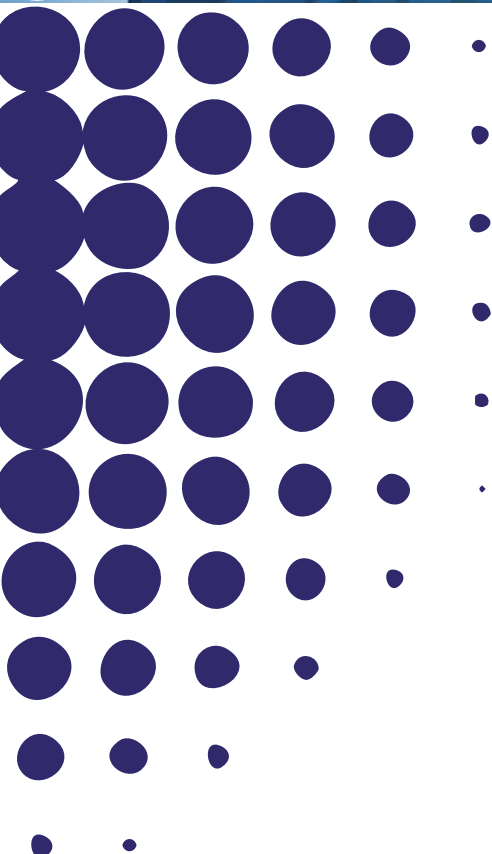


Migrants at the Russian Labour Market: Characteristics, Status, Mobility

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents the main findings of recent sociological survey on labour migration in the Russian Federation. Over the last two decades, international migration in Russia has become a marked socio-economic phenomenon. However, Russia has not enough information about migrants: their socio-demographic characteristics, spheres of activities, living and working conditions, mobility, etc. A lack of reliable information creates a distorted image of a migrant, leads to inadequate assessments of their place in Russian society and labour market, and reduces effectiveness of migration policy efforts.

Our study shows that, in spite of a large number of foreign workers, arriving in Russia, first of all, from the CIS states, the system of attracting them is ineffective. The mechanism of selection of foreign workers from the CIS countries by professions and qualifications does not meet the needs of Russian employers. Most foreign workers' labor contracts are limited to 1 year which does not contribute to the employers' interest to invest in professional training of migrants.

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Introduction

Over the last two decades, international migration in Russia has become a marked socio-economic phenomenon. Overall, more than 11 million work permits were issued to foreign nationals during the 2000s. In 2012, the number of labour migrants legally working in Russia exceeded 2 million people. Even a bigger number of foreigners worked and are working without a work permit, i.e. illegally. A number of experts and senior officers of the Federal Migration Service have estimated that 3-5 million foreign citizens are annually engaged in labor activities in the country without an official permit². Overall, foreign workers account for about 3% all employed population, and if illegal migrants are taken into consideration, this share grows up to at least 7%.

In contrast to other countries, Russia has little information about migrants: their socio-demographic characteristics, spheres of activities, living and working conditions, mobility, wages, etc.³. A lack of reliable information creates a distorted image of a migrant, leads to inadequate assessments of their place in Russian society and labour market. In this work we offer a review of the findings of one of “rare” recent sociological surveys on migration.

Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Interviewed Migrants

In November, 2011, at the request of the Highest School of Economics, NGO “The Centre for Ethnopolitical and Regional Studies” conducted a sociological survey aimed to analyze migrants’ status in the Russian labour market, as well as issues associated with their adaptation and integration. The survey was conducted in eight RF constituent areas: Moscow, Moscow Oblast, St. Petersburg, Astrakhan Oblast, Samara Oblast, Sverdlovskaya Oblast, Permskiy Krai, Primorsky Krai⁴. Sampling quota distribution among the regions was based on a region’s share in all selected constituent areas in terms of its cumulative number of working

²The State Migration Policy Concept of the Russian Federation through to 2025: <http://cis-legislation.com/document.fwx?rgn=52502> (English translation); Population of Russia 2009 / ed. Vishnevsky A. – Moscow: NRU HSE, 2011:264 (in Russian): 264.

³ The Federal State Statistics Service (Rosstat) plans to conduct a labor migration survey only in 2015. Prior to 2013, data on migrants contained in the Labour Force Survey have practically never been examined.

⁴ Oblast, krai, republic are the administrative-territorial units of Russian Federation. According to data of the Federal Migration Service, in January- October 2011, the selected regions accounted for 54% of foreign workers legally employed in the Russian Federation.

migrants, having a work permit or license, adjusted towards a slight increase in quotas for Astrakhan and Samara Oblasts and Permsky Krai. Besides, the sample composition took into account the distribution of legally employed migrants by respondents' home country (citizenship).

The total number of interviewed migrants was 8499. Respondents were foreign citizens, regardless of their legal status and ethnicity. The distribution of migrants by their home countries is shown in Table 1. Most migrants arrived in Russia from Central Asia (Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan), they account for three-fourths of all respondents (72,0%).

The majority of migrants (90-95%) are representatives of the title nation of their home country with the exception of Kyrgyzstan - 18,2% of migrants from this country are Uzbeks, and the Ukraine and Republic of Moldova - 27,3% and 8,6% (respectively) of those, arriving from these countries are Russians

Table 1. Migrants by country of origin (%)

Country of origin	Respondents	In 8 surveyed region of Russia (FMS)	In Russia (FMS)
Azerbaijan	3,2	2,3	3,2
Armenia	2,3	4,5	5,7
Kyrgyzstan	10,6	8,0	6,6
Republic of Moldova	6,5	6,0	4,2
Tajikistan	20,0	21,6	19,3
Uzbekistan	41,4	43,8	45,0
Ukraine	8,8	7,6	7,9
China	2,7	3,3	4,6
North Korea	1,0	1,0	1,1

Note: The Table shows the data on home countries, a proportion of migrants from which exceeds 1,0%. They account for 96,5% of interviewed migrants (98,1% in 8 survey regions, 97,6% in the RF)

Migrants' distribution by their period of stay⁵ and ethnic groups (Table 2) shows that the migration flow ethnic structure is shifted towards peoples, representing Central Asian countries. Thus, every second migrant from Central Asia arrived in Russia for the first time not later than 2 years ago, and only 26% are "long-term stayers" or "permanent visitors" (who have arrived in the country for the first time for 6 years and longer). For comparison, migrants, representing

⁵ A period of stay here in after refers to the number of years which have passed from a migrant's first visit to Russia, i.e. the period of stay in the context of this article does not amount to the duration of a migrant's continuous period of stay in the Russian territory. In the questionnaire the direct question on duration of stay was absent. Instead of it the question "When You for the First Time Arrived to Russia" was asked.

Transcaucasia nations, have almost a mirror distribution by the above groups: 24,8% of migrants are newcomers and 67,9% are long term stayers. As a consequence, an average interviewed migrants' period of stay in Russia considerably varies: 3,9 years for respondents from Central Asia, 6,3 years for representatives of the central part of the CIS, and 8,0 years for Transcaucasia peoples.

Table 2. Social and demographic characteristics of respondents (Percentage in column)

	All respondents	Including Ethnical groups from:			
		Central Asia	Transcaucasia	European part of CIS	other countries
Sex					
Males	70,5	75,8	71,8	43,8	78,3
Females	29,5	24,2	28,2	56,2	21,7
Age (years)					
Up to 20	10,6	12,2	9,5	5,0	7,9
20-24	18,8	20,0	14,9	12,7	24,9
25-29	19,2	19,6	15,6	18,1	21,3
30-39	27,5	27,3	25,3	28,7	27,7
40-49	18,1	16,9	21,6	22,9	14,8
50-59	5,2	3,7	11,4	10,6	3,0
60 and older	0,6	0,2	1,7	2,0	0,4
Education					
Lower Secondary	10,6	11,9	7,4	4,0	16,0
Secondary school	46,7	51,4	37,9	32,8	37,4
Secondary special or secondary vocational education (college)	26,2	23,7	28,7	39,3	17,2
Higher (university) or incomplete higher	16,5	13,0	26,0	24,0	29,4
Time of the first visit to Russia (years ago)					
Up to 1	20,1	22,4	12,0	13,1	20,7
1-2 a	25,3	27,0	12,8	18,9	33,3
3-5	23,4	24,6	17,4	21,1	21,2
6-9	14,6	14,3	15,8	16,5	12,5
10 and more	16,6	11,7	42,0	30,4	12,3

Men absolutely prevail in the gender structure of migrants (70,5%). This prevalence is most pronounced among migrants from Muslim countries (Azerbaijan – 80,4%, Tajikistan – 80,0%, Uzbekistan – 77,1%), as well as from North Korea (84,9%). In case of Muslim countries, male prevalence can most likely be attributed to socio-cultural peculiarities of the country of

origin, and in case of North Korea, it is the consequence of State regulation and control over the composition of people, leaving the country. At the same time, the majority of migrants from the Ukraine and Moldova are women (60,3% and 52,0% respectively). In this case, along with territorial proximity, an important role is played by the knowledge of the Russian language, and considerable socio-cultural affinity, visual indistinguishability from the local population, as well as reorientation of the migration flow towards European countries.

Three quarters of migrants (76,1%) are working age people (under 40), with almost a half of them (48,6%) being under 30. An average migrant's age is 31,8 years, including 30,9 years for men and 34,0 for women. The male age structure is characterized by a very high proportion of youth – every second migrant (52,6%) is under 30 (39,1% of women). Male dominance is particularly pronounced among youngest migrants from Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. Women tend to be represented by older ages. In fact, 30,9% of female migrants are over 40, while this age group among men accounts for 20,9% (10 p.p. less).

The age structure of different ethnic groups varies (Table 2). The youngest migrants arrive in Russia from Central Asian states (Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan), which to a great extent is determined by the younger age structure of population of these countries. Approximately, a half (51,8%) of migrants, representing Central Asian peoples, are under 30, while among migrants from Transcaucasia republics, this age group accounts for 40,0%, and migrants from the European part of the CIS (Ukrainians, Moldavians, Russians) – for about a third (35,8%).

The level of education among migrants is relatively low: only a quarter (26,2%) of them have secondary special or secondary vocational education, every second migrant (16,5%) has higher or incomplete higher education, including 11,5% of those with university education. Migrant women are better educated than men. Almost a half (51,5%) of female migrants have vocational education, including - 22,3% - higher education. The proportion of male migrants with complete vocational education is considerably lower – 39,1%, including 14,1% - with higher education.

The level of education varies considerably across various ethnic groups of migrants (Table 2). The lowest educational level is observed among 3 principal countries of origin - Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan: the proportion of people with secondary or lower education among nationals, arriving from these countries, is 63,3%. Every eighth migrant, representing Central Asian peoples, has not even completed secondary education. Most educated migrants are those who arrive from Armenia and the Ukraine, 34,5% and 27,2% (respectively) of whom have university diplomas. Noteworthy is a high level of education among migrants of the Russian

nationality: 36,0% of them have higher and incomplete higher education, 33,6% - secondary special and secondary vocational education. Those who have lower than secondary education account for only 1,8%.

The level of education increases with the age (Table 3). Only 22,5% of migrants in the under 20 age group have only primary or incomplete secondary education – the highest indicator for all age groups. It is 4 times higher than a similar indicator for migrants aged 40-49 (6,5%) and 50-59 (5,4%), and even exceeds this indicator for the oldest age group (10,0%). At the same time, only 4% of respondents from this youngest and poorly educated group were studying at the time of survey, the great majority of them (76%) were working and 14% were unemployed. Most likely, the education process for most of them is over.

Table 3. Respondents by age and levels of education (Percentage of total in line)

Age (years)	Lower Secondary	Secondary school	Secondary special or secondary vocational education (college)	Higher (university) or incomplete higher
Up to 20	22,5	56,5	13,2	7,8
20-24	13,4	50,8	20,4	15,4
25-29	12,2	48,2	23,1	16,5
30-39	8,4	47,3	29,0	15,3
40-49	6,5	39,6	34,3	19,6
50-59	5,4	35,2	36,3	23,0
60 and older	10,0	22,0	26,0	42,0

The proportion of migrants, having professional education, grows with the age. In the 50-59 age group, 59,3% of migrants have professional education, including 23,0% - higher, among 40-49 - years olds – 53,9% (19,6% - higher education), in the 30-39 age group – only 44,3% (15,3%), and in the 25-29 age group it goes down to 39,6% (16,5%). The gap between the extreme 25-29 and 50-59 age groups amounts to almost 20 p.p.⁶

Distribution of migrants by their time of the first arriving to Russia and education (Table 4) shows that the less the period of stay in Russia is, the more migrants have no professional education. Thus, 60-64% of migrants, arriving to Russia for less than 2 years and 47,4% of “long-stayers”, who arrived for the first time at least 10 years ago, have no professional education. Only 12,0% of migrants who arrived in the country in 2011 are university graduates, i.e. twice as much as (21,3%) those who arrived 10 and more years ago.

⁶ For people over 25 the professional education process is considered to be completed.

Table 4. Respondents by time of the first visit to Russia and level of education (% rows)

Time of the first visit (years ago)	Lower Secondary	Secondary school	Secondary special or secondary vocational education (college)	Higher (university) or incomplete higher
Up to 1	13,6	50,3	24,1	12,0
1-2	12,0	47,9	24,5	15,6
3-5	8,8	48,8	25,7	16,7
6-9	10,0	44,5	27,0	18,5
10 and more	7,8	39,5	31,4	21,3

Knowledge of the Russian language is one of the key migrant's characteristics which to a great extent determine his/her adaptation and integration into the recipient community. The knowledge of the Russian language of 17,9% of interviewed migrants can be assessed as "bad" and very bad⁷. Most acute this problem is among migrants from the countries outside of the CIS (44,2% of respondents belonging to this group got a "bad" and "very bad" mark") and Central Asia (20,6%). (We'd like to remind that the latter are the largest group of migrants). The share of respondents who received bad marks among migrants from the Transcaucasia is much lower – 8,1%, and among respondents from European CIS states are practically non-existent.

The older a migrant is, the higher his level of knowledge of the Russian language is, and is the longer experience of staying in Russia. This dependence is revealed in all ethnic groups. Bad knowledge of Russian was, first of all, demonstrated by young migrants from Central Asia who have arrived in Russia only recently. Thus, poor knowledge of Russian was demonstrated by a third (32,3%) under 20, representing peoples of Central Asia, which is almost twice as high as by 30-50-year old migrants from the same countries and by their peers from Transcaucasia republics. The language knowledge of 31,5% migrants from Central Asian countries with a period after the first visit of Russia less than a year was assessed as bad which is twice higher than among migrant from the same countries who had stayed in Russia for 3 years and more.

Overall, the analysis of socio-demographic characteristics of interviewed migrants makes it possible to conclude that the Russian labour market is becoming increasingly attractive for young migrants, mostly, from Central Asian countries, having a low level of education, professional training and knowledge of the Russian language⁸.

⁷ Migrants' knowledge of the Russian language was evaluated by an interviewer on the basis of a 5-point grading scale.

⁸ Our conclusions do not contradict the results of other labour migrants surveys. For example, see Zayonchkovskaya Zh., Tyuryukanova E, Florinskaya Yu. Labour Migration in Russia. Moscow: MAKS Press, 2011 (in Russian); Population of Russia 2009 / ed. Vishnevsky A. – Moscow: NRU HSE, 2011 (in Russian).

Foreign Workers' Status in the Russian Labour Market

The overwhelming majority of respondents (85,9%) worked at the time of survey, which made it possible to classify them as employed. 7,1% did not work and were looking for a job, i.e. were unemployed. The unemployment level among migrants was 7,7%. This indicator is a little higher than the unemployment level in the RF, which in the 4th quarter of 2011 (at the time of survey) was 6,3%. 6,9% of interviewed migrants can be considered economically inactive, 60,1% of whom are students.

Where and what jobs are done by migrants?

Migrants' labour is industry-specific. Principle spheres where migrants are employed are trade and household appliances repair – 36,4%, construction – 22,7%, communal, social and personal services – 13,2%, transportation and communication – 8,2% (Table.5). Other types of economic activities account for only one fifth of workers (19,5%). The above mentioned industries (except for transportation and communication) are faced with substantial fluctuations of demand and need flexible regulation of the number of employees, one of mechanisms of which is migrants' labour.⁹

Industry-specific distribution of male migrants' employment is more diversified. Along with principle male spheres of employment – construction (30,4% of working migrants) and trade (30,0%), they are also broadly represented in communal services (13,7%), transportation (9,8%). Women predominantly work in trade, which provides employment to over a half of working women (53,3%). Another 12,5% of women work in hotel and restaurant business, 11,8% - in communal, social and personal services.

The professional and job position structure of migrants partially reflects their distribution by types of economic activities, as these classifications are interrelated. More than a third (38,5%) of migrants are unqualified workers, a quarter (26,7%) – work in catering, communal services and trade, one fifth (19,6%) are qualified workers (Table 6). The positions of head of a business and expert are held by less than 6% of migrants. Thus, migrants' labour is concentrated in the low-qualified jobs segment.

⁹ It should be borne in mind that the survey was conducted late in autumn when a considerable number of migrants employed in agriculture had left Russia. Thus, the share of migrants engaged in agriculture is most likely to be underestimated.

Table 5. Respondents by sex and economic activity (percentage of total)

Economic activity	Total	Males	Females
Agriculture	0,7	0,8	0,5
Mining and quarrying	0,1	0,2	0
Manufacturing	3,8	4,4	2,3
Electricity, gas and water supply	1,0	1,3	0,1
Construction	22,7	30,4	2,5
Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles, motorcycles and personal and household goods	36,4	30,0	53,3
Hotels and restaurants	6,3	4,0	12,5
Transport and communications	8,2	9,8	3,9
Financial intermediation	0,3	0,1	0,8
Real estate, renting and business activities	0,2	0,1	0,4
Public administration, compulsory social security	0,2	0,2	0,2
Education	0,5	0,2	1,2
Health and social work	0,7	0,5	1,3
Other community, social and personal service activities	13,2	13,7	11,8
Services for the household	1,3	0,4	3,6
Other	4,2	3,7	5,4
No answer	0,2	0,3	0,1

Table 6. Respondents by sex and occupation (percentage of total)

Occupations	Total	Males	Females
1. Managers of organizations and departments	1,7	1,8	1,2
2. High-skilled professionals	1,8	1,4	2,8
3. Semi-skilled professionals	1,8	1,2	3,2
4. Personnel in preparation of information, documentation and registration	1,4	1,0	2,6
5. Personnel in services, trade, in housing and public utilities	26,7	17,5	50,7
6. Skilled workers in agriculture	0,5	0,5	0,3
7. Skilled workers in industry, construction, transport, communications	19,6	25,6	3,9
8. Operators and drivers of industrial units	8,1	10,1	2,9
9. Unskilled workers	38,5	40,9	32,3

Men are concentrated in three professional groups and positions: unqualified workers (40,9%), qualified workers (25,6%) and trade and communal services workers (17,5%); women – in 2 professional groups: trade and communal services workers (50,7%) and unqualified workers (32,3%).

The professional and job positions structure of foreign workers from different countries considerably varies (Table 7). In the composition of the most sizable groups of migrants from Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan, most prevalent are unqualified workers (46-49%). Their share among migrants from other countries is considerably smaller (within the range of 9-18%). Services sector, communal services and trade workers are the principle professional group for migrants from Azerbaijan, the Ukraine and Moldova (40-46%) and China (83%!).

Table 7. Respondents by country of origin and occupation (Percentage of total in line)

Country of origin	Occupations								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Azerbaijan	17,7	1,7	0,9	1,3	45,7	0	12,1	9,1	11,9
Armenia	9,2	7,7	3,5	1,4	28,2	0	30,3	10,6	9,2
Kyrgyzstan	0,9	0,5	1,7	2,6	25,4	1,3	14,5	7,5	45,6
Tajikistan	1,1	0,8	1,0	0,9	19,9	0,3	20,8	8,5	46,6
Uzbekistan	0,4	0,6	0,9	1,0	19,2	0,3	20,1	8,3	49,1
Ukraine	2,0	7,4	3,0	2,8	43,3	0,3	19,1	7,4	14,7
Republic of Moldova	0,4	2,7	4,6	1,7	40,2	1,5	20,9	10,3	17,6
China	2,8	0,6	5,0	0	82,9	0	6,6	0,6	1,7
North Korea	2,8	1,4	1,4	0	19,4	0	48,6	1,4	25,0

Note: Names of occupations are given in Table 6.

There are practically no heads of businesses and specialists among migrants. To some extent, the exception is Azerbaijani migrants, one-sixth of whom held executive positions (17,7%). An increased role of heads of businesses among migrants from Azerbaijan is determined by the highest level of entrepreneurial activities among natives of this country: 26,2% of working respondents answered that they had established their own business and are self-employed (while an average share is 5,4%). In most cases, migrants belong to managerial work group through their entrepreneurial status: most heads of businesses (79,3%) among migrants have organized their own business or are self-employed¹⁰.

¹⁰ According to methodology of the Russian Labour Force Survey, most of self-employed and small-scale entrepreneurs fall into the group of “heads of a business”

How do migrants work?

Migrants' work is characterized by an increased time of work. The most wide-spread working regime among migrants is work without any days-off, i.e. 7 days a week, which was reported by 36,7%. Another third of migrants (34,7%) work 6 days a week. In the context of such increased work load, a working day of over a half of respondents (53,0%) lasts 10-12 hours a day. As a result, migrants' average weekly hours amount to 61 hours. Every third migrant (33,9%) with a 7-day working week works 8 hours a day or more. Only 18,3% of migrants work no more than 45 ours.

Working week and day hours considerably vary among migrants, employed in different kinds of economic activity (Table 8). People who are employed in trade, hotel and restaurant business, as well as those, providing housekeeping services tend to work the longest hours.

The data shown in Table 8 indicate that migrants work much longer hours than Russians. And, while this gap in working hours is relatively small – in most industries migrants' working day lasts 2-8% more than that of Russian workers, the excess of working weekly hours are considerably greater and on average amounts to 39%. This is connected with the fact that many migrants, unlike Russians, work almost without any days off.

Despite an increased work load, 6,2% of migrants apart from their principle work have additional work¹¹. The level of secondary employment among migrants is comparable with its prevalence among Russian workers. According to the RLMS-HSE data, in 2011, 6,6% of Russians had a side work.

Informal employment, when the relationship with the employer are not legalized, is widespread among migrants. More than a half of hired migrants (57,8%), work on the basis of oral agreements. Most frequently, employment practice based on oral agreements is found in activities most common among migrants - trade and construction, where 65% work illegally, as well as in housekeeping (77,8%).

¹¹ The length of a working week (at the primary place of work) is a little shorter among migrants who have a second job, than among their colleagues who have only one job (57,0 hours and 61,4 hours, respectively).

Table 8. Duration of the working time of respondents and Russian workers by economic activity (hours)

Economic activity *	Respondents		Russian workers **		Working time of respondents to working time of Russian workers (working time of Russian workers = 100%)	
	working week	working day	working week	working day	working week	working day
Manufacturing	53,5	9,85	44,7	9,61	120	102
Electricity, gas and water supply	49,2	8,43	н/д	н/д
Construction	59,5	9,81	48,5	9,09	123	108
Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles, motorcycles and personal and household goods	65,0	10,31	45,5	9,51	143	108
Hotels and restaurants	63,4	11,11	н/д	н/д
Transport and communications	58,9	11,13	46,0	9,98	128	112
Other community, social and personal service activities	58,5	9,62	42,3	9,52	138	102
Services for the household	66,4	11,19	н/д	н/д
Total	61,1	10,18	43,8	9,43	139	108

* The Table shows data by types of economic activity for which the number of working migrants represented in the sample exceeds 50 people. Over 97,3% of interviewed migrants work in these spheres.

** Data related to Russian workers have been calculated on the basis of Russia Longitudinal Monitoring Survey (RLMS-HSE) for 2011.

Those, who work on the basis of oral arrangements, are almost equally represented by men and women. The proportion of migrants with an unofficial work status decreases slightly with the age. The peak of involvement in unofficial employment is typical for the youngest age group – two-thirds of migrants under 20 (65,3%) work informally. In the 50-59 age group, a half (51,6%) is employed informally. Informal employment is also facilitated by a lack of professional education among migrants. Two-thirds of migrants (66,0%), having primary or incomplete secondary education, work without official registration of their employment relationship, however, among migrants with university education, only a half (49,0%) are

informal workers. Informally employed migrants work 6 hours longer than their colleagues with official employment arrangements (63,7 hours and 57,7 hours, respectively). It's interesting that characteristics of informal (unregistered) employment among migrants are identical to their parameters among Russian workers¹². Obviously, this is connected not with an employee's characteristics, whether it is a foreign or a Russian worker, but with peculiarities of the labor market sector and specific character of requirements imposed on them.

How much do migrants earn?

During 3 months, preceding the survey, an average migrant's wage amounted to 19930 roubles. A half of migrant workers earned less than 18000 roubles a month. Only 10% of migrants earn more than 30000 roubles. For comparison, according to the Rosstat data, in 2011, an average monthly net wage was 23693 rub.¹³, accordingly, the "net" after-tax was 20613 rub.

The wage, which migrants receive in Russia, is considerably higher than the pay level in their origin country (Table.9). It is underpayment combined with a lack of work in their home countries that are the factors, stimulating migration into Russia¹⁴.

Table 9. Average wages of respondents and workers in the CIS countries

	Average wages in the CIS countries, August-October 2011 r.*		Average wages of respondents in Russia, US dollars	Wages in the CIS countries to wages of respondents (wages in the CIS countries = 100 %)
	US dollars	Russia= 100%		
Azerbaijan	462	61	798	173
Armenia	304	40	780	257
Kyrgyzstan	216	29	602	279
Republic of Moldova	271	36	756	279
Tajikistan	98	13	592	604
Ukraine	340	45	820	241
Uzbekistan	н/д	...	588	...

* Data of the CIS Statistical Committee. The authors' calculations.

¹² See, for example, Varshavskaya E., Donova I. Informal employment: characteristics of the phenomenon. – Izvestiya of Irkutsk State Economic Academy. – 2012. – №6 (in Russian).

¹³ Socio-Economic Situation in Russia (January 2012). – Moscow: Rosstat, 2012.

¹⁴ Almost 40% of migrants, who were working at the time of survey, had had no work in their home country prior to their arrival in Russia. The share of those, who had not worked, increased with a decrease in a migrant's period of stay in Russia. Thus, while among migrants who arrived in Russia 6 or more years ago, every third person had not worked prior to his first arrival in Russia, this proportion among those who had arrived 3-5 years ago was 39%, and among migrant newcomers – about a half.

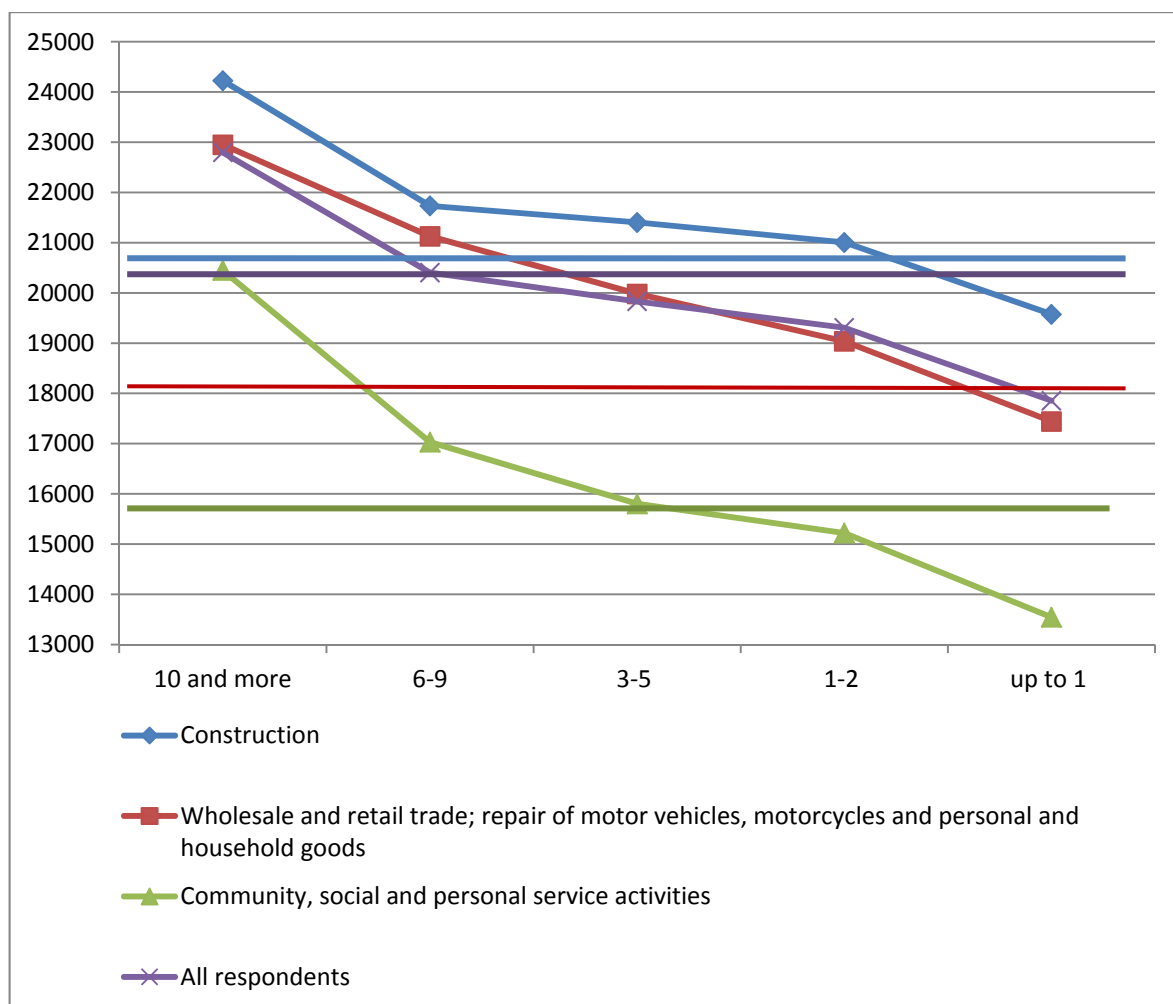
A migrant's wage increases with the length of his period of stay in Russia. The earlier the migrant came to Russia and the longer he has stayed in its territory, the higher wage he receives. This dependence is revealed both at the level of separate industries (Figure 1), and in gender and educational groups of labour migrants (Figure 2). A positive relation between an amount of wage and the length of migrants' stay in Russia reflects the processes of their economic adaptation.

The data presented above shows that after 2-3 years of staying (or the first visit) in the country, the wage of migrants, working in industries, most common for their employment (trade, construction, communal services) reaches the level of average salaries among Russian workers. Naturally, direct comparison of average monthly salaries only makes it possible to determine the ratio between the salaries of migrants and local workers. To assess the gap in remuneration of labour as a discrimination measure against migrants, it would be correct to compare hourly payment rates which take into account differences in the length of working hours of migrants and Russian workers. In terms of this indicator, migrants are behind Russian workers and the gap varies from 10% in trade to 19% in construction, transport and communication, amounting on average to 12%. Thus, we have no reasons to speak about substantial wage discrimination against migrants. In fact, migrants' labor is "cheaper" but in relative and not in absolute measurements.

Male migrants earn more than women (Figure.2). This is to a great extent determined by the concentration of women in such a low-paid industry as trade. It is noteworthy that men and women, who have arrived in Russia only recently, start with approximately the same salaries (the gap for migrants who have stayed in the country for less than a year is 1 thousand roubles). However, as men's wage grows at higher rates, among long staying migrants, who have arrived in Russia for 10 years ago and more, this gap reaches almost 2,5 thousand roubles.

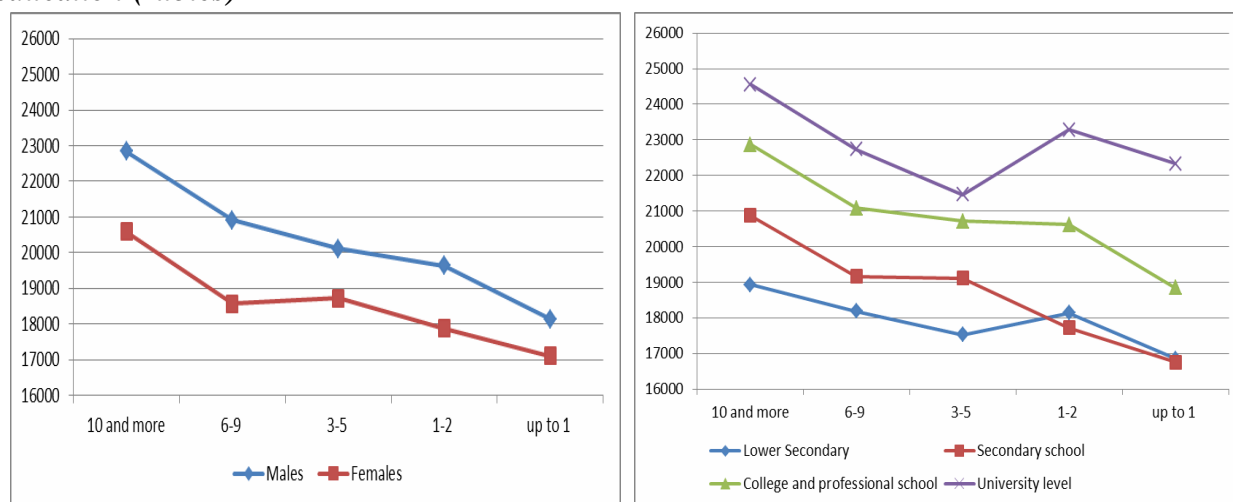
Migrants, having professional education, receive a higher wage, compared with those who have secondary or lower than secondary education (Figure 2). At the same time, the gap in salaries between migrants with university education and those who have no professional education, decreases with the length of their period of stay. Thus, a bonus for higher education (as compared to holders of [high school equivalency](#) certificate) among migrants who came to Russia for the first time less than a year ago is 32%, and 18% among those who came 10 years ago and earlier.

Figure 1. Wages of migrants with different time of the first visit to Russia, broken by industries (roubles)



Note: The horizontal line of the relevant color shows the level of after-tax wage in the economy in general and in the specific industry in 2011 (the Rosstat data).

Figure 2. Wages of migrants with different periods of stay in Russia, by gender and level of education (rubles)



Thus, a segment of low qualified work places, which are concentrated in trade, construction and the sphere of communal, social and personal services, has developed in the Russian labor market. The demand for labor here is highly elastic. The utilization of foreign workers' labor serves as a mechanism of adaptation of this labor market segment to fluctuations of economic conditions. Thus, peculiarities of migrants' labor (intensity and unstable character of employment relations) are determined by a specific character of the demand for labor.

Labour Mobility among Migrants

Two groups are of interest in terms of labour mobility: 1) those who had worked in their home country before coming to the RF, and 2) those that have changed their place of work in Russia. For the first group of migrants, we can assess mobility at their transfer "work in the home country - work in Russia", and answer the question "How does the Russian labour market receive foreign workers?" The analysis of the second group's mobility related to their change of work in the territory of Russia makes it possible to examine the process of their economic adaptation. 4406 (60,7%) people of 7258 migrants, who were working in Russia at the time of survey, had had a job before their first arrival in Russia. Let's examine their transfer "work at home - the first work in Russia".

Industry-specific structures of migrants' employment considerably differ in terms of their last place of work in the country of origin and their first work in the RF (Table 10). The majority of migrants, who had worked in their home country before coming to Russia, were engaged in wholesale and retail trade (18,1%), construction (15,9%), transportation and communication

(11,7%), and agriculture (10,7%). Migrants' first work places in Russia are concentrated in 3 industries – trade (34,2%) and construction (26,7%), as well as in communal and social services (12,0%). As a result, while according to the last place of work in the country of origin, the share of people engaged in these activities amounted to 38,7% of workers, according to their first work place in Russia, these activities account for almost three-thirds of migrants (72,9%). The number of migrants, working in the above said industries, has grown 1,9 times, 1,7 times and 2,5 times, respectively, as compared with the number of people employed in them in the country of origin¹⁵.

Table 10. Economic activity of respondents on the latest workplace in country of origin and on the first workplace in Russia

Economic activity	Economic activity, % of total		Change in the numbers (the first workplace in Russia to the latest workplace in country of origin, %)
	the latest workplace in country of origin	the first workplace in Russia	
Agriculture	10,7	0,8	7,0
Mining and quarrying	0,6	0,1	15,4
Manufacturing	10,3	4,4	42,4
Electricity, gas and water supply	1,8	0,8	42,0
Construction	15,9	26,7	168,1
Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles, motorcycles and personal and household goods	18,1	34,2	189,2
Hotels and restaurants	4,9	5,8	117,3
Transport and communications	11,7	7,9	66,9
Financial intermediation	1,0	0,2	18,2
Real estate, renting and business activities	0,1	0,2	180,0
Public administration, compulsory social security	2,4	0,2	6,7
Education	8,1	0,5	6,5
Health and social work	4,0	0,6	14,9
Other community, social and personal service activities	4,8	12,0	248,1
Services for the household	0,4	1,7	441,2
Other	5,2	4,1	78,9

¹⁵ There is a substantial increase in the number of people, providing housekeeping services and engaged in real estate operations, however it largely results from a “low base” effect.

Upon their arrival in Russia, a vast majority of migrants had to change the type of economic activity: only 31,2% could find work in the same industry as they used to work in in their home country. Those migrants who, before coming to Russia, had worked in the principle industries of foreign workers employment in the Russian labour market – in construction and trade – are most unlikely to change their branch of activities. Their first work in Russia in these sectors was found by 66,4% and 57,6% (respectively) of migrants who used to work in them in their country of origin (Table 11). About one third of communal, social and personal service workers (37,3%), transportation and communication (36,6%), hotel and restaurant businesses (36,1%) continued to work in these spheres in the RF

Large groups of migrants previously engaged in health care, education and public administration have turned out to be the least in-demand in the Russian labour market. Only 6,3% of those who used to work in health care in the country of origin, are employed in this sphere in the RF, while this share of education (2,8%) and public administration (1,9%) workers is even smaller. The overwhelming majority of these workers found their first work in Russia in industries which do not require professional training. 46,6% of those who used to work in health care, 41,9% of education workers, one third (34,3%) of those who used to work in public administration – found work in the sphere of trade, while the sphere of communal and social services accommodated 12,6% of former health care providers, 12,4% of education and 20,0% of public administration workers.

In the Russian labour market, there is largely no demand not only for specific knowledge and skills which migrants used to possess before coming to Russia, but also for workers' education and qualification. The number of highly qualified specialists who found adequate first work in Russia has decreased 8,3 times, semiskilled specialists – 3,8 times, heads of business and office workers – threefold, as compared to the number of this group at their last place of work in their home country (Table 12). Conversely, the number of unqualified workers has increased 2,6 times. As a result, there is a substantial difference between migrants' professional and position structure according to their last place of work in their home country and the first place of work in Russia. Thus, while the home country employment structure is represented by 20,9% of heads of businesses and 14,7% of unqualified workers, in the Russian structure they represent 4,0% (!) and 38,7% (respectively).

Table 11. Economic activity on the latest workplace in country of origin and on the first workplace in Russia (Percentage of total in line)

The latest workplace in country of origin	The first workplace in Russia															
	A	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Other
A.Agriculture	1,5	0	3,2	0,9	31,6	33,5	1,7	4,3	0	0	0	0,2	0,4	19,0	1,1	2,8
C.Mining and quarrying	0	11,5	7,7	0	30,8	19,2	0	23,1	0	0	0	0	0	7,7	0	0
D.Manufacturing	1,1	0	12,7	0,9	24,7	32,4	4,4	4,4	0	0,2	0	0,4	0	11,8	1,8	5,1
E.Electricity, gas and water supply	0	0	2,5	4,9	25,9	34,6	3,7	0,2	0	0	0	0,2	0,2	16,0	0,2	7,4
F.Construction	1,1	0	2,4	0,6	66,4	14,1	1,7	3,2	0	0	0	0,1	0	9,0	0,4	0,9
G.Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles, motorcycles and personal and household goods	0,3	0	3,7	0,6	15,5	57,6	4,4	4,4	0,3	0,3	0,1	0,4	0,4	7,3	1,4	3,4
H.Hotels and restaurants	0	0	4,6	0,5	8,8	34,3	36,1	2,8	0	0	0,5	0,9	0	3,7	3,2	4,6
I.Transport and communications	0,6	0	1,8	0,6	20,2	25,1	1,8	36,6	0	0,2	0	0,4	0,8	7,6	0,4	3,7
J.Financial intermediation	0	0	9,1	0	25,0	34,1	6,8	2,3	9,1	2,3	0	0	0	6,8	0	2,3
K.Real estate, renting and business activities	0	0	0	0	20,0	40,0	20,0	0	0	20,0	0	0	0	0	0	0
L.Public administration, compulsory social security	0	1,0	2,9	0	19,0	34,3	7,6	9,5	0	0	1,9	0	0	20,0	1,0	2,9
M.Education	1,7	0	3,4	0	12,1	41,9	11,0	4,2	0,3	0	0	2,8	1,1	12,4	4,8	4,2
N.Health and social work	0	0	5,2	1,1	7,5	46,6	8,6	1,1	0	0,6	1,1	0,6	6,3	12,6	2,9	5,7
O.Other community, social and personal service activities	0,9	0	4,7	2,8	17,9	25,0	2,4	1,9	0	0	0,5	0	0,5	37,3	2,8	3,3
P.Services for the household	0	0	0	0	17,6	47,1	0	5,9	0	0	0	0	0	0	29,4	0
Other	0	0	5,3	0,4	20,2	27,2	6,6	6,1	0,4	0,4	0	0	0	14,0	1,8	17,5

Note: Yellow highlighted cells show the proportion of migrants who can find work in the same industry as they used to work in country of origin.

Table 12. Occupational structure of respondents on the latest workplace in country of origin and on the first workplace in Russia

Occupations	Occupational structure, %		Change in the numbers (the first workplace in Russia to the latest workplace in country of origin, %)
	the latest workplace in country of origin	the first workplace in Russia	
1. Managers of organizations and departments	4,0	1,3	33,5
2. High-skilled professionals	11,4	1,3	12,1
3. Semi-skilled professionals	5,5	1,4	26,3
4. Personnel in preparation of information, documentation and registration	3,9	1,2	31,0
5. Personnel in services, trade, in housing and public utilities	20,0	25,9	129,5
6. Skilled workers in agriculture	3,8	0,5	13,4
7. Skilled workers in industry, construction, transport, communications	20,9	20,4	97,7
8. Operators and drivers of industrial units	15,9	9,1	57,4
9. Unskilled workers	14,7	38,7	263,2

Upon their arrival in Russia, only 38,9% of migrants can retain their professional group and position previously held at their first place of work (Table 13). The majority of them are unqualified workers, 69,7% of whom continued their activities in this function. They are followed by the services sector, communal services and trade workers (51,8%) and qualified workers (49,2%). Conversely, the absolute number of heads of businesses and specialists had to start working in Russia in work places which did not require special education and qualifications. Thus, 29,5% of those who used to belong to the group “heads of businesses”, in Russia, have become unqualified workers(!), another quarter (26,6%) – the services sector and trade workers; highly qualified specialists account for 33,6% and 36,0% of such cases, respectively, and semi-skilled workers - for – 28,8% and 37,1. Only 13,3% of heads of business, 7,2% of highly qualified specialists and 8,8% of semi-skilled specialists managed to keep their professional status and position. As a result, downgrading mobility at the transfer ‘work at home - the first work in Russia’ absolutely prevails over the upgrading one. After their arrival in Russia, 40,4%

of interviewed migrants downgraded their professional status while only 6,2% of respondents could improve it.

Table 13. Occupation on the latest workplace in country of origin and on the first workplace in Russia (Percentage of total in line)

Occupation on the latest workplace in country of origin	Occupation on the first workplace in Russia								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Managers of organizations and departments	13,3	1,7	2,9	1,7	26,6	0,6	16,8	6,9	29,5
2. High-skilled professionals	2,4	7,2	1,8	1,8	36,0	4,8	12,3	4,0	33,6
3. Semi-skilled professionals	0,8	2,9	8,8	0,8	37,1	0,4	15,0	5,4	28,8
4. Personnel in preparation of information, documentation and registration	1,8	2,4	1,8	5,4	40,5	0,8	9,5	6,0	31,5
5. Personnel in services, trade, in housing and public utilities	0,2	0,5	1,0	1,4	51,8	0,2	9,3	3,4	32,1
6. Skilled workers in agriculture	1,2	0	0,6	1,2	15,2	1,8	15,2	0,6	64,0
7. Skilled workers in industry, construction, transport, communications	0,8	0,4	0,8	0,5	11,5	0,1	49,2	4,2	32,5
8. Operators and drivers of industrial units	0,6	0,1	0,4	0,7	14,0	0,7	15,0	36,7	31,6
9. Unskilled workers	0,5	0,2	0,8	0,8	10,6	0,5	14,0	3,0	69,7

Note: Yellow highlighted cells show the proportion of migrants who have retained their occupation at their first place of work in Russia.

Thus, in most cases, the first work in Russia does not correspond to the level of a migrant's professional training and specific skills. Upon the first "meeting", the Russian market "brings" migrants down, particularly, qualified specialists and heads of businesses, forcing them to agree to a job which is not adequate for their level of education and qualification. At the same time, it is quite "friendly" in respect of industrial and construction workers, and, first of all, in respect of unqualified workers, as well as, towards those, working in the sphere of services sector, providing them with a job in line with their specialty.

A Change of Job (the transfer "the first work in Russia – the current work in Russia")

The questionnaire design makes it possible to analyze changes in the status of migrants who have changed their place of work in Russia, by comparing their first job and the job which they had at the time of survey. Such people account for 2243 (30,9%) out of 7258 working migrants.

Almost in a half of cases (44,2%), a change of work place did not result in changing it's sphere of industry. Most "true" to their industry, just like in the case with the transfer "the last work at home - the first work in Russia," are those, working in the sphere of trade and construction, 60,5% and 44,9% (respectively) of whom, having changed their place of work, did not change their area of activities. A considerable proportion of migrants (70,2%), who have changed their job, went to work in trade business (27,9%), the sphere of communal and social services (15,7%), construction (14,5%), as well as in transportation and communication (12,0%). It should be stressed that a change of the place of work does not bring former public administration, education and health care workers back to their jobs in these primary fields of their activities. Therefore, a change of work in Russia results in an increased concentration of foreign workers' employment in specific industrial segments, first of all, in trade, construction and communal services, which is indicative of the development of a special labor market segment, having demand for migrants' work.

Despite a change of their work place, about a half (52,0%) of migrants remained in their professional group or retained their position. This is, first of all, true for services industry (56,8%) and unqualified workers (54,2%). Specialists and office workers proved to be most mobile in terms of changing their professional status and job position (Table 14).

It should be stressed that 27,1% of migrants who have changed their jobs, managed to upgrade their professional level or job position, while downgraders accounted for 2,3 times (11,6%) fewer migrants. In other words, upgrading mobility dominates during the transfer "the first place of work in Russia – the current place of work» which speaks of processes of migrants' economic adaptation.

However, a change of the work place does not allow migrants to return to their profession and job position they used to have in their home country. Thus, only 32,3% of migrants, who had worked at home, changed their place of work in Russia and were working at the time of survey, retained their "homeland" position and professional group in their first place of work in Russia, while after a change of job, their share slightly grew – up to 36,0%. The lowest proportion of those who returned to their former profession and position are among heads of businesses and highly qualified specialists.

Table 14. Occupation on the first workplace in Russia and on the current work in Russia (Percentage of total in line)

Occupation on the first workplace in Russia	Occupation on the current work in Russia								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Managers of organizations and departments	42,1	5,3	5,3	10,5	10,5	0	5,3	21,1	0
2. High-skilled professionals	13,6	22,7	4,5	13,6	36,4	0	9,1	0	0
3. Semi-skilled professionals	4,8	14,3	23,8	4,8	38,1	0	14,3	0	0
4. Personnel in preparation of information, documentation and registration	3,8	19,2	7,7	15,4	15,4	0	7,7	11,5	19,2
5. Personnel in services, trade, in housing and public utilities	3,0	2,2	3,8	3,2	56,8	0	8,2	4,8	18,1
6. Skilled workers in agriculture	5,9	0	0	0	5,9	29,4	5,9	5,9	47,1
7. Skilled workers in industry, construction, transport, communications	2,7	1,9	2,2	1,2	12,8	0,2	48,0	6,7	24,3
8. Operators and drivers of industrial units	2,9	1,0	2,0	0	10,8	0	18,6	48,0	16,7
9. Unskilled workers	0,6	0,6	1,3	1,3	17,7	0,7	18,8	4,8	54,2

Note: Yellow highlighted cells show the proportion of migrants who have retained their occupation at their first place of work in Russia.

Therefore, the analysis of labour mobility has shown that a typical path of migrants who came to Russia for the first time, is finding employment in a work place which does not correspond to their professional training and special skills. There is little demand for migrants' professional skills, education and qualification in the Russian market, especially, high level ones, on the Russian labour market. As the adaptation process progress, a part of migrants (no more than 10-15%) manage to find working places more appropriate for their level of qualification and education. At the same time, a change of the working place in the Russian territory leads to an increase in concentration of foreign workers in specific types of economic activities (trade, construction, communal services and transportation), which is an additional evidence of gradual development of a special (largely "migrants'") segment of the labor market.

Conclusion

We'd like to summarize the principle survey findings which, as we hope, will make it possible to improve and broaden knowledge about migrants, working the RF.

The Russian labour market is becoming increasingly attractive for young migrants, mostly residents of Central Asian states, with a low level of education and professional training. Poor knowledge of the Russian language is typical, first of all, of young migrants from Central Asia who arrived in Russia not long ago.

Migrants are concentrated in the low-skilled work segment in the sphere of trade, construction, communal and personal services. The demand for labour in these branches of industry is highly elastic. Migrants' labour utilization serves as a mechanism of adapting this labour market segment to fluctuations of the economic conditions.

Migrants' wage increases with their experience of stay in Russia. The earlier, a migrant came to Russia, and, therefore, the longer he has stayed in its territory, the bigger wage he receives. This dependence reveals itself both at the level of specific industries and at the level of gender and educational groups.

A typical path of migrants who come to Russia for the first time is finding employment in the workplace which does not correspond to the level of their professional training and special skills. There is little or no demand for migrants' professional skills, education and qualification, first of all, those of the highest level, in the Russian labour market. A change of the place of work in the Russian territory leads to an increase in the concentration of foreign workers in specific types of economic activities (trade, construction, communal services, and transportation). In addition, it allows migrants to occupy work places more appropriate for their level of qualification and education, which is indicative of their economic adaptation.

We can state that a special largely migrants segment is developing in the labour market of Russia. It is the specific character of the demand for labour that determines peculiarities of migrants' (an increased intensity, informal and unstable employment relationship).