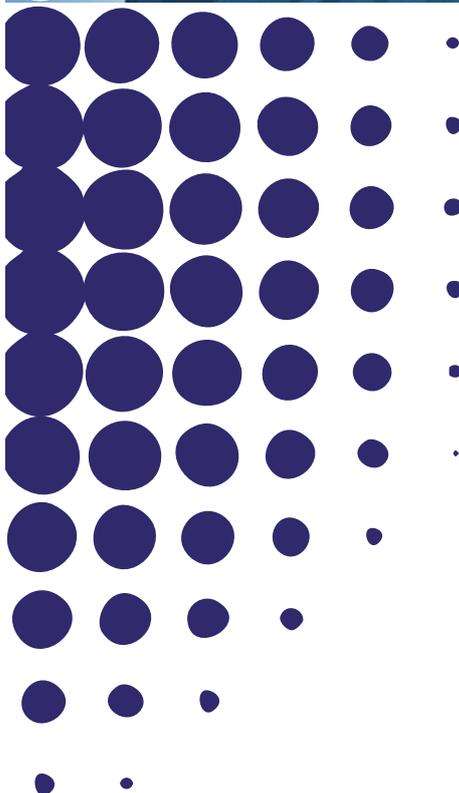


# WP3/06 SEARCH WORKING PAPER

## Migration between CIS countries: trends and policy

*Olga Choudinovskikh and Mikhail Denissenko*

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# Migration between CIS countries: trends and policy

Olga Choudinovskikh and Mikhail Denissenko

National Research University - Higher School of Economics

## ABSTRACT

The report is focused on both permanent and labor migration between the newly independent states, that quite recently were parts of one single country, and migration between them was internal rather than international. Until the late 1980-s migratory flows in the area were affected by the differences between the republics in the rates of population growth and quality of life. Immediately after the breakdown of the USSR, the volume and structure of international migration over its territory changed dramatically. Russia became the main destination for migrants from all over the former Soviet republics: between 1992 and 1999, about 6 million migrants from these countries arrived to the RF. The current migration situation in the CIS countries is characterized by absolute dominance of the inner flows within the region, the remaining position of Russia as the main destination for migrants from the other CIS countries, especially for the states of Central Asia, as well as significant volumes of temporary forms of migration. In 2000-2010 about 92% of permanent-type immigrants in the CIS area and about 75% of emigrants arrived from or moved to the countries of the CIS. Russia was a destination country for over 50% of all emigrants from CIS states on average, and in some cases - for more than 80% of the outflow. Despite the ongoing economic crisis scale of labor migration in the CIS is enormous. In 2011 Russian migration authorities issued over 1.2 million work permits and 0.9 million patents for work in private households.

Migration regime in the CIS area is characterized by visa-free movements between the countries and implementation of a system of constraints: quotas for work permits, bans for professions for migrant workers, limited duration of stay and so on. Inefficient control over the enforcement of restrictive regulations supports the large scale of illegal employment of foreign workers in the CIS. Obvious differences between countries in the priorities of migration policy are connected with the different demographic trends and economic interests. Some countries try to encourage immigration from other countries, stipulate requirements for permanent residence of aliens and create preferences for naturalization. Other countries endeavor to influence the hosting countries to obtain guarantees for minimal social support and respect the rights of their citizens living abroad as temporary labor migrants. Gradually emerges common understanding for development of the organized forms of recruitment of foreign labor, training of migrant workers, integration programs, etc.

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## **1. INTRODUCTION**

The objective of this work is to show the picture of permanent and temporary international migration movements between the independent states of the former Soviet Union during the years of their independence. Following this objective, we have used all the sources of information available in the CIS countries: censuses, results of the current migration registration, as well as surveys of population and migrants. Comparative analysis of the volume of migration flows and the number of migrants taken from different sources, gives possibility to assess the condition of migration statistics in those countries. Information on the Russian Federation is represented in wider volume. This is not only due to a leading role of the Russian Federation in the formation of migration processes in the CIS area, but also due to a much better availability of statistics for this country. Also, the basic directions and mechanisms of migration policy in the region are presented in this article.

While describing the current migration situation over the former Soviet territory, remember that quite recently all the former Soviet republics were part of one single country, and migration between them had an intra-state nature. The former belonging to one country still reveals itself in numerous personal ties between different states and daily usage of the Russian language, in the presence of a large Diaspora consisting of people coming from other parts of the former Soviet Union. Common language space, although reduced, is still present, despite the fact that most of the newly independent states by their language policy no longer recognize the Russian as their official language, and it is much less taught at schools and universities.

## **2. MIGRATION UP TO THE END OF 1980S: HISTORICAL REVIEW**

As it is known, the Soviet Union was a fairly closed country, i.e. international migration movements, with a small exception, were under strict government control<sup>1</sup>. Until the fall of the Iron Curtain and liberalization of the procedure of leaving the Soviet Union in the late 1980s, the population of the Union republics was changing by its natural increase and net migration

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<sup>1</sup> Within the interval since 1950-s and till the end of 1980-s the most large-scale migrations took place: between Poland and USSR in 1955-1958 (over 220 thousand persons were repatriated to Poland); repatriation of Armenians to Armenians SSR till 1958 (about 120 thousand persons); re-emigration from China till 1961 (about 240 thousand persons, mainly Kazakhs and Uyghur); emigration to Israel in 1969-1975 (about 100 thousand persons).

exchange with other republics. The estimates in Table 1 show how the value of migration balance in the former Soviet Union was changing over the past six decades.

**Table 1**

**Migration gain in the former soviet republics as by ten-year periods 1950-2009**  
(thousands)

Страны	1950-1959	1960-1969	1970-1979	1980-1989	1990-1999	2000-2009
<b>Eastern European States</b>						
<b>Belarus</b>	-925	-225	-100	-39	11	-92
<b>Moldova</b>	59	62	-18	-80	-856	-34
<b>Russia</b>	-884	-1281	302	1590	4660	2158
<b>Ukraine</b>	583	486	280	-99	-331	-153
<b>Transcaucasia</b>						
<b>Azerbaijan</b>	-28	-46	-79	-276	-166	151
<b>Armenia</b>	18	144	107	-119	-22*	-668
<b>Georgia</b>	-30	-109	-161	-88	-700	-50**
<b>Central Asia</b>						
<b>Kazakhstan</b>	997	616	-547	-820	-3146	21
<b>Kyrgyzstan</b>	-69	110	-90	-168	-276	-249
<b>Uzbekistan</b>	62	460	190	-581	-925	-1022
<b>Tajikistan</b>	74	136	11	-115	-584	-98
<b>Turkmenistan</b>	-37	9	-8	-83	294	-65
<b>Baltic States</b>						
<b>Latvia</b>	381	146	102	89	-180	-25
<b>Lithuania</b>	438	34	63	96	-205	-83
<b>Estonia</b>	254	82	67	44	-153	1

The authors' estimation was obtained through the demographic balance method and data of the Central Statistical Board of the USSR (up to 1991) and national statistical agencies of the CIS states (after 1991).

\*The estimates for Armenia for this period should be treated with caution, since the population of Armenia in the last Soviet census of 1989 was reduced by about 160 thousand people

\*\* - Not including Abkhazia and South Ossetia

Volumes and directions of migration flows did after all reflect the placement of investments across the country. Often well paid jobs were created in the areas where the population was sparse (Far North or Siberia), or was lacking the necessary skills/qualifications (for example in Central Asia). Migration flows were also affected by the differences between the republics in their rates of population growth and quality of living. Thus, unlike for the people of European descent, the Muslim people of the Central Asia and the Caucasus were at their early stages of demographic transition and urbanization, and had a low spatial mobility. Notable territorial differences in quality of living were preserved, despite the fact that the social policy during the Soviet period was aimed to achieve relative equality in living standards. For this, part of income from the economically developed republics was redistributed to less developed ones.

Besides the major cities, most attractive for the population in the 1960's -80's, were the Baltic republics, the Black Sea coasts of Ukraine and Russia, the foothills of the North Caucasus.<sup>2</sup>

In 1950-1960's significant resources were invested into rebuilding and modernization of industry in Ukraine, that suffered greatly during the war, into development of heavy industry and the virgin lands in Kazakhstan, into construction of industrial plants in Central Asia and the Baltic States. During the same period, Russia and Belarus were the main suppliers of labor to other republics. As long as most of investments were directed for the development of sparsely populated regions of the Far North, Siberia and the Far East, migration inflow to Russia was also increasing. In mid-1970s with the active development of oil and gas fields in the Western Siberia, Russia became the main center of attraction for migrants, including those from Ukraine. High demand of labor and government policy<sup>3</sup> encouraged return there of people, who had left earlier for Kazakhstan, the Transcaucasia and the Central Asia.

Migration between the Soviet republics during the post-war period was summarized by 1989 census (Table 2). In all in the USSR more than 30 million people or 10.6 per cent of the population resided not in the republics, where they were born. Among them, more than a half (65 per cent) lived in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus. Over half (67 per cent) of all lifetime migrants were born in these republics. The largest share of non-indigenous residents was in Latvia and Estonia, Kazakhstan and Armenia. Small number and proportion of non-indigenous residents in the Central Asia are explained by their high concentration in urban areas. Lifetime migrants from other parts of the Soviet Union formed from one quarter to one half of the total urban population in these republics.

With the fall of the Iron Curtain, migration outside the former Soviet Union increased dramatically. From the very beginning, it took the form of a mass return (repatriation) to their historic homelands of the Germans, Jews, Greeks and representatives of other ethnicities. Totally, during the period of 1988-1990 about 800 thousand people left the USSR. Emigration to the countries outside the former Soviet Union started to have a significant impact over population dynamics, especially in the republics with low fertility (Russia, Ukraine).

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<sup>2</sup> Rybakovskiy L.L. (1973), Regional analysis of human migration. Moscow: Statistica Publishers (in Russian); Khorev B.S., Chapek V.N. (1978) The problems of migration studies. Moscow: Mysl Publishers (In Russian); Danilova I. and al. Distribution of population: regional aspects of population dynamics and policy. Moscow: Mysl Publishers (in Russian).

<sup>3</sup>

**Table 2**

**Distribution of population of the Union Republics by the place of their birth according to the Soviet census of 1989**

Republics	Total Population (thousands)	Born:					
		(thousands)			(% )		
		in the same republic	in the other USSR republics	In the countries outside USSR and not stated	in the same republic	in the other USSR republics	In the countries outside USSR and not stated
<b>Russian SFSR</b>	147021,9	134555,7	11472,1	994,1	91,5	7,8	0,7
<b>Ukrainian SSR</b>	51452,0	43877,3	7119,9	454,9	85,3	13,8	0,9
<b>Belorussian SSR</b>	10151,8	8828,2	1268,5	55,1	87,0	12,5	0,5
<b>Uzbek SSR</b>	19810,1	18055,6	1701,6	52,8	91,1	8,6	0,3
<b>Kazakh SSR</b>	16464,5	12500,8	3749,8	213,8	75,9	22,8	1,3
<b>Georgian SSR</b>	5400,8	5025,8	362,1	12,9	93,1	6,7	0,2
<b>Azerbaijan SSR</b>	7021,2	6585,7	416,9	18,6	93,8	5,9	0,3
<b>Lithuanian SSR</b>	3674,8	3279,5	375,8	19,5	89,2	10,2	0,5
<b>Moldavian SSR</b>	4335,4	3721,6	596,3	17,5	85,8	13,8	0,4
<b>Latvian SSR</b>	2666,6	1960,8	692,0	13,7	73,5	26,0	0,5
<b>Kirgiz SSR</b>	4257,8	3552,3	671,9	33,5	83,4	15,8	0,8
<b>Tajik SSR</b>	5092,6	4640,3	442,8	9,4	91,1	8,7	0,2
<b>Armenian SSR</b>	3304,8	2103,2	734,4	467,2	63,6	22,2	14,1
<b>Turkmen SSR</b>	3522,7	3197,7	317,9	7,1	90,8	9,0	0,2
<b>Estonian SSR</b>	1565,7	1146,5	411,1	8,1	73,2	26,3	0,5
<b>USSR</b>	285742,5	253031,0	30333,1	2378,4	88,6	10,6	0,8

Source: Estimations based on "USSR Population Census 1989", CD-ROM, Minneapolis: EastView Publications Inc-CISSTAT, 1996.

### 3. FACTORS OF MIGRATION AFTER THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE USSR

Immediately after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the volume and structure of international migration over its territory have changed. The main phenomenon was the transformation of Russia into the main center of attraction for hundreds of thousands of migrants - both permanent and temporary- from all the former Soviet republics. According to the Russian statistics, between 1992 and 1999 about 5.9 million immigrants from the former USSR have arrived to Russia.

The increase of migration to Russia was partially due to mass inflow of refugees and internally displaced persons; it was caused above all by high level of political tension and ethnical conflicts. The first wave of refugees was the result of Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict back in the years of the USSR (1987-1991). It was followed by other inter-ethnic fights in the

Central Asia, Osh (Kyrgyzstan, 1990), Tashkent (Uzbekistan, 1989), New Uzen (Kazakhstan, 1989). The collapse of the Soviet Union ignited a series of serious armed conflict: the Civil War in Georgia (1991-1993), the war over Nagorno-Karabakh (1991-1994), the war in Abkhazia (1992-1993), the war in South Ossetia (1991-1992), armed conflict in Transdniestria (1992), the civil war in Tajikistan (1992-1997), the first Chechen war in Russia (1994-1996). Conflicts generated flows of huge masses of refugees. So, as a result of the Karabakh war, according to the UNHCR, about 300 thousand refugees were accepted by Armenia, about 230 thousand – by Azerbaijan (on top of that should be added almost 570 thousand internally displaced persons). About 280 thousand people have left the area of inter-ethnic conflicts in Georgia.<sup>4</sup>

A series of political events that followed the declaration of independence of the former Soviet republics: laws about the state languages, the rise of local nationalism - accelerated the outflow (or repatriation) of the Russian-speaking population from Kazakhstan, Central Asia, the Transcaucasia, Moldova into Russia, as well as to Ukraine and Belarus. The peak of outflow occurred between 1992 and 1996. A significant part of migrants have received asylum in Russia. Totally, more than 1.3 million people from the former Soviet republics got the status of a refugee or a displaced person.<sup>5</sup> At the same time, as the Russian-speaking population, were treated both the Russians and representatives of other ethnic groups, including the indigenous population and members of ethnically mixed families, for whom the Russian was either their mother tongue or spoken language. In the former Soviet republics of the Transcaucasia and Central Asia the Russian-speaking people mainly belonged to scientific and technical intelligentsia. Consequently, during the first 10 years of existence of the new sovereign states the population of European descent decreased from tens to a few percent.

Migration inflow to Russia also increased due to the servicemen of the Soviet Army, dismissed in the former Soviet republics by 1992; also its regiments, withdrawn by 1994 from the Eastern Europe and the Baltic States. Introduction of the institution of private property and its redistribution stimulated remigration home of those who had earlier moved to work in other Soviet republics. At the same time, because of the higher costs of education outside their own republics, educational migration over the post-Soviet area also shrank.

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<sup>4</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Statistical Yearbook for 1994, 1995, 1996, 2000 and 2007. <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/4a02afce6.html>

<sup>5</sup> Mkrtchyan N. - A decade of forced migration / Demoscope — Weekly No 71-72, 17-30, June 2002, <http://demoscope.ru/weekly/2002/071/tema01.php>

However, the political factors ultimately reflected the increasing depth of the economic crisis in the CIS. Because of disconnection of economical ties between the former republics of the USSR and restructuring of inefficient Soviet economy, a large part of industrial enterprises which employed most of the Russian population ceased their existence. Subsequently, the crisis destroyed a number of SMEs together with the agricultural sector. Decreased production in the Far North and Siberia caused the outflow of migrants from these regions to the Central Russia, and remigration to the newly independent states, mostly to Ukraine and Belarus. In the Soviet times relative equality in living standards and, in particular, the levels of salaries was maintained by the redistribution of income from the economically developed republics for the benefit of the less developed ones. With the proclamation of independence of the former Soviet republics, the system of budgetary redistributions sunk into oblivion.<sup>6</sup> The growing differences between the CIS countries in the pace and structure of their economical development was manifested in the increased differentiation of the living standards of population. In an advantageous position appeared those countries (Russia, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan) that possessed significant natural resources, demanded on the world market (oil, gas, metals).<sup>7</sup>

The economic crisis over the post-Soviet territory resulted in reduction of the number of employees and sharp decrease in wages. The most serious situation appeared in Georgia, Moldova and Tajikistan, where the per capita GDP by the middle of 1990s had fallen by about 70 per cent. As a result, the level of living had significantly fallen, and the poverty rapidly expanded. The situation was especially catastrophic in Tajikistan, where in 1999 one third of the population lived for \$1 per day. Certainly, the economic advantages of Russia compared to the other CIS countries define its role as the main center of attraction for migrants. Thus, except for a short period of crisis connected with the default of 1998, during the last two decades wages in Russia were much higher than in other CIS countries, including Kazakhstan (Table 3).

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<sup>6</sup> Gaidar Yegor (2007) *Collapse of an Empire: Lessons for Modern Russia*. Brookings Institution Press 2007.

<sup>7</sup> In Azerbaijan, after initiation of development of new oil fields, a rapid economical growth started. Gross domestic product for 2000-2010 increased by 4 times (in constant prices).

**Table 3**

<b>The average wages level in the CIS (Russia = 100 per cent)</b>		
<b>Countries</b>	<b>1991</b>	<b>2010 (в скобках – зарплата в евро)</b>
Azerbaijan	58	58,1 /306 eur/
Armenia	61,5	41,7 /219 eur/
Belarus	98,7	59,4 /319 eur/
Georgia	49,3	51,5 /244 eur/*
Kazakhstan	80,5	75,3 /395 eur/
Kyrgyzstan	67,2	22,2 /117 eur/
Moldova	79,2	34,4 /184 eur/
Russia	100	100,0 /512eur/
Tajikistan	67,5	11,5 /61 eur/
Turkmenistan	75,5	-
Uzbekistan	66,8	25,0 /140 eur/**
Ukraine	87,6	40,5 /213 eur/

Source: CIS Statistics Committee

\* - 2008;

\*\* - 2004

The absence of a permanent job, allowing households to overcome the poverty level, is the main factor that pushes immigrants to seek jobs in Russia and Kazakhstan. Although the number of people employed in the CIS countries has been increasing since the second half of 1990s along with the overcoming of the economic crisis, this increase did not correspond to the demographic trends in the Central Asia and Azerbaijan, where the population between the ages 15 and 60 was rapidly increasing (Table 4). A significant job loss in Armenia was turning significant number of workers into redundant at the local labor market.

**Table 4**

<b>Increase of population aged 15 - 60 and number of employees</b>				
<b>Country</b>	<b>Period of estimation</b>	<b>Increase of population in ages from 15 to 60 (thousands)</b>	<b>Increase of number of employees (thousands)</b>	<b>Increase of employees to increase of population (в %)</b>
<b>Kyrgyzstan</b>	1992-2008	1057	381	36,0
<b>Tajikistan</b>	1992-2008	1257	277	22,0
<b>Uzbekistan</b>	1992-2007	5584	2456	44,0
<b>Armenia</b>	1993-2007	36	-267	-744,9
<b>Azerbaijan</b>	1992-2008	1507	334	22,2

Source: Estimations based on: UN Population Division Database; ILO LABORSTA database; Denisenko M. Migration and remittances in Central Asia, Armenia and Azerbaijan (in Russian) ESCAP, Bangkok, 2010. [http://www.unescap.org/sdd/meetings/egm\\_mig\\_sep2010/mig\\_egm\\_paper\\_russian.pdf](http://www.unescap.org/sdd/meetings/egm_mig_sep2010/mig_egm_paper_russian.pdf).

In the future, Russia's role as the main center of attraction of permanent and temporary migrants from the CIS will remain. Provided, the economic and demographic factors create the necessary conditions for attraction of migrants, as sufficient ones should be recognized the deep historical/geographical/social aspects: availability of personal links between the residents of Russia and the CIS countries, as well as between extensive diasporas, knowledge of the language and daily life in Russia by the majority of migrants; geographical location and preserved transportation links over the former Soviet territory, visa-free entries for the citizens of the CIS countries.

#### **4. COMMON PATTERNS OF MIGRATION BETWEEN THE COUNTRIES OF THE CIS**

At present, the CIS migration situation is characterized by absolute predominance of resettlements within the region, the remaining role of Russia as the main hosting country for the migrants from the other CIS countries, as well as significant amounts of the forms of migration, by many times exceeding the permanent migration; the data of the national statistical offices about the flows of migrants show that 92 per cent of all immigrants coming from the other CIS countries, and about 75 per cent of those who leave, move also to the other countries of the Commonwealth (Table 5). However, the last figure should be lower, because of the undercount of immigrants in Russia and Ukraine. Thus, the number of emigrants who had left Russia for permanent residence outside the former Soviet Union in the foreign sources more than twice exceeds the Russian estimations.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Denisenko M. Emigration from Russia to the Far-abroad countries / Demoscope - Weekly №513-514, June 4-17 2012 <http://demoscope.ru/weekly/2012/0513/index.php> (in Russian)

**Table 5.****The structure of migration flows in the CIS and Georgia in 2000-2010 (in per cent)**

Country	Arrivals from:				Departures to:				Reference Period
	CIS countries	<i>Russia</i>	other countries	All countries	CIS countries	<i>Russia</i>	other countries	All countries	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Azerbaijan	94,6	62,4	5,4	100	96,7	83,7	3,3	100	2000-2009
Armenia	76,9	47,4	23,1*	100	82,6	69	17,4 **	100	2000-2009
Belarus	86,5	53,5	13,5	100	65,4	55	34,6	100	2000-2010
Kazakhstan	86,3	28,7	13,7	100	77	72,4	23	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
Russia	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
Turkmenistan	97,5	54,7	2,5	100	97	67	3	100	2000-2006
Uzbekistan	97,3	46,8	2,7	100	90,3	49,5	9,7	100	2000-2006
Ukraine	83	51,8	17	100	61,5	54,3	38,5	100	2000-2010

\* Including 8,5% that did not identified the country of the previous residence

\*\* Including 7,6 % that did not identified the country of the next residence

Source: National statistical agencies ,UN Population Division database

The national censuses accomplished in the CIS after the collapse of the Soviet Union, also show that among the lifetime migrants born abroad, who have indicated their birth place, the vast majority are the natives of the other CIS countries - the former Soviet republics (Figure 1). A higher percentage of people born outside the CIS, in Kazakhstan could be explained by the resettlement program of repatriates, and in Armenia – by a large Armenian Diasporas living all over the world, some of its representatives have returned back to their historic homeland.

**Figure 1**  
**The percentage of lifetime migrants born in the CIS and other countries, according to the census of the population in some CIS countries**



Source: Estimations based on the national censuses (excluding those persons who did not indicate their place of birth)

Temporary labor migration also mainly occurs within the CIS, the share of workers from the Central Asian states in the region amounts to 80-90 per cent; the citizens of the European part of the CIS to over 50 per cent. Domination of temporary forms of migration in the region is confirmed by the ratio of volumes of temporary labor migration and migration for permanent residence. For example, in Russia between 2007 and 2010 over one million of temporary labor migrants were annually getting their work permits; immigration for permanent residence amounted to 200-300 thousand per year (Figure 2). In 2011 1.2 million persons in Russia received their regular work permits (by quota), over 50 thousand were allowed to work beyond the quotas<sup>9</sup>; on top of that 856 thousand patents were sold<sup>10</sup>. Immigration for permanent residence was done by over 350 thousand people<sup>11</sup>.

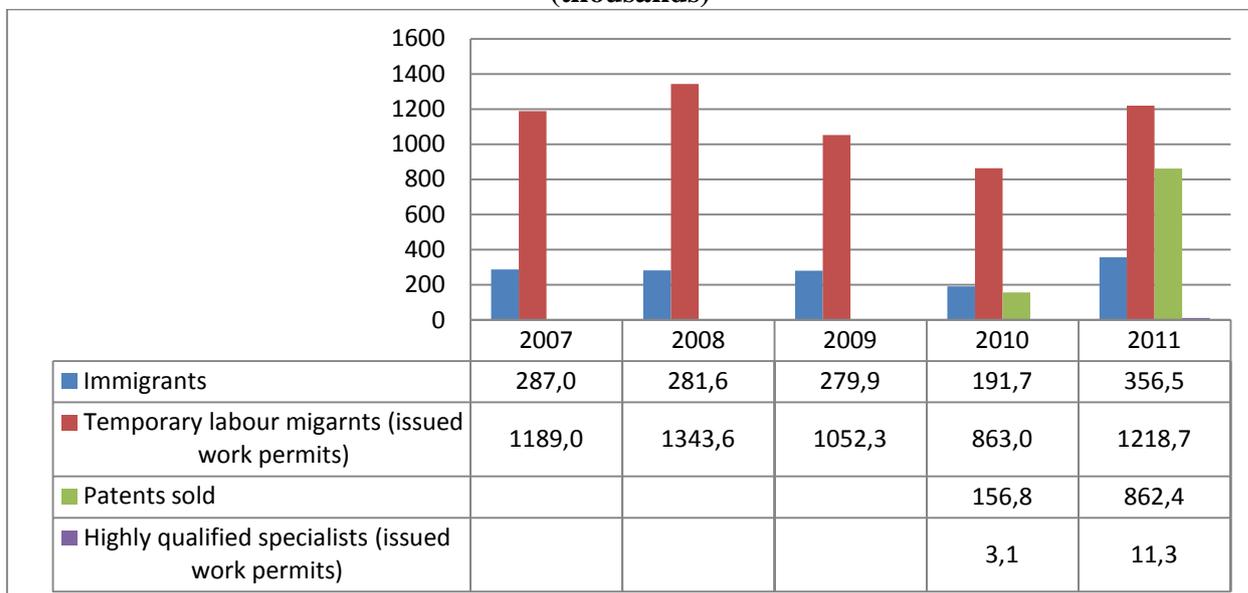
<sup>9</sup> Of these, about 40,000 are representatives of some specialties, the list of which is approved each year, as well as 11 thousand highly qualified specialists, hiring of whom has started in the middle of 2010.

<sup>10</sup> This new channel of simplified admission of aliens from the countries with visa-free entry to Russia was established in July of 2010.

<sup>11</sup> Sharp "increase" of immigration to Russia compared with 2010 was due to the changed rules of collecting statistics, the first time it included not only 132 thousand migrants, registered for permanent residence, but also over 224 thousand people, registered at the place of their stay for a period of over a year.

Figure 2

**Immigration and temporary labor migration in Russia, 2007-2011  
(thousands)**



Source: Federal Statistical Service of the Russian Federation (Rosstat) and Federal Migration Service of Russia.

In Kazakhstan, the number of foreigners who were granted work permit is close to the number of immigrants arriving to the country for permanent residence - both inflows make about 30-40 thousand per year. However, experts point out that the vast majority of migrants are not counted statistically, since they work without documented permits. Their annual number (mostly citizens of Uzbekistan) may be over 200,000. Thus, the temporary forms of migration are also several times larger than the volume of migration for permanent residence.

## 5. FLOWS OF MIGRANTS FOR PERMANENT RESIDENCE (LONG-TERM MIGRATION)

The source of information about migration flows during the Soviet period was the ongoing migration statistics about the persons who changed their residence for over 1.5 months. In 1990's the system of ongoing statistical registration of migration flows that was unified for all the republics, went out of order, and the quality of data on migration worsened. New institutions controlling the movement of population across the state borders in most of the newly independent states were just forming. Under the multiple changes in the regulatory framework related to population registration and collection of migration statistics, the adequate methodology

of accounting of long-term migration was never applied adequately. Because of that, data on migration in 1990s were incomplete.

However, based on it, one can get certain idea about the scale and the main directions of migration flows between the newly independent states and see the fundamental differences between the countries.<sup>12</sup>

Tab. 6 and 7 show the difference in the outcome of migration in the CIS countries in 1990s and 2000s. Throughout this period, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, only Russia and Belarus had positive net migration in exchange with all CIS countries; however values for the RF and Belarus differ tenfold. Other states throughout the period combined both immigration and emigration in the exchange with different countries, although their volumes are usually very different. Draws attention the fact that permanent-type migration to the new place of residence between many newly independent states practically ceased. It is primarily valid for the countries that are relatively sparsely populated or geographically distant from one another. As a result, significant flows of permanent-type migrants connect Moldova with Russia and Ukraine; Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan with Russia and Kazakhstan, Armenia and Azerbaijan - with Russia. Relatively close ties remain between the Slavic republics.

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<sup>12</sup> One of the first investigations of this topic was made in the UN Population Division more that 10 years ago: Population Division, DESA. International Migration from countries with economies in Transition 1980-2000. United Nation, ESA/P/WP.166, 2001

**Table 6****Net migration between the CIS countries, 1992-1999 (thousands)<sup>13</sup>**

Countries of destination	Countries of origin						
	Azerbaijan	Belarus	Kazakhstan	Kyrgyzstan	Russia	Turkmenistan <sup>14</sup>	Ukraine
Armenia	0,0	3,1	0,9	0,1	181,5	0,3	20,2
Azerbaijan		2,8	1,3	0,7	266,4	0,2	24,2
Belarus	-1,8		-28	-2,7	-18,8	-2,1	-19,8
Georgia	9,3	15,7	1,2	0,0	311,6	0,1	31,1
Kazakhstan	1,6	5,4		-5,1	1360,9	-17,6	49,8
Kyrgyzstan	0,1	16,9	1,2		241,5	0,1	7,4
Moldova	-0,1	0,6	-1,8	-0,1	66,6	-0,1	26,5
Russia	-72,4	-91,4	-1222,9	-217,9		-87,1	-202,4
Tajikistan	0,3	3,8	11,1	9,9	287,2	7,8	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	-5,9	
Uzbekistan	3,6	1,8	25,1	-20	531,4	6,4	90,5
Not stated	6,4	-	-	-	-	10,9	-
Total	-60,7	-64,1	-1236,3	-242,4	3702,2	-98,0	56,6

Source: Calculations based on data of the national statistical services of the CIS; UN, Population Division: International Migration flows web database <http://esa.un.org/MigFlows/MigrationFlows.html>.

**Table 7****Net migration between the CIS countries and Georgia, as by migration exchange countries, 2000-2010 (thousands)<sup>15</sup>**

Countries of destination	Countries of origin										
	Armenia	Azerbaijan	Belarus	Kazakhstan	Kyrgyzstan	Moldova	Russia	Tajikistan	Turkmenistan	Ukraine	Uzbekistan
	2000-2009	2000-2009	2000-2010	2000-2010	2000-2010	2000-2010	2000-2010	2000-2010	2000-2010	2000-2010	2000-2006
Armenia		0,1	2	1,3	0,0	0,3	168,4	0,0	-0,2	10,6	-0,1
Azerbaijan	-3,5		2,5	1,9	-0,2	0,4	110,5	-0,1	-1,1	9,1	-0,4

<sup>13</sup> The columns reflect the net migration rate of the country of the source data (in columns) with the countries - partners in the migration exchange (in rows). Tables 6 and 7 show how migration statistics offices around the world see the same flows. If records of immigrants and emigrants were conducted equally well, the volumes of net migration between the two countries having the same absolute values would be different only the signs and the total net migration in the CIS in theory would be zero. However, errors in accounting and different approaches to the definition of migrants do not let to come close to this "ideal" result.

<sup>14</sup> Turkmen National Institute of State Statistics and Information, UNFPA. Population and Migration in Turkmenistan (Case Study). Turkmenistan, 2001.

<sup>15</sup> Georgia seceded from the CIS in 2009.

Belarus	-1,3	-0,7		-10,8	-1,3	-1,4	-3,7	-0,5	-0,4	-9,1	-2,3
Georgia	0,9	2,1	2,1	1,2	0,0	0,1	82,5	-0,1	-0,0	9	0,0
Kazakhstan	-0,8	-0,5	14,8		-34,1	0,0	422,8	-3,9	-28,2	15,5	-216,7
Kyrgyzstan	0,0	0,0	1,3	19,4		0,1	170,5	-7,1	-0,1	2,6	-1,4
Moldova	-0,1	0,0	3,2	0,2	0,0		99,8	0,0	-0,0	29,8	-0,1
Russia	-55,5	-18,3	39,4	-395,3	-290,3	-25,6		-7,3	-56,3	-51,8	-289,8
Tajikistan	0,0	0,1	0,8	3,2	4,1	0,1	119,2		-0,2	2,4	3,7
Turkmenistan	0,0	1,3	2	31,5	0,0	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	-1,0		-16,5
Uzbekistan	0,0	0,8	3,6	274,4	-0,7	0,2	342,8	-7,5	-0,7	29,5	
Net migration in exchange with CIS countries	-63,6	-15,5	92	-76,5	-324	-45,9	1821,3	-94,0		50,6	-523,3
Net migration in exchange with other countries	-6,7	0,0	-14,9	-96,8	-15,6	-9,3	-255,6	-0,3		-125,7	-60,3
Not stated	-5,7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>-76</b>	<b>-15,5</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>-173,2</b>	<b>-339,6</b>	<b>-55,2</b>	<b>1565,6</b>	<b>-94,3</b>	<b>-90,4</b>	<b>-75,1</b>	<b>-583,6</b>

Source: Calculations based on data of the national statistical services of the CIS countries.

Table 8 shows the estimations of the total immigration and emigration flows in the CIS countries during the past decade according to current migration statistics. Certainly, the demographic balance method gives a more accurate picture of net migration; however the volumes of flows, their differentiation by countries could only be estimated by the current accounting. Relatively high rates of emigration in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, compared to other countries of the Central Asia and Transcaucasia show not only the scale of migration, but also higher quality of their accounting.

**Table 8**

**Net migration flows of migration in the CIS countries, 2000-2010 (thousands)**

Countries	Period	Arrivals	Departures	Net-migration
Armenia	2000-2009	14,0 (0,2%)	90,0 (2,4%)	-76,0
Azerbaijan	2000-2009	25,2 (0,3%)	40,6 (0,5%)	-15,5
Belarus	2000-2010	196,6 (2,0%)	119,8 (1,2%)	76,8
Kazakhstan	2000-2010	617,9 (4,1%)	791,2 (5,3%)	-173,3
Kyrgyzstan	2000-2010	45,4 (0,9%)	385,0 (7,9%)	-339,6
Moldova	2000-2006	21,7 (0,6%)	50,2 (1,4%)	-28,5
Russia	2000-2010	2389,4 (1,6%)	823,8 (0,6%)	1565,6
Tajikistan	2000-2010	14,7 (0,2%)	108,1 (1,8%)	-93,4
Turkmenistan	2000-2010	5,1 (0,1%)	95,5 (2,0%)	-90,5
Ukraine	2000-2010	451,4 (0,9%)	526,5 (1,1%)	-75,1
Uzbekistan	2000-2006	47,5 (0,2%)	631,0 (2,6%)	-583,6
	2000-2010	...	...	-786,5

\* - In brackets - the ratio of the population in 2000

Source: data from national statistical agencies, CIS Statistical Committee

Speaking about the trends of long-term migration to Russia, one should note the reduction of flow of immigrants from Ukraine, and especially, from Kazakhstan, two countries that in 1990s were the main suppliers of migrants. Between 2000 and 2011 the share of immigrants from Kazakhstan to Russia reduced from 35 to 10 per cent, from Ukraine went down from 21 to 12 per cent. However, the share of Kyrgyzstan migrants increased - from 4 to 12 per cent, Uzbekistan migrants - from 11 to 18 per cent, Tajikistan migrants - from 3 - to 10 per cent. Thus, in Russia, there is a tendency of gradual transition of the former temporary labor migrants to the category of migrants for permanent residence. This is indirectly confirmed by the information about the changes in the ethnic composition of migrants from the CIS. Russian statistics shows that in the flow of immigrants grew the share of titular nationalities of the countries - major suppliers of migrant workers. Between 2003 and 2007 the share of Tajik in the migration flow from Tajikistan has increased from 17 to 50 per cent, Kyrgyz (in the flow from Kyrgyzstan) - from 4 to 30 per cent, Uzbeks - from 5 to 13 per cent, of Moldovans - from 12 to 27 per cent, Azeri - from 33 to 64 per cent .

Emigration from the CIS in 2000-2010 was characterized by a relatively high percentage of departures to distant foreign countries. In the list of main destination countries for emigrants departing outside the borders of the former Soviet Union are the U.S. and Germany (Table 9). The number of immigrants to Israel has distinctly declined. However, due to migration from Ukraine and Moldova the role of the Southern European countries has increased, especially of Italy, as the region of attraction of immigrants from the CIS. But in general, over the last decade in the CIS there is a tendency of reduction of the volume of almost all major flows of permanent-type migrants.

**Table 9****Migration for permanent residence from the CIS to Germany, Israel, Canada and the United States (thousands)**

Countries	Germany		Israel		USA	
	1992-2001	2002-2010	1992-2001	2002-2010	1992-2001	2002-2010
Armenia	12,6	-0,5	1,6	0,2	28,4	28,2
Azerbaijan	12,5	4,5	19,5	2,8	16,2	10,6
Belarus	15,1	9,9	29,9	5,2	31,8	22,8
Georgia	13,1	3,4	18,1	2,9	6,1	12,2
Kazakhstan	776,6	116,1	15,4	2,5	9,9	16,3
Kyrgyzstan	60,4	10,8	3,2	0,6	2,5	5,0
Moldova	15,5	6,6	19,4	3,2	16,3	18,6
Russia	681,0	214,4	195,2	40,2	148,1	119,4
Tajikistan	11,1	0,4	5,5	0,1	3,3	1,9
Turkmenistan	4,3	1,2	2,2	0,7	0,8	1,7
Ukraine	126,8	59,0	197,5	26,4	161,9	128,4
Uzbekistan	27,8	7,6	42,4	6,6	24,9	33,9
USSR (not stated)	224,7	...	14,9	0	49,5	34,8
Total	1981	433	565	91	500	434

Note: for U.S. and Israel – estimations the numbers of issued residence permits; for Germany – estimations of net-migration.

## **6. STOCKS OF PERMANENT-TYPE MIGRANTS FROM THE NEWLY INDEPENDENT STATES**

The most important characteristic of the outcome of migration is the data on migrant population (stocks) residing in the country of destination. In this respect, for the countries that not so long ago made up a single state - the Soviet Union, there are certain difficulties, since the criterion of the country of birth is hardly applicable for most migrants. As it has been already noted, in 1989 over 30 million people in the Soviet Union resided outside the republics of their birth. An impressive number of "international" migrants "born outside" Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and other countries - participants of the CIS in the late 1990s is largely a result of resettlements done prior to disintegration of the USSR. Thus, according to the Russian census of 2002, out of 145.2 million of permanent population, 12 million people were born in other countries, (of which 10.2 million - in the CIS countries). This figure (12 million) with the light hand of experts from the UN Population Division and the World's Bank was presented to the world community as an estimate of the number of international migrants in the Russian Federation. But a large part of those 12 million were internal migrants, i.e. were changing their places of residence within the borders of one country. For some reason, the international experts

did not notice another number from the results of the same census: of those people who in 2002 resided in Russia, more than 5.2 million in 1989 were residents of other states, including 4.7 million - the countries of the CIS.

Thus, in the cases of countries of the former Soviet Union, the criterion of the place (country) of birth makes such people "statistical" migrants. In fact, they did not make international migration, but have become international migrants in accordance with the practice of the United Nations<sup>16</sup>. For this reason, data on the stock of population born outside of the CIS countries should be interpreted with caution (if it is not possible to specify the year of migrants' resettlement) because they do not always reflect the migration situation of the recent years. Over time the replacement of the generations of lifetime migrants of the Soviet period with the real international migrants of post-Soviet period will occur gradually.

Let us refer to the results of the population censuses conducted between 1989 and 2010; in those countries where the question about the place of birth was included to the census, and the census itself was conducted in the same geographical boundaries.<sup>17</sup> One should keep in mind that the definition of resident population in the last Soviet census is different from those that were introduced in the next censuses. By the methodology of 1989 USSR population census, the resident population covered all those who resided at a specific place for 6 months and longer, including those who were temporarily absent if their absence did not exceed 6 months. In the following censuses as time criterion for determining permanent residence was used the term of 1 year in accordance with the recommendations of the UN.

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<sup>16</sup> Migration and Remittances. Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union. Eds. Mansoor A. and Quillin B. Europe and Central Asia Region. The World Bank 2006.

<sup>17</sup> Census of Azerbaijan (1999 and 2009.), Georgia (2002) and Moldova (2004) did not cover all the territory of these countries. National Statistical Service of Azerbaijan does not receive data from the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh, the statistical agency of Georgia for many years has not been receiving information on South Ossetia and Abkhazia. Statistical service of Armenia estimates that the number of Armenians in the last Soviet census in 1989 was lowered by about 160 thousand people. In Azerbaijan and Tajikistan the data on the place of birth were not published.

**Table 10.****Distribution of population of some CIS countries by their birthplace  
(in thousands)**

Countries	Born in:	1989	Around 2000	Around 2009	[2000] to [1989]	[2009] to [2000]	[2009] to [1989]
Belarus	CIS countries	1182,3	1069,8	850,2	0,90	0,79	0,72
	Belarus	8883,3	8886,4	8388,8	1,00	0,94	0,94
	Other	55,1	89,0	264,9	1,62	2,98	4,81
Kazakhstan	CIS countries	3518,2	1946,1	1608,5	0,55	0,83	0,46
	Kazakhstan	12714,7	12840,0	14196,6	1,01	1,11	1,12
	Other	213,8	167,1	204,5	0,78	1,22	0,96
Kyrgyzstan	CIS countries	636,4	378,3	219,5	0,59	0,58	0,34
	Kyrgyzstan	3585,8	4425,4	5126,6	1,23	1,16	1,43
	Other	33,5	19,2	16,8	0,57	0,87	0,50
Russia	CIS countries	10196,5	11254,5	10458,7	1,10	0,93	1,03
	Russia	135549,8	131608,7	127116,4	0,97	0,97	0,94
	Other	994,1	2303,5	5281,4	2,32	2,29	5,31
Ukraine	CIS countries	6606,8	4837,3	-	0,73	-	-
	Ukraine	44332,1	42909,5	-	0,97	-	-
	Other	454,9	318,9	-	0,70	-	-

Source: data from national statistical agencies

Census of Belarus (1989, 1999, 2009), Kazakhstan (1989, 1999, 2009), Kyrgyzstan (1989, 1999, 2009), Russia (1989, 2002, 2012) and Ukraine (1989 and 2001) show that the number of lifetime migrants from the CIS countries among the resident population is decreasing in all the listed republics of the former Soviet Union, with the exception of Russia (Table 10). This reduction was strongest in Kazakhstan (54 per cent) and Kyrgyzstan (65 per cent). There was substantial increase of the number of those who did not indicate their places of birth as Belarus and Russia. There were 188 thousand of such persons in Belarus by 2009 Census, in Russia by 2010 census - 4.5 (!) million people.

**Table 11****The population of some CIS countries by the region of birth (thousands)**

Countries	Region of birth	1989	Around 2000	Around 2009	[2000] to [1989]	[2009] to [2000]	[2009] to [1989]
Belarus	European part of CIS	1076,3	946,6	726,0	0,88	0,77	0,67
	Central Asia	30,0	31,9	33,0	1,06	1,03	1,10
	Transcaucasia	76,0	91,3	91,2	1,20	1,00	1,20
Kazakhstan	European part of CIS	3125,4	1593,2	941,9	0,51	0,59	0,30
	Central Asia	297,2	302,1	628,5	1,02	2,08	2,11
	Transcaucasia	95,6	50,7	36,1	0,53	0,71	0,38
Kyrgyzstan	European part of CIS	414,2	184,6	83,5	0,45	0,45	0,20
	Central Asia	210,4	187,3	132,7	0,89	0,71	0,63
	Transcaucasia	11,8	6,3	3,3	0,53	0,53	0,28
Russia	European part of CIS	6494,1	5236,8	4541,5	0,81	0,87	0,70
	Central Asia	2646,9	4061,3	4225,8	1,53	1,04	1,60
	Transcaucasia	1055,4	1956,4	1691,4	1,85	0,86	1,60
Ukraine	European part of CIS	677,2	490,3	-	0,72	-	-
	Central Asia	5729,2	4133,1	-	0,72	-	-
	Transcaucasia	200,4	213,9	-	1,07	-	-

Source: data from national statistical agencies

Analysis of the data by the regions of birth shows that in all of the countries that we deal with, the number of those who were born in the European part of the CIS was reduced. But it was especially significant in the Central Asia. In Kazakhstan, the total number of natives of Belarus, Russia, Ukraine and Moldova has decreased by 70 per cent, in Kyrgyzstan - by 80 per cent (!). Obviously, this dynamics is the result of the repatriation of the population of European descent. The characteristics of population dynamics should also be taken into account: age composition of the remaining non-native-born people of European origin with high proportion of individuals of the elder age groups compared to the indigenous peoples. Thus, in Kyrgyzstan the share of persons above working age (men - 60 and older, women - 55 and older) among the Russians was 24 per cent, among the Kirgiz - 6.3 per cent. At the same time, the share of persons born in other Slavic republics and Moldova decreased in Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine, due to the reduction of migration exchange between them.

The number of immigrants born in Central Asia has increased in Russia, in Kazakhstan and in Belarus. In Kazakhstan and in the other republics of the Central Asia, the number of natives of the other Central Asian republics is growing not only because of economic migration, but also due to active policy of attracting repatriates (compatriots). The feature of Kyrgyzstan for two decades is that in this country the number of natives of almost all former Soviet republics has been reducing. This country also serves as a model for the rest of the Central Asian countries that have lost a significant part of population born in other republics of the Soviet Union due to migration. The number of natives of the countries of Transcaucasia has increased in Russia, Belarus and Ukraine, mostly due to the lasting cultural/historical links and geographical proximity.

Trends in long-term migration allow us to trace and make statistics of the number of foreign population constantly residing in a particular country. Of greatest interest are the examples of Russia and Kazakhstan, since these countries receive the main part of migrants from the CIS countries (Table 12 and 13). The characteristics of citizenship of migrants are of relatively "short-term" nature, especially under the mass application of simplified naturalization procedures in Russia<sup>18</sup> (and partially - in Kazakhstan). However, the Censuses show the growth among the resident population in Russia and Kazakhstan of the stock of citizens of such countries of Central Asia that are the main suppliers of temporary labor migration. In Kazakhstan, the stock of citizens of the Central Asian countries in the last intercensal period has increased very rapidly: the number of citizens of Turkmenistan - about 9 times, Uzbekistan - 7 times, Kyrgyzstan - 5.5 times. However, such growth was observed on the background of a relatively small number of citizens from these countries in 1999.

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<sup>18</sup> For instance, within 2007-2011 over 99.9% of 1 1.4 million applicants who obtained the RF citizenship did it through simplified procedures. The period between application submission and citizenship acquisition in major part of cases lasted from a few months to one year

**Table 12**

**The permanent population of the Russian Federation by citizenship, the All-Russia censuses of 2002 and 2010 (thousands)**

Citizenship	2002	2010	2010/2002 (%)
Total Population	145166,7	142856,5	98,4
Citizens of Russia	142442,4	137856,2	96,8
Total foreign population	1025,4	687,0	67,0
Citizens of CIS countries and Georgia	906,3	578,7	63,8
Azerbaijan	154,9	67,9	43,9
Armenia	136,8	59,4	43,4
Belarus	40,3	27,7	68,6
Georgia	52,9	12,1	22,8
Kazakhstan	69,5	28,1	40,4
Kyrgyzstan	28,8	44,6	154,7
Moldova	51,0	33,9	66,5
Tajikistan	64,2	87,1	135,8
Turkmenistan	6,4	5,6	86,9
Uzbekistan	70,9	131,1	184,9
Ukraine	230,6	93,4	40,5
Others	119,1	96,2	80,8
Stateless	429,9	178,2	41,5
Not stated	1269,0	4135,1	325,8

Source: Federal Statistical Service of the Russian Federation (Rosstat)

**Table 13**

**Resident population of Kazakhstan by citizenship, 1999 and 2009 censuses  
(thousands)**

Citizenship	1999	2009	2009/1999
Total Population	14953,1	16009,6	1,07
Citizens of Kazakhstan	14867,9	15850,7	1,07
Total foreign population	85,2	101,6	1,19
Citizens of CIS countries and Georgia	54,2	86,4	1,60
Armenia	0,6	1,0	1,59
Azerbaijan	1,2	3,2	2,64
Belarus	0,2	0,6	2,44
Georgia	0,5	0,7	1,38
Kyrgyzstan	1,7	9,3	5,53
Moldova	0,2	0,2	1,11
Russia	44,0	38,6	0,88
Tajikistan	0,6	1,8	2,85
Turkmenistan	0,3	1,8	6,96
Ukraine	1,8	2,4	1,37
Uzbekistan	3,1	26,9	8,70
Other	31,0	15,2	0,5
Not stated	0,0	57,3	-

Source: Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan

In general, before the collapse of the USSR approximately 26 million people who were born in other countries of the Commonwealth resided in the future CIS countries, by 2010 this number, by our estimations reduced to 18 million people. This decrease was mainly due to the reduction of the number of non-native-born not in Russia, where over the past two decades since the collapse of the Soviet Union, it has even increased, but at the expense of the other former Soviet republics.

## **7. LABOR MIGRATION**

Migrant-receiving countries were the first to start counting migrant-workers in the former USSR area via establishment of administrative systems of work permits issuance. These sources have created the bases of statistics of the foreign labor force in these states. Migrant-sending countries in the late 1990s have started to conduct sample surveys of households, using the questions about the absent household members, and questions addressed to return migrants. Similar questions were asked in the censuses. Currently, statistics about the population that is absent for labor reasons are being developed, mainly based on population surveys and censuses' materials (Armenia, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Tajikistan).

Accurate calculation of migrant workers leaving the CIS countries is not available, since all countries are making their measurement using different criteria. Some countries are trying to estimate the flows (of those who have left during the period), the other - the stock of people that are absent from the country of residence at the time of the survey (census). Also different time thresholds are used to count migrants or, alternatively, to exclude them from observation. We can definitely say that millions of the CIS residents are involved in labor migration each year. Only Russia annually hosts over a million of legal migrants (number of work permits issued in 2010 was 1.2 million and 863 thousand migrants were employed). The number of migrants working illegally in Russia, can be three to five times larger, experts estimate it as 3-4 million. Besides Russia, significant flows of migrants from Moldova and Ukraine move to the EU countries (according to national surveys - 29 per cent and over 40 per cent, respectively). Over one third of labor migrants from Uzbekistan choose Kazakhstan. Assuming that Russia takes over 70 per cent of the flow, the total number of labor migrants from the CIS countries in the former Soviet territories can be estimated as 7-8 million. Table 14 presents some estimation of the volumes of flows of labor migrants from certain countries of the Commonwealth. Undoubtedly, these estimations need to be clarified, but they reflect the true scale of the phenomenon, including the relation to the population of working age in the countries of origin of migrant workers.

**Table 14**

**Estimations of flow or the number of labor migrants from the CIS countries,  
2005-2010.<sup>19</sup>**

Country	Labour migrants (thousands)	Proportion of population in 15-59 <sup>20</sup>	Proportion of migrants working in Russia (%)	Source:
<b>Armenia</b>	127 (up to 300 in Russia)	( 15%)	85-95	Living standard survey 2008, (experts' estimates) <sup>21</sup>
<b>Azerbaijan</b>	(up to 350)	( 5 %)	85%	(experts' estimates) <sup>22</sup>
<b>Belarus</b>	41,8 (at the census date), (up to 300 in Russia)	( 5 %).	90	Population Census 2009 <sup>23</sup>
<b>Kyrgyzstan</b>	225 (at the census date) (outflow up to 500 per year)	( 15%)	83-89	Population Census 2009; (experts' estimates) <sup>24</sup>
<b>Moldova</b>	300 per year ( to Russia up to 300)	( 20%)	60	Labour force survey 2009-2010 <sup>25</sup>
<b>Tajikistan</b>	430 (700)	( 20 %)	95-99	Labour force survey 2008; Азиатский банк развития; (experts estimates) <sup>26</sup>
<b>Uzbekistan</b>	(1200-1600 in Russia)	(more than 10%)	60-65	(experts' estimates) <sup>27</sup>
<b>Ukraine</b>	1476 (within 2005-2008)	( 5%)	48	Ukrainian External Labour Migration. National survey 2005-2008 <sup>28</sup>

Note: including undocumented migrants; in brackets – experts' estimates.

<sup>19</sup> Russia and Kazakhstan plan to conduct surveys with a set of questions on labor migration in the future. Perhaps they will reveal the scale of departures from the countries that are currently considered in the region only as hosting countries for migrant workers.

<sup>20</sup> Authors' estimates for the reference period

<sup>21</sup> In accordance with experts' estimates in the beginning of 2000-s the total number of migrant workers from Armenia – both short- and long-term, made about 500 thousand persons including 280 thousand that worked in Russia (Mukomel V. (2005), Migration Policy in Russia. M., 2005. p. 328 (in Russian)). In 2010 the head of the Migration service of Armenia estimated the stock of labour out-migrants as follows: over 600-700 thousand of long-term and over 80-thousand seasonal migrant workers (Yeganyan G. Armenian net. Armenian news in Russian 19.07.2010: <http://armeniya.net/2010/07/19>)

<sup>22</sup> According to MOI of Azerbaijan information in the beginning of 2000-s up to 1 million Azerbaijan citizens stayed in Russia as migrant-workers, 9 of 10 violated migration law of the RF (Irregular Migration/ Otechestvennye Zapiski, 2004 № 4 б p. 174 (In Russian): <http://www.strana-oz.ru/2004/4/nelegalnaya-migraciya>); Denisenko M. Migration and remittances in Central Asia, Armenia and Azerbaijan (in Russian) ESCAP, Bangkok, 2010. [http://www.unescap.org/sdd/meetings/egm\\_mig\\_sep2010/mig\\_egm\\_paper\\_russian.pdf](http://www.unescap.org/sdd/meetings/egm_mig_sep2010/mig_egm_paper_russian.pdf).

<sup>23</sup> National experts of Belarus note that there are no any more or less agreed estimates of volumes of labour out-migration from the country; all available values differ by one order (Shakhotko L. International Labour Migration of the Citizens of Belarus. Voprosy Statistiki, 2011, No.8 (in Russian).

<sup>24</sup> Before the crisis – up to 500 thousand. Kyrgyzstan: Economic Growth, Employment and Poverty Reduction. UNDP, ILO 2008

<sup>25</sup> LFS of Moldova demonstrate a certain dynamics of migrant-workers stock from Moldova abroad (thousand): 2006 – 310, 1; 2007 – 335, 6; 2008 – 309, 7; 2009 – 294, 9. According to the Census 2004 data 273 thousand of residents of Moldova stayed abroad, including 242 thousand that left with a purpose to work.

<sup>26</sup> Kuddusov J. Impact of the world financial crisis on Tajikistan migrant workers: migrants' opinion / ILO, Ministry of labour RT (in Russian); Olimova S. (2009) Tajikistan: from forced migration to labour migration In: Post-Soviet transformations: reflection in migrations. Ed. by Zaionchkovskaya Zh. and Vitkovskaya G. M. (in Russian) p. 391; Migrant Remittances to Tajikistan, The Potential for Savings, Economic Investment and Existing Financial Products to Attract Remittances ILO, 2010

<sup>27</sup> Denisenko M. opt. cit

<sup>28</sup> Ukrainian External Labour Migration. National survey 2005-2008. Kyiv, 2009

Statistics of labor *in-migration* is based on administrative records that are usually done by migration services or agencies authorized to issue work permits, licenses to national employers for hiring foreigners and to make reports about the hired workers. Unfortunately, there is no information about the actual period of migrants' employment, their sex/age/qualification composition in these statistics. The Russian Federation was developing data on labor migration with a number of variables, but the methodology was considered as incorrect.<sup>29</sup> Other CIS countries, as a rule, limit themselves with publication of information about the number of work permits issued by the countries of migrants' citizenships.

Almost all CIS countries keep the records of citizens of those countries who received a job offer through the authorized (licensed) employment agencies before the departure. However, only a small part of labor emigrants are leaving through these channels. Their share in the total number of persons who are absent is low. For example, in Russia in 2008-2009 only about 2 per cent of labor migrants from Kazakhstan and Ukraine and 6-8 per cent of migrants from Tajikistan were employed through this channel.<sup>30</sup> Russia also keeps records of citizens who left via the licensed agencies to work abroad; their annual number makes about 70,000 persons. But this is a highly specialized channel of employment. Almost 80 per cent of migrant workers are employed on ships under foreign flags (mostly Cyprus, Liberia, Malta) and the other 20 per cent - are mostly students working during their holidays. The actual number of Russians working abroad can only be accessed through statistics of the destination countries.

Among the CIS countries, except Russia, the foreign labor is imported by Kazakhstan, legally hosting 30-50 thousand people per year. In Ukraine the number of temporary migrants annually makes about 20,000. The CIS countries, that are traditionally considered as labor-exporting, also attract a certain number of migrant workers from abroad. Of course, the volumes of these flows, compared with Russia are small and vary from a few hundred people (in Moldova) to several thousand: from two thousand persons in Tajikistan - to 9000 in Azerbaijan (Table 15).

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<sup>29</sup> Other variables (age, sex, occupations) were developed for the incorrectly calculated aggregated value of the "had worked during the reporting period", that was a sum of migrant stock at the beginning of the year and inflow in the same year. It implied a significant overestimation of the real size of foreign labour force. Since 2011 Russia has been in the process of reformation of statistics of labour migration also taking into account its new forms and channels.

<sup>30</sup> Calculated on the basis of the FMS of Russia and the CIS Statistical Committee data.

Table 15.

## Flows of foreign labor force in selected CIS countries (persons)

Country	Citizenship of Foreign workers	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
<b>Belarus</b>	CIS-countries	409	507	826	1060	1943
	Other	242	415	670	1403	2892
	Total	651	922	1496	2463	4835
<b>Moldova</b>	CIS-countries	103	130	201	214	131
	Other	628	698	801	922	459
	Total	731	828	1002	1136	590
<b>Kazakhstan</b>	CIS-countries	4164	6427	5528	6447	2749
	Other	20596	34470	53282	47757	28239
	Total	24760	40897	58810	54204	30988
<b>Russia (in thousands)</b>	CIS-countries	303	871	984	785	659
	Other	267	323	359	267	204
	Total	570	1194	1344	1052	863
<b>Ukraine</b>	CIS-countries	3367	3994	5194	7032	5844
	Other	6586	8601	14357	19949	13186
	Total	9953	12595	19551	26981	19030

Source: CIS Statistical Committee

The main difference of the flows of foreign labor between Russia and other countries of the region is not only in their volume, but also in composition of migrants by citizenship. The share of legal labor migrants from other CIS countries during the recent years in Russia has reached 75 per cent<sup>31</sup>, in Belarus - about 40 per cent, in Ukraine – 30 per cent, in Moldova - roughly 20 per cent. In Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and Azerbaijan the share of migrants from the CIS did not exceed 10-12 per cent. Among the attracted foreign labor from the remote foreign countries in the CIS dominate the citizens of China, Turkey and Vietnam. Taking into account the patents that were sold, the proportion of citizens of the CIS in the flow of labor migrants in Russia are currently over 90 per cent. Currently, among foreign workers who arrived in the Russian Federation predominate citizens of the Central Asia - Uzbekistan (38 per cent) and Tajikistan (16 per cent). The flow of migrants from China is also significant (7 per cent).

<sup>31</sup> Until 2010 the RF data about the workers from the CIS countries represented foreigners that were legally *hired* by Russian employers (who sent a special notification to the migration authorities). Since 2011 the information is available only on the number of *issued regular work permits*. Over 83 per cent of these documents were granted to the citizens of the CIS countries.

Since 2010, Russia accepts a special category of foreign workers, the so-called highly qualified specialists (HQS)<sup>32</sup>. In this so far small group of migrants (the stock of HQS by the end of 2011 made about 10 thousand people) share of CIS citizens was less than 7-8 per cent.

A typical feature of labor migration in the CIS is a huge number of migrants with irregular status or working without permits. The main reason for this is believed to be a very limited ability to control the situation from the side of the governments of the receiving countries (first of all - Russia and Kazakhstan); the exaggerated scale of "gray" economy<sup>33</sup>, that employs most of the illegal migrants, the high profitability of using such migrants, that maintains the unpunished corruption schemes of hiring such foreigners. With all the relativity of data comparison, obtained from different sources applying different definitions of the migrant, they still make it possible to see that from the number of migrants who stayed in Russia to work, legally were employed no more than 60 per cent of the citizens of Moldova (2009) and 35 per cent of the citizens of Armenia (2008), less than 30 per cent of the citizens of Tajikistan (2009), about 30 per cent of the citizens of Kyrgyzstan (2009).

## 8. CONCLUDING POLICY REMARKS

The presented picture of migration over the post-Soviet territory is one of the most large-scale on the map of the world. Although, in comparison with the Soviet period, the volume of permanent-type migration between the former Soviet republics, that transformed from domestic to international has declined, temporary migration started to develop. At the same time, the main sources of temporary labor migration has become a region that in the Soviet period was characterized by low mobility of indigenous population – the Central Asia, Azerbaijan, and Moldova. Currently, the turnover of permanent migration between the countries of the Commonwealth makes up to 1 million persons per year, the flow of migrant workers in legal and illegal forms makes not less than 7-8 million. Stocks of natives of other CIS countries are still rather big in the countries that host migrants (Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan). Although the number of the latter over the whole former Soviet territory has significantly reduced, it is still rather large - 18 million people.

In the future, the weakening of migration flows should not be expected, especially between Russia and Kazakhstan on one hand, and the other former Soviet republics, on the other. Pushing factor of development of these relations will be the continued differences in the

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<sup>32</sup> The only criterion applied to migrants of this category is the wage - not less than 2 million rubles per year, and 1 million for professors and researchers (about 50 000 or 25 000 Euro respectively).

<sup>33</sup> The share of the shadow economy as estimated by the experts makes at least one third of the GDP (see <http://www.gazeta.ru/financial/2011/04/01/3572005.shtml>), and in Kazakhstan - not less than 20 per cent.

expected scenarios of economic and demographic development. In Russia, however, as well as in Ukraine and Belarus, a significant decrease of population of working age (up to 10 million by 2021) is expected, as well as the acceleration of the aging process. Under these circumstances, an acute question arises: "Is the economic growth possible under the conditions of shrinking and aging of the working population?" Along with this process, in three Central Asian countries - Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan - the population of working ages will increase by 5.4 million people. At the same time, millions of natives of the Commonwealth, who do not reside in the countries of their birth, along with the migrant workers are the guarantors of maintaining personal ties between the different countries of the CIS, and keeping a common language area.

The CIS countries are clearly divided into those that supply migrants and those that host them. Understanding of the importance of migration, not limited by "economic sense" is growing in the countries. Along with this a need to establish mechanisms for migration management is growing too<sup>34</sup>. More and more attention is paid to the regulation of labor migration in order to reduce its social and economic costs. Gradually an understanding is getting formed of donor and recipient countries for development of organized forms of recruitment of foreign labor, professional training of migrant workers, learning the language of a hosting country, etc.

In the recent years, the CIS countries apply the practice of concluding bilateral or multilateral (for a limited number of participants) agreements and alliances that facilitate access of citizens of the partner countries to national labor markets of these countries. In most cases, experts are skeptical about the effectiveness of such agreements. The lower the status of the agreement, the higher is estimation of its efficiency. As most inefficient are considered agreements concluded within the CIS. They are declarative and isolated from reality.<sup>35</sup>

Despite the large number of bilateral and multilateral agreements between the CIS countries in the field of migration, it is still impossible to talk about the formation of a common labor market and free movement between the countries. The CIS countries apply a system of constraints - in the form of quotas for work permits, employment bans for migrant workers, and so on. The lack of efficient enforcement of restrictive rules and regulations cause a large scale of illegal employment of foreign workers in the CIS<sup>36</sup>.

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<sup>34</sup> For more detailed information on migration policies in the CIS area, main mechanisms applied to regulate migration and obstacles for free mobility of labour in the region see: Chudinovskikh O. Migration and Bilateral Agreements in the Commonwealth of Independent States. In: Free Movement of Workers and Labour Market Adjustment. Recent Experiences from OECD Countries and the European Union. OECD 2012.

<sup>35</sup> Zayonchkovskaya Zh. Interstate partnership of Russia and the countries of Central Asia in the sphere of labour migration. Paper presented at the Scientific Council of the Federal Migration Service of the Russian Federation, April 10, 2009 (in Russian): <http://www.fms.gov.ru/upload/iblock/4c6/zai.pdf>

<sup>36</sup> Chudinovskikh O. opt. cit.

Nevertheless, there are positive examples of interstate cooperation in migration management. The most vivid of these is the Customs union between Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan, and the agreement in the framework of the Union State of Russia and Belarus. However, the flows of labor between these two countries can not fundamentally change the picture of the migration regime in the region.

Due to these conditions, the future of migration situation in the CIS strongly depends on policy of the Russian Federation. In the regulatory framework of Russia, related to migration and naturalization, important changes occur during recent years. On June 13, 2012 the President of Russia has signed a new conception of the State Migration Policy of the Russian Federation. It is intended to increase the selective component of the migration policy, application of differential mechanisms of attracting and usage of the foreign labor, development of various forms of temporary employment, educational and academician migration. One of the key directions of the new migration policy, that has been in demand for a long time both in Russia and in the countries of origin, is the development and implementation of the programs of integration of migrants, including learning Russian language, getting acquainted with information about legislation, cultural traditions and norms of behavior in the hosting society.



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