which it sources migrants (Denisenko, 2010).

In the following two sections we review migration flows and stocks in the CIS area. We first consider trends in settlement migration and next trends in labour migration.

2 Migration for permanent residence

2.1 Migration flows

The source of information on migration flows during the Soviet period were migration statistics based on the registration of citizens arriving at their new place of residence or leaving their previous residence. However, in the 1990s this system of registration of migrant flows, which had previously been similar in all former Soviet republics, was changed and the quality of statistics worsened. To control the mobility of their population most of the newly independent states created their own institutions, especially to monitor movements across their national borders. Thus, the data reliability became problematic during the 1990s.

Nevertheless, even from these incomplete statistics one can get an idea of the scale and direction of migration flows between the newly independent states. Tables 2 and 3 show estimates of net migration between CIS countries drawn from the available data produced by national statistical agencies. Table 2 shows net migration between the CIS countries in 1990-1999 and Table 3 the net migration between them in the first decade of the current century. Data related to migration flows in the 2000s were available for a larger number of CIS countries and, in our opinion, were collected using more robust methodologies. Cells showing migration losses (net emigration) are marked grey, other cells show the net immigration, or gain.

The data quality limits the accuracy of the estimates, but in general it is clear that the migration trends of the 2000s are somewhat different from those of the 1990s. Only Russia has remained a country with steady, positive net migration although migration rates are very low here as compared with other countries.

Table 2 Migration flows in the CIS region in 1992-1999*

(in thousands)

	Net migration measured by the national statistical offices of:					
Country	*Azerbaijan*	*Belarus*	*Kazakhstan*	*Kyrgyzstan*	*Russian Federation*	*Ukraine*
Armenia		3.1	0.9	0.1	181.5	20.2
Azerbaijan		2.8	1.3	0.7	266.4	24.2
Belarus	-1.8		-28	-2.7	-18.8	-19.8
Georgia	9.3	15.7	1.2	0	311.6	31.1
Kazakhstan	1.6	5.4		-5.1	1,360.9	49.8
Kyrgyzstan	0.1	16.9	1.2		241.5	7.4
Moldova	-0.1	0.6	-1.8	-0.1	66.6	26.5
Russian Federation	-72.4	-91.4	-1,222.9	-217.9		-202.4
Tajikistan	0.3	3.8	11.1	9.9	287.2	19.4
Turkmenistan	-0.5	2.2	21.2	-0.1	105.5	9.5
Ukraine	-7.3	-25.0	-45.7	-7.2	368.5	
Uzbekistan	3.6	1.8	25.1	-20	531.4	90.5
Not identified	6.4	-	-	-	-	
Total net migration in exchange with CIS countries	-60.693	-64.139	-1,236.267	-242.408	3,702.215	56.6

Source*:* national statistical offices
Note: * The column sum shows net migration between the country under consideration and other CIS states during the reference period.

Tables 2 and 3 show how the same migrant flows are viewed by the national statistical offices of sending and receiving countries. If these records were compatible, the net migration between two countries over the same period of time would have the same absolute value and the total net migration between the CIS countries would thus be zero. But the registration errors (unreported emigration and overestimated immigration) do not allow for such figures to be calculated; also the lack of data for some countries limits the possibility of exact calculations.[13] Data for the recent decade were available for more countries and, thus, the discussion is mainly focused on the latter period.

[13] We do not provide data on total flows because we consider statistics for the reference period (1992-1999) not to be very reliable. Thus, the net migration estimates based on demographic balance method seem to be more correct. However, we use information on flows to show the results of annual migrant counts made by the countries.

Table 3 Net migration in the CIS region and Georgia* in 2000-2010**

(in thousands)

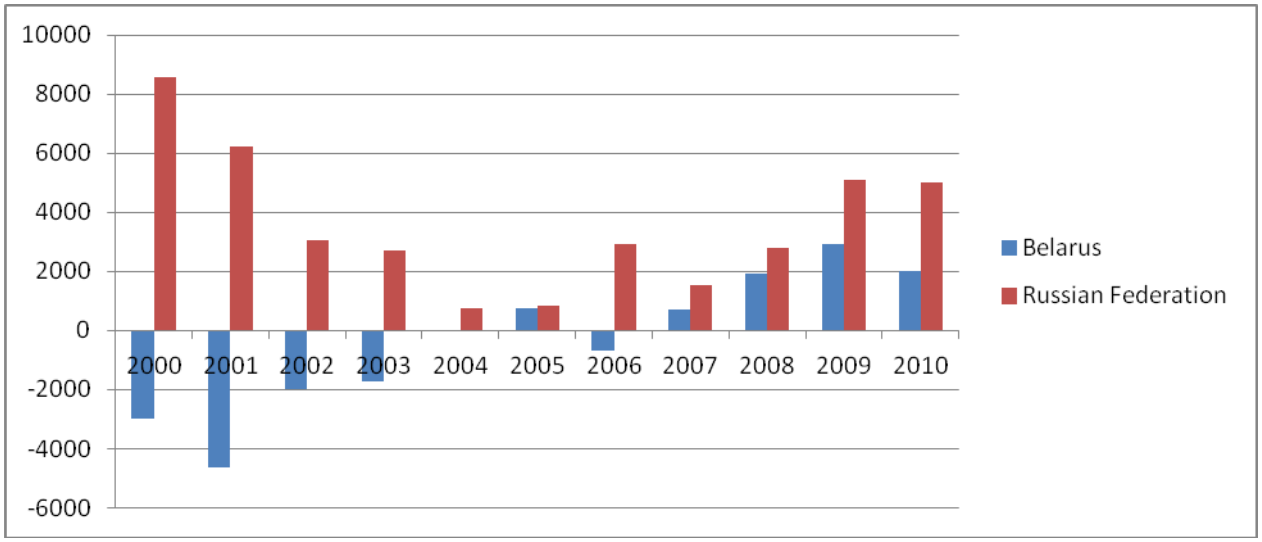
	Net migration measured by the national statistical offices of:									
	Armenia	*Azerbaijan*	*Belarus*	*Kazakh-stan*	*Kyrgy-stan*	*Moldova*	*Russian Federation*	*Tajikistan*	*Ukraine*	*Uzbeki-stan*
Reference period	2000-2009	2000-2009	2000-2010	2000-2010	2000-2010	2000-2010	2000-2010	2000-2010	2000-2010	2000-2006
Country										
Armenia	0	0.1	2	1.3	0	0.3	168.4	0	10.6	-0.1
Azerbaijan	-3.5	0	2.5	1.9	-0.2	0.4	110.5	-0.1	9.1	-0.4
Belarus	-1.3	-0.7	0	-10.8	-1.3	-1.4	-3.7	-0.5	-9.1	-2.3
Georgia	0.9	2.1	2.1	1.2	0	0.1	82.5	-0.1	9	0
Kazakhstan	-0.8	-0.5	14.8	0	-34.1	0	422.8	-3.9	15.5	-216.7
Kyrgyzstan	0	0	1.3	19.4	0	0.1	170.5	-7.1	2.6	-1.4
Moldova	-0.1	0	3.2	0.2	0	0	99.8	0	29.8	-0.1
Russian Federation	-55.5	-18.3	39.4	-395.3	-290.3	-25.6	0	-73	-51.8	-289.8
Tajikistan	0	0.1	0.8	3.2	4.1	0.1	119.2	0	2.4	3.7
Turkmenistan	0	1.3	2	31.5	0	0	46	-0.1	3	0.2
Ukraine	-3.3	-0.5	20.2	-3.5	-1.5	-20.1	262.5	-1.6	0	-16.5
Uzbekistan	0	0.8	3.6	274.4	-0.7	0.2	342.8	-7.5	29.5	0
Net migration in exchange with CIS countries	-63.6	-15.5	92	-76.5	-324	-45.9	1821.3	-94	50.6	-523.3
Net migration in exchange with the other countries	-6.7	0	-14.9	-96.8	-15.6	-9.3	-255.6	-0.3	-125.7	-60.3
Not identified	-5.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total net migration	-76	-15.5	77	-173.2	-339.6	-55.2	1565.6	-94.3	-75.1	-583.6

Source: national statistical offices and CIS Statistical Committee
Notes: *Georgia left the CIS in 2009.
** The sum for a column presents net migration for the indicated country with both the CIS and others during the period under consideration.

In 2000-2010, all CIS states plus Georgia but with the exception of Tajikistan, which has had net emigration only, experienced net immigration and emigration balances in migrant exchanges with different countries, although the associated volumes varied (see Table 3). Russia received migrants from the other CIS states and attracted considerable net immigration of 1.5 million people (however, this was almost 2.3 times smaller in comparison with the 1990s). Only Belarus had a stable migration gain from other CIS countries, including Russia, although this might be a result of data inaccuracy (see Figure 4).

Figure 4 Net migration flows between Belarus and Russia as measured by the two national statistical offices

(in thousands)



Source: national statistical offices

Comparison of 'mirror' statistics showed that the net *emigration* from Kazakhstan to Russia in 2000-2010 amounted to minus 395 thousands while the Federal State Statistics Service of the Russian Federation reported 423 thousand net *immigrants*. Net immigration from Moldova to Ukraine, according to Statistics Ukraine was a surplus of about 30 thousand persons, while the Statistical Bureau of Moldova showed a deficit of 20 thousand. Despite certain similarities in the methodology of data collection in the CIS region (except Moldova, which has been operating a population registry since the end of the 1990s), there are some peculiarities that may have a strong impact on data quality. This concerns the rules of registration of foreigners with different status and type of registration – in a place of residence or place of stay.[14]

Table 4 shows total flows of international migration in the CIS countries over the last decade (or over the period of data availability, which is a problem for many CIS countries). After the collapse of the Soviet Union, only Russia and Belarus had a positive migration balance among all the CIS countries. In 2000-2010, the net immigration to Russia exceeded almost half a million people; in Belarus, the volume of net migration was twenty times smaller, i.e. only 77 000 persons.[15] [16]

[14] Such a system of dual registration was introduced in many CIS countries after the breakdown of the USSR. Some countries use a time threshold for 'stay' while Russia, the main receiving country of the area, does not. Until 2011, the data were collected only on migrants registered at the place of residence. Inevitably, that leads to the underestimation of the number of long-term migrants.

[15] The inflow of immigrants to Belarus has decreased in the past few years.

[16] We also note that estimates of net migration using the vital statistics method demonstrated considerable differences for some countries. Real net emigration from Armenia could be nine times larger; Azerbaijan was estimated to have considerable net immigration, which was ten times bigger than the registered migration loss. Russia could also have a much larger net immigration. As this method does not provide an opportunity to see directions of flows, we refer to annual statistics of migration, well aware of possible problems with the data quality.

Table 4 Migration flows in the CIS region in the 2000s

(in thousands)

	Immigrants	Emigrants	Net migration			Reference period
			Net immigration	Net emigration	Total net migration	
Armenia	14.0	90.0	1.0	-77.0	-76.0	2000-2009
Azerbaijan	25.2	40.6	4.5	-19.9	-15.5	2000-2009
Belarus	196.8	119.8	92.0	-14.9	77.0	2000-2010
Kazakhstan	617.9	791.2	333.0	-506.3	-173.2	2000-2010
Kyrgyzstan	45.4	385.0	4.2	-343.8	-339.6	2000-2010
Moldova SCB	20.6	75.8	1.2	-56.3	-55.2	2000-2010
Russian Federation	2,389.4	823.8	1825.0	-259.3	1,565.6	2000-2010
Tajikistan	14.7	109.0	0.0	-94.3	-94.3	2000-2010
Ukraine	451.4	526.5	111.5	-186.6	-75.1	2000-2010
Uzbekistan	47.5	631.0	3.9	-587.5	-583.6	2000- 2006
					-834,1	2000-2010

Source: national statistical agencies and UN Population Division Migration flows database[17]

Considering migration from CIS member states to countries outside the CIS region, the net immigration balance was also negative with Germany, Israel, and the USA. During 2000-2010 there was a significant reduction in emigration to these countries that had traditionally attracted migrants from the Soviet Union and post-Soviet states (see Figure 5).

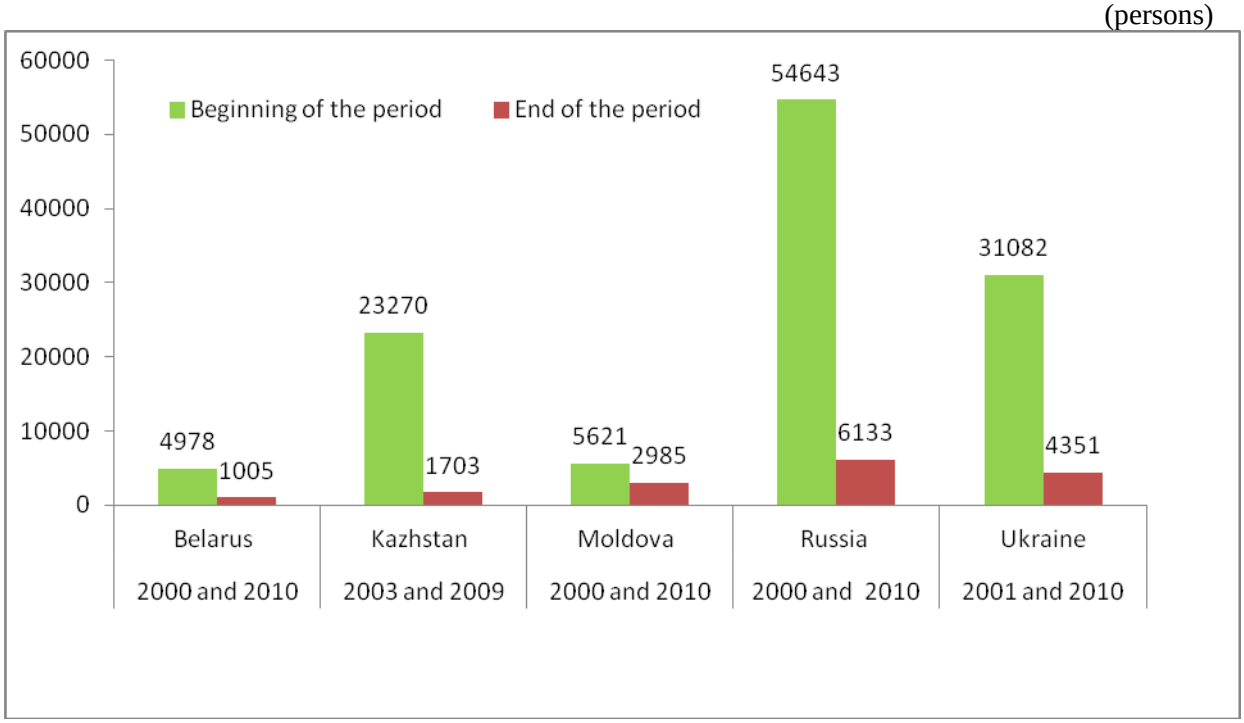
Annual data on migration flows collected by the CIS national statistical offices show that in 2000-2010 about 91 per cent of cross-border migrants to the CIS countries came from within the CIS region and only 9 per cent from elsewhere (see Table 5).[18] The percentage of immigrants from the CIS countries in various states of the Commonwealth ranges from 67 per cent (Armenia) to 97 per cent (Tajikistan). The lowest percentage of arrivals from CIS was observed in Moldova (however, this was most likely attributed to inadequate registration of migrants).

[17] Data on international migration flows in Uzbekistan for 2007-2010 were available for net migration only (the National Statistical Agency website).

[18] Calculations were based on data for selected CIS countries. Data for Georgia were only available on the basis of the 2002 census. Data from the Statistical Committee of Turkmenistan were not available. But, these gaps would not affect the overall figures significantly.

Figure 5 Dynamics of emigration flow to the main destination countries outside the CIS area: Germany, Israel, and USA 2000-2010

(persons)



Source: National statistical offices, UN Population Division database.

In 2000-2010, emigration from CIS countries was characterized by an increased percentage of departures for non-CIS countries: an average of 25 per cent of all emigrants. The remaining 75 per cent of emigrants departed for other CIS countries. Emigration to non-CIS countries made up about half the flow from Russia, and almost 40 per cent from Ukraine, 35 per cent from Belarus and 30 per cent from Moldova. The main destinations of these emigrants continued to be Israel, Germany, and the United States, although the number of departures has been steadily declining. Also, in recent years, there have been changes in the directions of some emigrant flows. For example, fewer migrants departed Moldova for Russia, with a larger number choosing Ukraine[19] and an increasing proportion of migrants from Uzbekistan departed for Kazakhstan[20].

Over the past decade migration flows from CIS countries partly changed their direction and continue to intensify, e.g., from Russia to Kazakhstan, which has become the second centre of migration "gravity" in the CIS. However, due to the outflow of migrants from Kazakhstan to Russia, the country maintains a negative net migration balance even though the proportion of persons who migrate to settle in Kazakhstan, especially from other Central Asia, has gradually increased (see Figure 6).

[19] The proportion of migrants to Russia in the flow of all emigrants from Moldova fell from 44 per cent to 28 per cent in 2002-2009, and the proportion of migrants to Ukraine increased from 23 per cent to 44 per cent.

[20] The proportion of migrants to Kazakhstan rose from 10 per cent to 53 per cent in 2000-2006, while the flow to Russia decreased from 63 per cent to 35 per cent of all emigrants.

Table 5 Immigration to and emigration from the CIS by country 2000-2010

(per cent)

	Immigration				Emigration				
	Total share of immigrants from CIS	*From the RF*	From the countries outside CIS	Total immigrants (column 2+4)	Total share of emigrants to CIS	*To the RF*	To the countries outside CIS	Total emigrants (column 6+8)	Reference period
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Armenia	76.9	*47.4*	23.1*	100	82.6	*69.0*	17.4**	100	2000-2009
Azerbaijan	94.6	*62.4*	5.4	100	96.7	*83.7*	3.3	100	2000-2009
Belarus	86.5	*53.5*	13.5	100	65.4	*55.0*	34.6	100	2000-2010
Kazakhstan	86.3	*28.7*	13.7	100	77.0	*72.4*	23.0	100	2000-2010
Kyrgyzstan	97.8	*61.1*	2.2	100	95.7	*82.6*	4.3	100	2000-2010
Moldova	35.4	*9.2*	64.6	100	70.2	*36.3*	29.8	100	2000-2006
Russian Federation	95.1		4.9	100	54.7		45.3	100	2000-2010
Tajikistan	99.4	*76.6*	0.6	100	99.7	*77.3*	0.3	100	2000-2010
Ukraine	83.0	*51.8*	17.0	100	61.5	*54.3*	38.5	100	2000-2010
Uzbekistan	97.3	*46.8*	2.7	100	90.3	*49.5*	9.7	100	2000-2006
Average for selected countries	91.5	8.5		100.0	74.5	*25.5*		100,0	

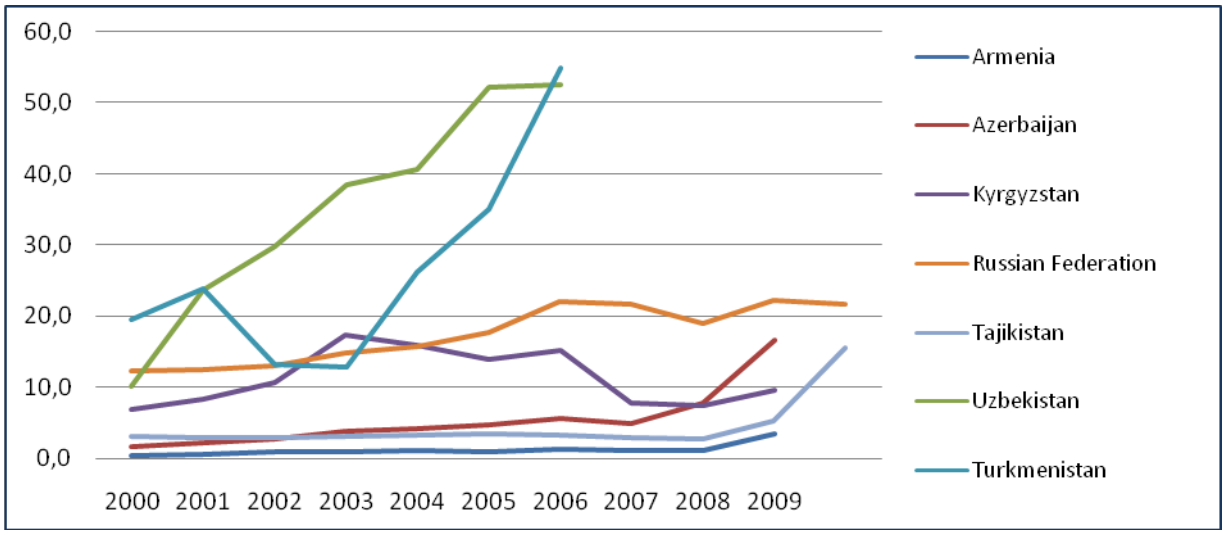
Sources: National statistical offices and the UN Population Division migration flows database.
Notes: *Including 8.5% not identified.
**Including 7.6% not identified.

We may also note a decrease in the flow of immigrants from Ukraine to Russia[21] and especially from Kazakhstan to Russia, which was the main supplier of immigrants in the 1990s. Exhaustion of the migration potential of ethnic Russians in other CIS countries has led to a gradual replacement of these flows with migration from Central Asia, in particular from Uzbekistan, whose share in net immigration has considerably increased in the first decade of the 2000s. Officially, flows of emigrants to Russia from the other CIS countries slightly decreased by the end of the 2000s (see Figure 7).

[21] In Russia, the net migration with Ukraine has been positive since 1993.

Figure 6 Emigrants from selected CIS countries, who moved to Kazakhstan in 2000-2009

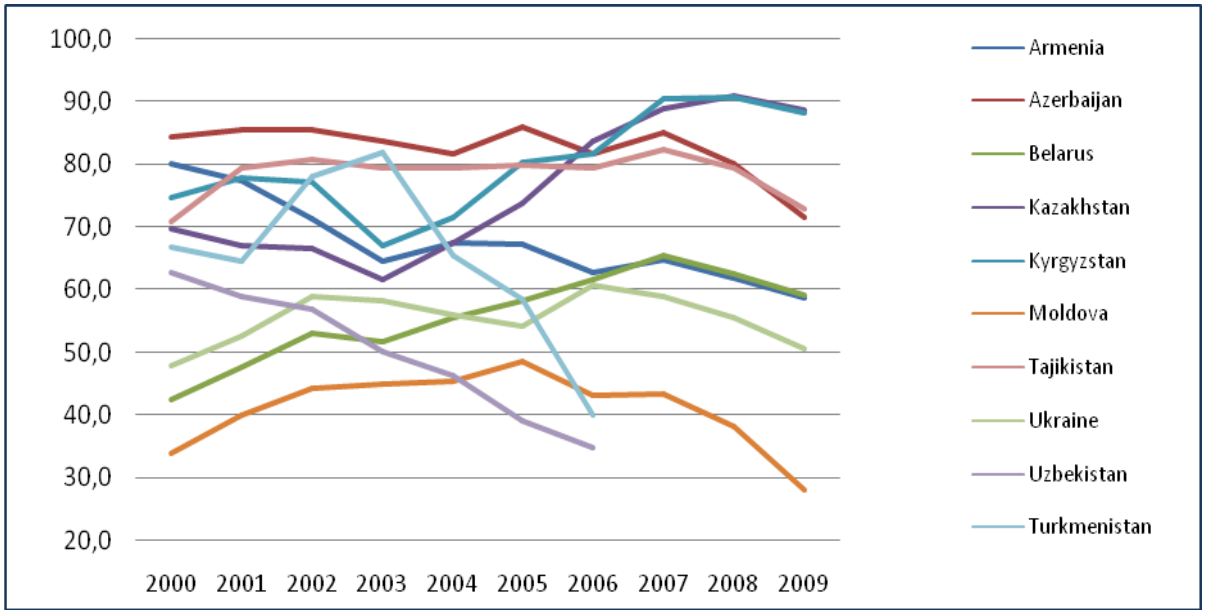
(Per cent of the total outflow)



Source: data of the national statistical offices

Figure 7 Emigrants to the Russian Federation from selected CIS countries 2000-2009

(Per cent of the total outflow)



Source: data of the national statistical offices.

2.2 Migrant stocks in CIS countries

Estimates of international migrants stocks in the resident population of CIS countries have been difficult. This is because in the case of the FUSSR the criterion of *country of birth* was hardly applicable to most migrants who were born outside their country of residence. The large 'migrant stock' in Russia, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan reflects past migrations, which often occurred before the

breakup of the Soviet Union (see Table 6). Such data could hardly be used to describe the current situation since it is not always possible to identify the year of migration. Most of these people have not migrated across state borders, as former USSR citizens, who have remained in situ; they have been *de facto* nationals of the same "country", which has morphed from a Soviet republic into an independent state. The birthplace criterion has turned them into statistical migrants, i.e., those "who may not have physically moved, but were defined as migrants under UN practice" (Mansoor and Quillin, 2006). Thus, some of the former Soviet Union states are often mistakenly reported as the main receiving countries for international migrants.

Table 6 Population of selected CIS countries by country of birth (at the most recent census)

(in thousands)

Country of residence	Belarus	Kazakhstan	Kyrgyzstan	Russia	Ukraine
Country of birth / ***Year of the Census***	***2009***	***2009***	***2009***	***2010***	***2001***
Armenia	7.3	6.7	0.3	511.2	52.2
Azerbaijan	11.8	17.4	1.3	743.9	90.8
Belarus		36.2	1.2	740.9	270.8
Georgia	7.5	12	1.7	436.4	71
Kazakhstan	72.1		46.2	2,481.9	245.1
Kyrgyzstan	5.4	66.4		573.3	29.5
Moldova	8.1	8.5	0.3	285.3	165.1
Russia	524.1	783.7	76.2		3,613.2
Tajikistan	5.4	19.9	32.8	452.2	32.4
Turkmenistan	7.6	105.7	2.8	180	24.9
Ukraine	186.3	113.5	5.8	2,942	
Uzbekistan	14.7	436.5	50.8	1,111.7	242.4
Born in CIS countries	850.2	1,608.5	219.5	10,458.7	4,837.3
Born in other countries	76.5	204.5	16.8	736.2	318.9
Not identified	188.3	-	…	4,545.5	…
Total foreign born	926.7	1,813	236.3	11,194.9	5,156.2
Born in the country (native-born)	8,883.3	14,196.6	5,126.6	127,116.4	42,909.5
Total population	11,303	16,009.6	5,362.8	147,021.9	48,065.7
Foreign born as % to total population (the most recent census)	8.2	11.3	4.4	7.6	10.7

Source: national statistical agencies

The censuses conducted between 1989 and 2010 in the CIS countries included a question on the place of birth. However, in this paper, we only provide information on those countries where the census was

conducted within the same borders as the last Soviet census.[22] Further, the definition of 'resident population' in the last Soviet census was different from definitions adopted by the post-Soviet censuses.

According to the methodology of the 1989 USSR population census, the resident population included all those who had lived at the place of their enumeration for six months or longer, including temporarily absent persons, if their absence had not exceed six months. In subsequent censuses, one year was used as a cut-off point to define the resident population, in accordance with the UN recommendations. Censuses of Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Ukraine have shown that the number of lifetime migrants among the resident population was decreasing in all these former Soviet republics except Russia (see Figures 8-12). The most dramatic decline was observed in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, as a result of outflow of Russian speaking population to the Slavic CIS states. However, one should also take into account the effects of mortality and the age composition of non-native-born people of European descent (mostly old people). At the same time, the number of persons born in other republics of Central Asia was increasing in Kazakhstan. The country had an active policy of encouraging the repatriation of "oralmans" and is also an attractive migrant destination given its economic potential.

The number of those born elsewhere in CIS, except Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Uzbekistan, has declined significantly in Ukraine. The reduction was especially sharp for the Russia-and Belarus-born population. In Belarus, the population born in other republics of the FUSSR increased as migrants had been attracted by the relatively stable economic situation in that country. However, as in Ukraine, the most notable was the reduction in the number of those born in other Slavic states.

A similar situation was observed in Russia, where the population born in Belarus and Ukraine has decreased. However, a noticeable increase had occurred by 2002 in the number of people born in other CIS countries, especially in Armenia and Tajikistan. Preliminary results of the 2010 census show that the number of migrants born in Central Asia, Armenia, and Moldova continues to increase in Russia, though at a much slower pace as compared to the 1990s. At the same time, there has been a considerable increase of population whose place of birth is unidentified. In Russia, in 2010 this segment of the population was estimated at about 4.5 million (compared to 1.5 million in 2002).

[22] Censuses of a number of the CIS countries (Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Moldova) carried out after the collapse of the Soviet Union did not cover the entire territory of these countries. Armenian statisticians say that the population of Armenia was understated by approximately 160 thousand people in the last Soviet census of 1989. In Azerbaijan and Tajikistan data on the place of birth were not published.

Figures 8-12 Ratio of stocks of foreign-born population measured at the latest and previous censuses in selected CIS countries[23]

Figure 8

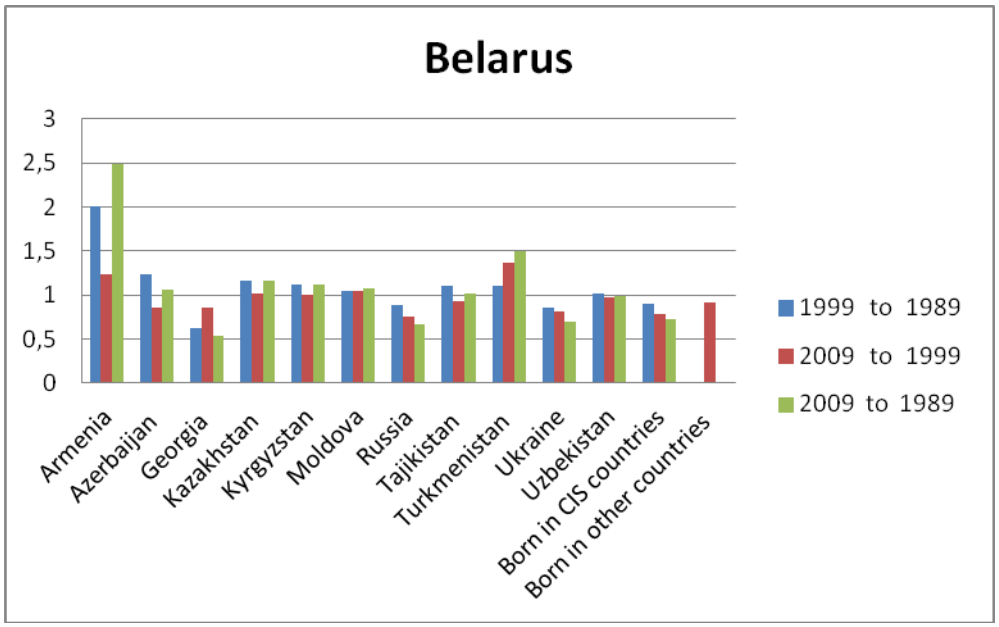
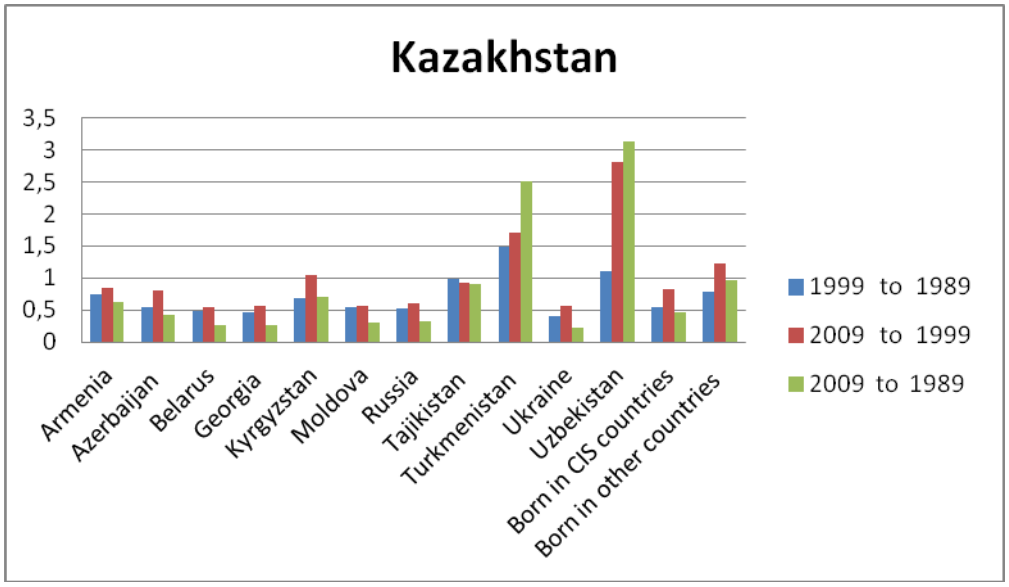


Figure 9



[23] In 1989, population born in the countries other than USSR republics was grouped with the category of "not identified", thus, we could not calculate the ratios for this group of respondents.

Figure 10

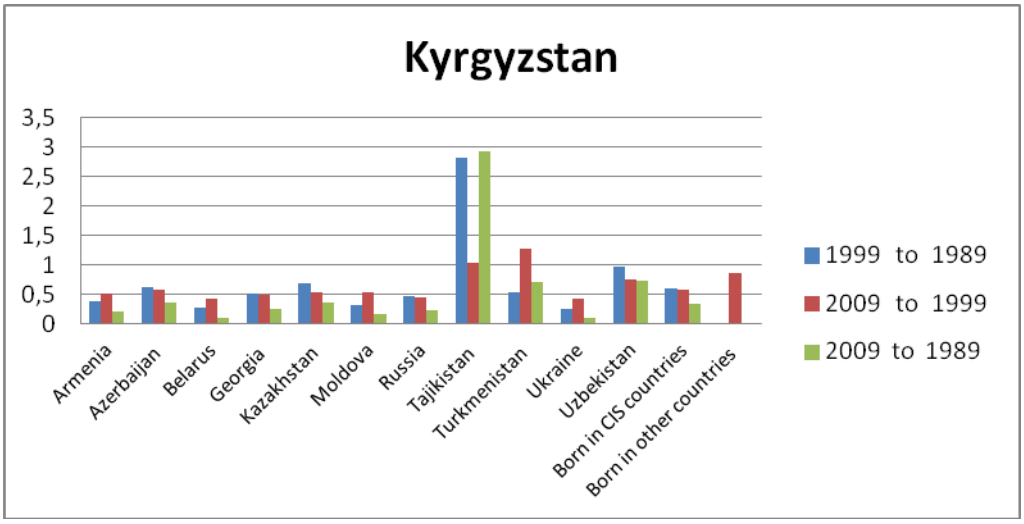


Figure 11

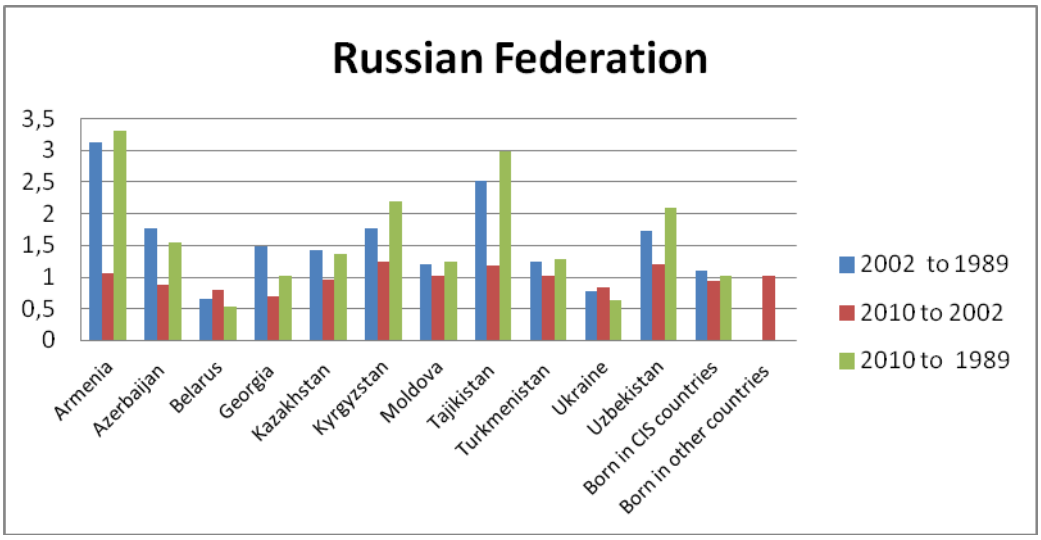
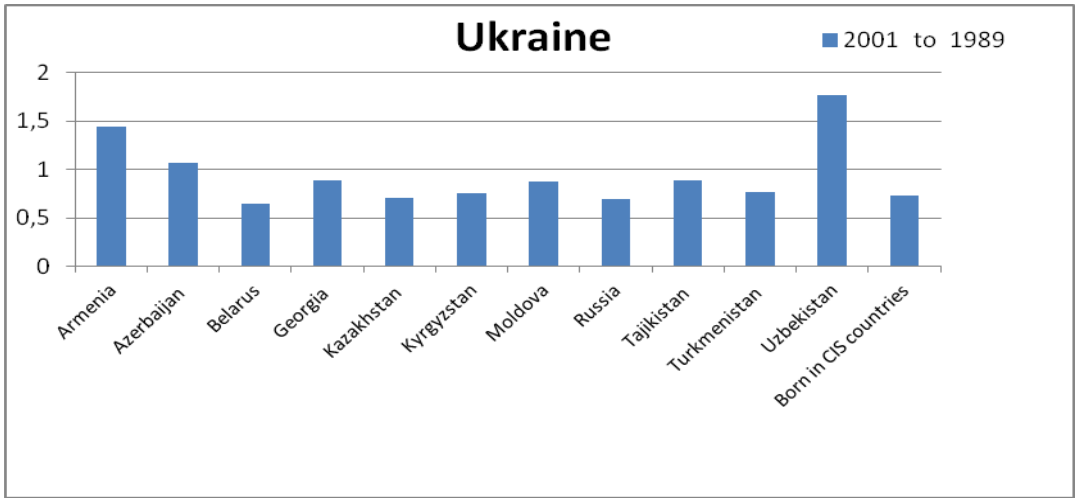


Figure 12



Source: national statistical offices and the 1989 USSR Population Census CD, East-View Publications/CIS Statistical Committee.

In sum, trends of permanent-type migration in the recent decade have shown slight decrease in the scale of flows and the weakening of migration ties between some CIS states; the morphing of many former temporary migrants (mainly labour migrants) into settlement migrants; and changes in the size and composition of foreign-born population in almost every CIS state. Generations of migrants who moved a long time ago from one FUSSR republic to another but stayed within the USSR borders have been partly replaced by 'true' international migrants moving between the newly independent states.

3 Temporary labour migration

Temporary forms of labour (economic) migration in CIS countries have developed spontaneously but, over time they have acquired a more organised form resulting in the creation of new diasporas and migration networks (Pirozhkov and Malinovskaya, 2009). The governments of the CIS countries have no real means of controlling migration flows or capacity to influence them to prevent migrant abuse and exploitation. In the late 1990s, this led to the formation of large stocks of illegally employed migrants and widespread corruption in immigration control systems; migrants' human rights in destination countries were virtually unprotected. Sending countries, unable to assist their citizens leaving for work, mostly adopted the hands-off approach.

The scale of labour out-migration in CIS area could only be estimated indirectly, as destination countries as a rule use administrative data on issued work permits while countries of origin collect information about absent population through household surveys. Russia alone receives about one million legal labour migrants annually (and the stock at the end of the year is close to the number of issued permits). By comparing the latter figure with estimates based on survey-based information on absent population in the main source countries it can be conjectured that the number of migrants working illegally in Russia could be five times bigger - up to 5 million. Knowing that Russia may attract about 70 per cent of all cross-border labour migrants from other CIS countries, the total stock may exceed 8 million persons. Some estimates go as high as 10 million persons (UNDP Tajikistan, 2010).

Estimates of the number of labour migrants from sending countries differ from the national survey data, and are often excessive (indicating that a significant portion of the working-age population of sending countries is working abroad), for example, from 11 per cent in Ukraine to 40 per cent in Moldova (Abazov, 2009).

At present, Russia is the preferred destination for regional labour migrants attracting between half of Moldovan and Ukrainian migrants to 99 per cent of those from Tajikistan. Many citizens of the countries located in the European part of the former USSR seek work in Western and Southern Europe and other member states of the European Union. For example, 29 per cent of labour migrants from

Ukraine and over 40% from Moldova seek work in the EU (according to national surveys), while almost half of migrant workers from Uzbekistan choose Kazakhstan rather than Russia (see Table 7).

Comparisons of data from the sending countries of temporary labour migrants with the statistics of recipient countries on legally employed foreign workers provide approximate estimates of the proportion of illegally-employed migrants. However, the accuracy of cross-country comparisons is limited as different countries use different definitions of migrants in national surveys, censuses and administrative records. Some countries set time frames for migrant absence (for instance - less than one year) while others register all those who are expected to return (regardless of the period of their absence from the country). The data on absent population are also incomplete when entire households leave for abroad. For example, even these incomplete figures are several times larger than the number of foreign workers registered by the migration service of Russia in years matching these surveys. The figure is more than triple for Moldova (LFS 2006-2010) and Kyrgyzstan (LFS 2006-2008, census 2009), and more than double for Armenia (LSS 2008).

Most CIS countries use a broadly similar system of licensed placement organizations to employ their nationals as foreign workers prior to the departure abroad (only Uzbekistan differs by using a special department in the Ministry of Labour). However, the data drawn from reports of placement agencies have limited use as they represent a small percentage of the total outflow. In 2008-2009, about two per cent of citizens of Ukraine and Kazakhstan, and 6-8 per cent of those from Tajikistan were employed in Russia through placement agencies.[24]

[24] In Russia, 80 percent of such migrants are employed on ships under foreign flags and the other 20 percent are mainly students working abroad during the holidays.

Table 7 Stock of labour migrants from selected CIS countries working abroad in the late 2000s[25]

	Resident population (CISStat. 2011) (million)	Total absent for work-related reasons at the time of survey/census (nos.)	Per cent working in Russia (%)	Source (years of estimates)
Armenia	3.1	127.2 thousand[26]	92	Integrated living standards survey (LSS)2008
Azerbaijan	9.1	1- 3.5 m.	85	Estimates[27], IOM 2008[28]
Belarus	9.5	41.8 thousand	90	Census 2009[29]
Kyrgyzstan	5.5	222.4 - 500 thousand	89	Census 2009 and estimates[30]
Moldova	3.6	300 thousand	60	LFS 2009-2010[31]
Tajikistan	7.6	430-700 thousand	92-99	LSS 2008, 2010 and estimates[32]
Uzbekistan	28.5	Up to 1 m.	50	Estimates of national experts [33]
Ukraine	45.6	1,476 thousand[34]	48	National survey of external labour migration (2005-2008)[35]

Notes: See footnotes.

Even those countries that are mostly migrant-sending countries also attract (albeit small) inflows of foreign workers. For example, Kazakhstan attracts about 30-50 thousand workers per year and Ukraine about 20 thousand. The corresponding numbers for other countries range from few hundred people (Moldova) to few thousand (e.g., from 2 thousand in Tajikistan to 9 thousand in Azerbaijan).

Inflows of labour migration into Russia and other CIS countries differ not only in scale but also in the nationality mix (see Figures 13-16). The share of migrant-workers from the CIS countries (who have *official work permits*) is highest in Russia at about 75 per cent[36], followed by Belarus at over 40 per cent, Ukraine 30 per cent, and Moldova over 20 per cent. In Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and Azerbaijan the share of workers from other CIS states does not exceed 10-12 per cent.

[25] Russia and Kazakhstan are planning to carry out surveys with a set of issues related to labour migration. This will probably indicate the volume of emigration from countries currently considered exclusively as receiving labour migrants. No surveys covering external labour migration are currently carried out in Azerbaijan, and flows are expert estimates. According to the information published by the Azerbaijan mass media, about 1.5-2 million persons left the country to work in Russia in 1991-1997 (Yunusov, 1999).

[26] According to experts, in early 2000 the total number of migrants from Armenia, both short and long term, was estimated at about 500 thousand, with 280 thousand working in Russia (Mukomel, 2005: 328).

[27] Aliyeva, 2009; Sudyin, 2008.

[28] Aliyev, 2008.

[29] Estimates by Belarus national experts of the volume of labour migration from the country differ considerably (Shakhotko, 2011).

[30] In the pre-crisis period, estimates reached 500 thousand (see: Kyrgyzstan: Economic Growth…, 2008).

[31] Data of labor force survey showed dynamics in stock of migrant-workers from Moldova staying abroad (thousand): 2006 - 310.1; 2007 – 335.6; 2008 – 309.7; 2009 – 294.9 (source: Statistical Bureau of Moldova).

[32] Kuddusov, 2010; Impact of migration and remittances on wellbeing and poverty of households in Tajikistan; Tajstat, 2010; data on migration cards (Tajstat).

[33] http://www.fergananews.com/article.php?id=5206 and Maksakova (2009).

[34] Ukrainian National Academy of Science experts provided estimates of labour out-migration that were at least twice the numbers based on the national survey (personal consultancy).

[35] Ukrainian external labour migration, 2009.

[36] Before the liberal changes in law in 2007 it had been close to 55 percent for many years.

Considering that Russia is using the work patent (permit) system for domestic employment, which also applies to citizens of CIS (except Turkmenistan), the aggregate share of CIS workers in the total number of legally employed foreign workers in the Russian Federation is at present at least 90 per cent. However, it does not exceed 7-8 per cent of highly skilled workers[37] who are mainly nationals of Western Europe and the U.S.A. At the end of 2011, nationals of Germany, France, UK and the U.S. accounted for over 40 per cent of the stock of highly-skilled foreign workers.

We cannot go into details of migrants' profiles as the data at our disposal were only available for the Russian Federation. The main feature of labour migration to Russia is the absolute prevalence of males (over 85 per cent of flow) and their employment in construction (about 40 per cent).

Economic stability and poverty reduction programmmes in the migrant sending countries in the CIS region depend on the dynamics of temporary labour migration. The latter serves as a vent for under- and un-employment in these countries and a major source of migrant remittances. The three sending countries Tajikistan, Moldova and Kyrgyzstan are among the countries with the highest share of migrant remittances in the gross domestic product in the world. In 2009, these countries received remittances amounting to 35 per cent, 23 per cent and 15 per cent of their GDP respectively. In turn, Russia ranked fourth (after Switzerland but before Germany) among the countries with the largest remittance outflows, which amounted to $18.9 billion in 2009. Among other CIS countries, only Kazakhstan is included in the list of leading remittance-sending countries: 3.1 billion in 2009 (World Bank, 2011).

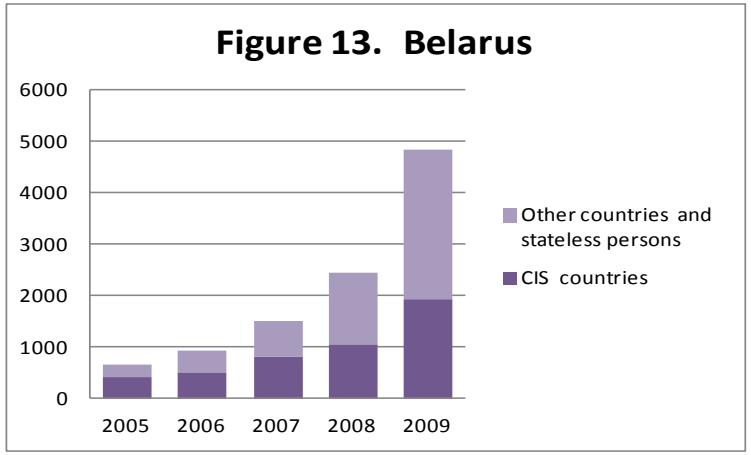
However, labour migration also results in negative social consequences for source countries due to the prolonged absence of a significant proportion of the population. These social costs have been increasingly evident in recent years. In particular, Moldova is facing an acute problem of abandoned children, as labour migration has traditionally involved both men and women; in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, where men are the overwhelming majority of labour migrants, tens of thousands of abandoned women with children have become a social problem (IOM Tajikistan, 2009; Sorensen, 2008).

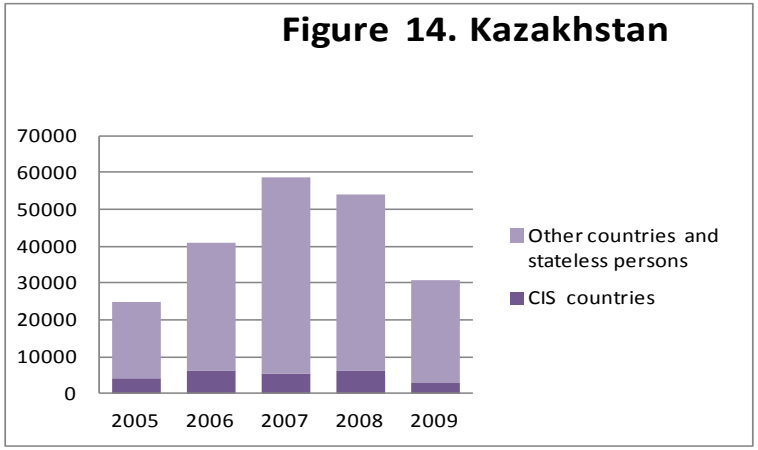
Temporary labour migration is the most prevalent type of mobility in the CIS area both in terms of its scale and economic importance. Although migrants from European and Central Asian parts of CIS may differ in their preference of destination country, Russia and partly Kazakhstan continue to attract the majority of migrant-workers. However, management of such a large-scale phenomenon has not been very efficient to date, which makes labour migration one of the most important challenges that national governments have to address.

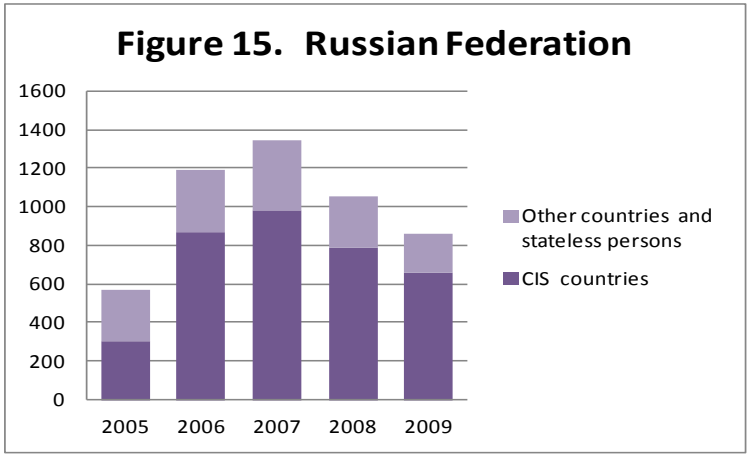
[37] A special channel of labour migration to Russia that implies guaranteed salary at a level no less than two million rubles per year (about Euro 50 thousand).

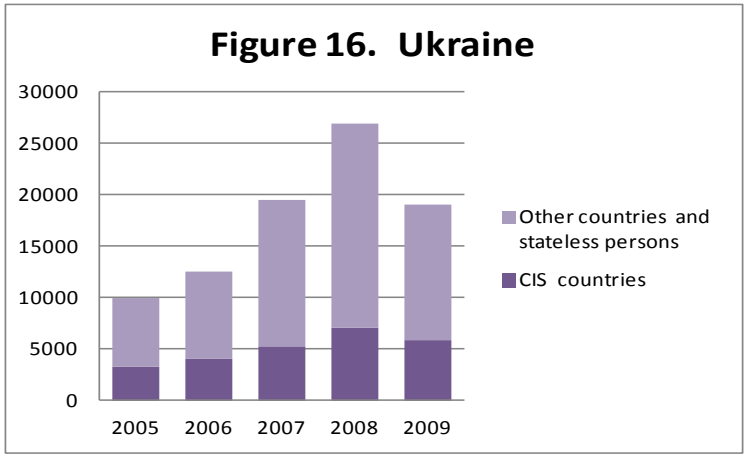
Figures 13-16 Inflows of migrant-workers to selected CIS countries

(Numbers of workers; for Russia in thousands)









Source: CIS Statistical Committee

4 Migration policies in the CIS area

The establishment of institutions and migration regulation mechanisms in the CIS countries began almost immediately (and in parallel) after the breakdown of the Soviet Union. Massive forced migration needed a response by both countries of origin and destination. The first migration services were created specifically for the management of these forced migrant flows and the early post-Soviet national legislation focused on refugees and internally displaced persons. Thus, in the first years or even months of independence each state of the region embarked on the enactment and implementation of national legislation focused on the avalanche-like forced migration and related matters of border management[38] as well as on the establishment of national citizenship. The slackening of forced migration by the mid-1990s increased the importance of other aspects of migration management: the freedom of movement and residence of nationals (in the first instance within each state), and the legal status of foreign citizens, in particular, rules concerning their access to the national labour market.

Issues of unregulated labour migration have taken on greater significance by the end of 1990s in the two main destination countries Russia and Kazakhstan. Labour exporting states either adopted the hands-off attitude leaving their nationals to fend for themselves when working abroad (countries of Central Asia, Azerbaijan) or tried to enter into agreements with the migrant destination countries, including those outside the CIS area (e.g., Moldova, Armenia).

Overall, the development of national legislation was uneven and depended on the political environment of each country. Nevertheless, important laws relating to migration policy were adopted in the early 2000s in most countries and have since been the subject of regular review and refinement.

That said, and despite the close economic ties between CIS countries and their common history, migration regimes in the area are rather restrictive and are subject to extensive controls and constraints, which include:

- necessity to have a work permit,
- work permit quotas ,
- necessity to have an international passport to travel between CIS states (with some exceptions),
- bans on the employment of foreigners in some countries or sectors including in areas unrelated to elected positions or national security,
- limitations on free movement of migrants within the destination country (e.g., the necessity to obtain new permit for residence or work when changing jobs or residence through complex and opaque bureaucratic procedures).

Some of these restrictions have not been well thought through and, thus, could not be effectively implemented. The lack of control and widespread corruption combined with the irresponsibility of

[38] Very often there were no state borders between the CIS countries, or border crossing points were not equipped.

employers, landlords, and migrants themselves are considered to have been the two main reasons for the widespread irregular migration in the region.

A specific feature of migration policy in the CIS area is the implementation of repatriation programmes. Some CIS countries try to encourage the repatriation of members of their titular nation, natives or former nationals residing abroad. Kazakhstan has been most successful in implementing such a programme, which officially started in 1997, by creating a system of privileges and preferences for ethnic Kazakhs returning to their historic homeland. In 2008, a new programme "Nurly-Kosh" for 2009-2011 was adopted by the Government.[39.] Under the programme about 800 thousand persons, the so-called "oralmans" (returnees) have moved to Kazakhstan. Repatriation to Kazakhstan is underpinned by bilateral agreements with source countries such as Mongolia, China, or Iran.[40] Similar programmes have been developed by other CIS countries, although - at the time of writing – these are not supported by the necessary agreements with potential source countries. Since 2006, Russia has used a similar programme to facilitate the voluntary migration of "compatriots".[41] Kyrgyzstan has adopted a programme to support the return of ethnic Kyrgyz (kayrylmans)[42] while Armenia has introduced the "Back to Armenia" project to provide information for members of the Armenian diaspora who might be interested in moving to their home/ancestral country.[43]

In parallel with the enactment of national legislation and regulatory frameworks of bilateral and multilateral cooperation, specific agreements between CIS countries have been agreed to deal with particular migration issues. For example, bilateral agreements have been used when high-level multilateral documents proved to be ineffective or could not address specific problems (Zayonchkovskaya, 2009). In addition, the adoption and implementation of multilateral documents has often dragged on for years as countries had to reconcile their national interests and ensure compliance with domestic legislation of each partner state, e.g., it took 7 years to finalise the agreement on the *Concept on Legal Status of Migrant Workers*. Bilateral agreements pave the way to more immediate action, especially when a more direct approach is urgent. Thus, bilateral agreements between CIS countries (and with many countries outside the Commonwealth) have been signed on matters concerning migration for permanent residence, temporary labour migration, coping with undocumented migration, visa issues, reciprocal trips and naturalization.

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[39] http://www.enbek.gov.kz/node/777

[40] For example, one of the first intergovernmental agreements was entered into between the Republic of Kazakhstan and Mongolia on the cooperation in attracting the citizens of Mongolia to work in in Kazakhstan under an employment agreement of 2 December 1994.

[41] The Federal Migration Service of Russia reported that since the beginning of the program implementation (2007) and till March 2012 about 69.4 thousand persons arrived in Russia on the basis of this programme. (Monitoring of execution of the Federal Programme …, 1st quarter - 2012) http://www.fms.gov.ru/programs/fmsuds/files/Monitoring%20za%202%20kvartal%202011%20goda.pdf.

[42] Some programs are rather declarative. For instance, Kyrgyzstan does not have resources for financial support of these migrants that make them return back to the countries of previous residence (mainly – Tajikistan). http://www.centralasiaonline.com/ru/articles/caii/features/2009/01/29/feature-02.

[43] Programme of repatriation to Armenia is introduced with financial assistance of European Union http://www.backtoarmenia.com/?l=eng.

Broadly, these agreements aim at the simplification and the easing of restrictions associated with temporary and permanent-type migration. Agreements regulating *permanent* (for settlement) migration have focused on:

- citizenship acquisition (especially the simplification of naturalization procedures for the nationals of partner-states),
- direct assistance in immigration and repatriation (especially aimed at people belonging to the titular ethnic or language group of the destination country), and
- protection of rights of foreigners residing in the states which are parties to these agreements.

Labour migration agreements have been of particular interest to both migrant sending and receiving countries within the CIS area. The destination countries have been negotiating quotas for work permits (Russia, Kazakhstan, Moldova), limitations on the duration of migrant stay (all countries), and sometimes bans on the employment of foreigners in certain occupational categories (Russia, Kyrgyzstan).

Bilateral agreements on labour migration have mostly related to the social protection of labour migrants. At present, almost all CIS countries have agreements on labour migration with other CIS countries. These agreements are of similar nature and mostly cover the following:

- mutual recognition of rights and freedoms, including social rights and their welfare;
- admission to the social security system;
- assurance of equal rights for migrant workers in pay, working conditions, labour protection, working regime and other labour issues;
- the avoidance of supplementary and double taxation;
- mutual recognition of employment experience, occupational experience, educational qualifications and degrees, documents confirming educational attainment;
- provision of information for migrants about matters concerning labour migration; and
- the exchange of information between the states that are parties to the agreements.

The formation of the Customs Union and the Single Economic Space has provided a means of facilitating the free movement of labour and residents between the signatory countries. One of the first decisions announced by the Union State of Russia and Belarus proclaimed in April 2007 was to declare equal employment rights and the removal of work permits for citizens of both countries. Citizens of Kazakhstan have been granted the same rights in January 2012 when Russia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan formed the Customs Union. However, the flows of migrant workers between these countries are relatively small, while the bulk of labour migration within the CIS area is still subject to fairly strict regulation.

Matters concerning migration policies in CIS countries have also been the subject of international cooperation. In the early 1990s, CIS countries embarked on the accession to various international migration conventions. Virtually all CIS countries joined the 1951 Convention Relating

to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol. However, they were more cautious in acceding to the Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families. Only migrant source countries have shown interest in the protection of rights of their citizens at migrant destinations and, thus, have joined the Convention. The destination countries, on the other hand, do not want to take on such burdensome obligations and have abstained from signing the convention.

In many respects, the future migration situation in the CIS area depends on developments in Russia. In June 2012, the Russian President signed a new Concept of the State Migration Policy of the Russian Federation.[44] This envisages a more selective immigration policy, in particular, the formation of multiple channels for permanent immigration for persons with certain desirable characteristics, the introduction of a (visa) point system for potential immigrants, and the designation of various categories of temporary labour, educational and academic migration. For the Concept to be implemented, changes in the existing legislation will have to be made to harmonise the existing legal base with fundamental ideas of the Concept.

In recent years, the negative aspects of labour migration, such as the large number of labour migrants with an unregulated status and the rising social costs of such migration, have gradually challenged the attitudes of both destination and source countries. The destination states are increasingly willing to recognise the benefits of labour migration rather than focus on the negatives and, thus, see the advantages of more proactive and pragmatic policy of dealing with labour migrants. The source countries are also becoming more socially responsible by trying to negotiate protection for their nationals moving and staying abroad and addressing the many social and economic problems posed by the absence and eventual return of their labour migrants.

5 Concluding remarks

There are obvious differences between CIS countries in the way they prioritise different issues in their migration policies. These differences reflect both different demographic trends and diverse economic interests. Some CIS countries are making efforts to encourage repatriation of their compatriots from other countries; others set specific conditions for the permanent residence of aliens or define preferences for their naturalization. Another group of CIS countries are trying to influence migrants receiving states to secure guarantees of minimal social support and to protect the human rights of their nationals, especially those who work abroad as temporary labour migrants.

Increasingly, more attention is being paid to the regulation of temporary labour migration to reduce social and economic costs, especially at a time of economic austerity. There appears to be a gradually developing consensus among home and host CIS countries about the necessity to provide a

[44] http://президент.рф/news/15635

better organisational framework for recruiting foreign labour, professional training courses for migrant workers, assistance in learning the host country language, and so on.

In recent years, the CIS countries have concluded bi- and multi-lateral agreements and alliances (covering limited numbers of participants) to facilitate access of citizens of partner countries in national labour markets of destination states. The most apparent example is the Customs Union between Russia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan and agreements within the framework of the Union State of Russia and Belarus. However, it is a long way before a common labour market and free movement of workers between these countries could be formed. To date, CIS states continue to impede the intra-regional mobility of labour by imposing quotas for work permits, employment bans for foreigners in certain jobs and occupations, and so on. All these impediments make illegal and irregular employment attractive to both employers and migrants. The lack of effective monitoring of restrictive rules and regulations also contributes to the large-scale and still growing illegal employment of foreign workers in the CIS region.

Nevertheless, the co-operation between the sending and receiving countries in the CIS area is gradually developing. Increasingly, the receiving states approach challenges of migration more pragmatically and begin to see the benefits of migration rather than the threats. The sending countries, which bear the negative social consequences of labour out-migration, are also increasingly concerned with the social cost of caring for and welfare of migrant families left behind.

Policy makers in both receiving and sending countries also agree that reduction of labour migration risks depends on more transparent and better organised recruitment of labour migrants. More attention is being paid to the readiness of migrant workers to meet the requirements of receiving countries in terms of qualification and language skills. The creation of facilities for pre-migration training of migrants in professional skills and the language of destination country (mainly – Russian) is considered an avenue for possible cooperation between CIS states.

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