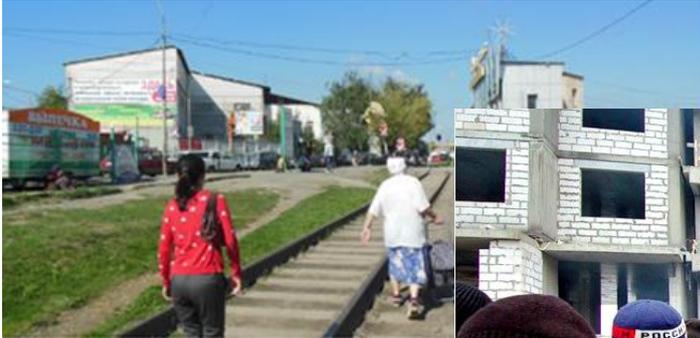


Gender and migration



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**“Innovative Solution” ordered by
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The meaning of the notion of interregnum, which I want to use in connection with present day, stems from an Italian philosopher Antonio Gramsci, who resurrected this ancient Roman notion and defined it in the following manner: the old does not work, and the new has not been born yet.

Zygmund Bauman

Introduction

Issues of migration on the post-Soviet space became urgent and thus became the subject of media and scientific studies since mid-90s¹, with strengthening of state autonomies of former Soviet republics and their inclusion in the global process of migration. Scientific and publicistic discourse has repeatedly changed its content and emphasis during the course of the past decade, interpreting the benefits and losses of sending and/or receiving countries in connection with migration turning into a mass phenomenon on the post-soviet space². Today in the Russian media discourse the topic of Central Asian migration is the absolute leader. Google search engine provides 2,130,000 links on the topic of “migration from Central Asia to Russia”; moreover, the overwhelming majority of the sources bear a date within the last three years.

The topic of migration is actively developed in the scientific discourse – both in Russian and in Central Asian countries. Political scientists, economists, lawyers, demographers and historians are trying to give an exhaustive analysis of migration processes and phenomena, offer recommendations on managing the migration flows. Study of the scientific discourse discovers contradiction and incoordination of disciplinary and paradigm approaches to studying migration. As formulated by Douglas Massey and his colleagues: “Specialists in social sciences approach studying migration not from the position of the general paradigm, but from the positions of different and competing theoretical viewpoints, atomized among disciplines, regions and ideologies. As a results the studies of migration tend to contract, often studies become ineffective and are characterized by repetitions, empty, disorienting communication

¹ Migration was also actively studied in the 60-80s, but was focused on rural-urban movement and shuttle migration. In the 90s, migration gains the context of ethnic, forced migration, repatriation... for details see Zh.Zayonchkovskaya, I.Molodikova, V.Mukomel (eds.), (2007). Методология и методы изучения миграционных процессов. [Methodology and methods of studying migration processes]. Центр миграционных исследований. [Center of migration studies]. Moscow.

² Thus, for example, the author of the article “К оценке успешности интеграции китайцев в России” [Towards assessment of success of integration of the Chinese in Russia]. (Миграционные мосты в Евразии. Материалы 5 международной конференции «Трудовая миграция в РФ: предотвращение трудовой эксплуатации, стимулирование социально-экономического развития, совершенствование регулирования». Migration bridges in Eurasia. Materials of the 5th international conference “Labor migration in RF: preventing labor exploitation, stimulation of social and economic development, improving regulation”). Moscow, Econ-inform, 2013. pp.422-423) points out that in the beginning of the 90s the array of publications on Chinese migration to the RF “was of alarmist nature: Chinese migrants are conducting a silent expansion, pose a threat to Russia, their entrance and settlement further than the Ural mountain range should be prohibited.” However, with “recognition of serious problems with migration and integration of residents of Central Asia in Russia” came a wave of publications about “positive potential of labor immigration from China.” It was slightly later that a new trend in interpretation of Chinese labor migration was formed: “The Chinese are not even considered as a potential for immigration inflow, leadership is given to such countries as Afghanistan, Pakistan, India...”

and arguments on questions of principle. Accumulation of knowledge will only begin when researchers would accept general theories, concepts, instruments and criteria”³.

The following are among the most used paradigms for studying migration today:

- **Neoclassical economic theory**, which in its macro-level approach comes from an explanatory model of existence of a geographical difference in supply and demand as the cause that pushes out masses of people into migration, and micro-level approach that presents a migrant as a rational agent, who chooses a migration strategy based on the analysis of costs and benefits;
- **New economic theory of migration** considers its units of analysis to be households, families that make decisions about migration of their relatives in order to diversify the sources of their incomes and lower economic risks;
- **World-systems theory**, which considers migration to be a global economic process of movement of flows of capital and labor;
- **Social network theory**, in which the society is presented as formal and informal relations between migrants, which makes them move or gain immobility;
- **Institutional theory**, where networks of relations are inherently defined as institutional formations and migration depends on: inclusion in family/clan migration networks, impact of social environment in the societies of countries sending/receiving migrants, social statuses and roles (descent, education, ethnicity) that “preset” migration values and behavioral norms;
- **Risks theory**, which focuses on costs and dangers of the society, state and individual in the process of social (dis)adaptation of labor migrants.

It is worthwhile to mention that none of the mentioned most popular approaches considers the issue of migration from the perspective of human rights, or emphasize migrant’s gender specifics of behavior and position. Meanwhile, migration trends on the post-Soviet space are clearly tracing changes from strictly men’s stories of migration towards feminization of migration flows, and the experience of migration appears to be a system of violations of migrant’s human rights and dysfunctions of institutions designed to protect human rights.

It is precisely the goal of the current study to determine the factors and mechanisms of protection of labor rights of migrants from Central Asia in a Russian city Yekaterinburg using gender perspective. In order to achieve this goal the following tasks were posed:

- To determine the impact of mechanisms (norms and cultural practices of key actors of the migration process) conditioning the daily life of labor migrants in Yekaterinburg
- To reveal the discrimination risks and practices in relation to labor migrants, especially in relation to women and children
- To determine the level of awareness of labor migrants about their rights and study the role of infrastructures for protection of migrants’ rights
- Develop recommendations for stakeholders on effective protection of labor migrants’ rights in Yekaterinburg, particularly, describe the zones/points of application of forces for “CA in motion” («ЦА в движении») and other stakeholders in protection of migrants’ rights.

Inclusion of legal and gender aspects in the study of migration is a big theoretical and practical challenge. Firstly, there is a wide acceptance of the position in the spirit of liberal ideology that globalization is a virtue, and nationalist provincialism is evil for human rights in general and for women’s

³Massey, Douglas S.1994. “An Evaluation of International Migration Theory; The North American Case,” Population and Development Review 20: 699-751.P.700-1

rights in particular. Arguments from the opponents' camp that global institutionalization of universal human rights is nowhere to be seen and there is a serious moral and political contradiction between the processes of cosmopoliticization (global migration) and human rights are very few and weakly heard in the scientific discourse on migration⁴.

On the other hand, in migration research often economic indicators are perceived as substitutes for human rights⁵, which is why migration research very often focuses on calculations of benefits from labor migration.

Nevertheless, authors of this report tried to integrate legal and gender approaches to studying migration and overcome gaps and contradictions in studying migration at macro- and micro-levels.

In order to realize the set goals and tasks the following structural logic of the report was developed:

- **Introduction** presents the general context and informs about goals and tasks as well as research methodology.
- **Chapter one "LABOR MIGRANT'S EVERYDAY LIFE IN YEKATERINBURG"** describes how and why daily life of labor migrants in Yekaterinburg is constructed, who are contemporary labor migrants from RT and KR.
- **Chapter two "DISCRIMINATION, VIOLATION OF MIGRANTS' RIGHTS. LABOR MIGRANTS' INFORMATION NEEDS"** focuses on discrimination, violation of migrants' rights and information needs of labor migrants from KR and RT in the RF.
- **Chapter three "ACTORS OF PROTECTION OF RIGHTS OF LABOR MIGRANTS IN THE RF, KR, RT, AND EQUAL RIGHTS POLICY"** "maps out" all stakeholders involved or interested in protection of labor migrants' rights. In the chapter mandates, resources and discourses of each of the migration policy actors are thoroughly analyzed.
- **Chapter four "Migration costs and benefits net balance"** presents an attempt to calculate economic costs and benefits of labor migration for three countries: RF, KR and RT and for a labor migrant from RT or KR to the RF.
- **In the concluding part** the summary of main conclusions are presented and recommendations for key actors in protection of rights of labor migrants in the RF are formulated.

Research methodology

In order to reach the goals of the study a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection was used, such as desk research, mass survey, focus group discussions, participant observation. Under such a research design methods complement and control (triangulation) each other (limitations of one method are balanced by limitations of the other). The results of the study and preliminary conclusions and recommendations were presented and discussed during three consultation

⁴ Human Rights and Memory. by D. Levy and N. Sznajder, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010 p.69

⁵A.Libman, G.Yadav, C.Herrman-Pillath. Are human rights and economic well-being substitutes? Evidence from migration patterns across the Indian state.Frankfurt School – Working paper series # 163. April 2011.

meeting with members of the platform “Central Asia in motion” (Центральная Азия в движении). Description of the used methods follows below.

➤ **Desk research method**

In the course of the desk research available secondary information on the research topic from various sources was analyzed. The following were the information sources for the desk research:

- Governments’ publications and materials, development programs, information on budgets and state expenditures in the RF, KR and RT;
- Reports of other research agencies on migration and gender topics from the three countries;
- Print mass media;
- Legislation of the three countries;
- Databases of state and non-governmental organizations in the countries;
- Data provided by statistical institutions of the three countries.

➤ **Survey of migrants**

The main tasks of the survey of labor migrants from KR and RT to the RF were to obtain a general picture of life and work of labor migrants in Yekaterinburg. Apart from the social and demographic information and individual stories of migration (length of living in the RF and Yekaterinburg, employment, working conditions, etc.), the questionnaire included questions that measured access to medical, educational services, documentation services, as well as labor migrants’ attitudes and practices of turning to various institutions of support for citizens of KR and RT in Yekaterinburg.

The target group of the study constituted of labor migrants from KR and RT. Total number of interviewed migrants – 800 people – was evenly distributed by gender and citizenship (KR and RT). Due to absence of data regarding the number and place of residence of labor migrants from KR and RT in Yekaterinburg non-probability approach to choosing respondents was used. Thus, the data of the survey cannot be generalized to the whole totality of migrants from KR and RT in Yekaterinburg.

Design and testing of the questionnaire was conducted by the researchers of the project during their trip to Yekaterinburg from 16th to 23rd of August, 2013. The questionnaire was designed in Russian language and later on translated to Kyrgyz and Tajik languages. Data collection was conducted by the non-governmental organization of Yekaterinburg “International information center” (Международный информационный центр) from 27th of August to 10th of September.

The team of researchers consisted of young people aged between 21 and 25, and included 10 people (9 women and 1 men). All interviewers had higher or incomplete higher education (students) with knowledge of respondents’ languages. Most often respondents were interviewed at the place of their work. Traditionally the main place of work for labor migrants (equally for men and women) is the sphere of trade. In Yekaterinburg, it is the “Taganskii ryad” market, where both citizens of Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan are trading; “Shartashkii” and “Botanicheskii” markets. Surveys were also conducted at the #4 vegetable warehouse; generally, men were surveyed there. Work was also conducted in Yekaterinburg trade centers, but with cleaning services. Majority of respondents there were women, citizens of Kyrgyzstan, but more men represented the urban amenities provision service. Equal number of men and women were a part of the public food service; they also were included in the number of respondents in this survey. A number of male respondents represented yet another traditional sphere of migrants’ work – construction. A small part of male respondents represented the fourth significant sphere of

employment – passenger transportation. Thus, the survey covered all mass spheres of work done by foreign citizens in Yekaterinburg.

On average, it took 20 minutes to fill out the survey. However, often filling out the questionnaire took much longer time because many respondents began sharing their problems, how they solved or could not solve them, and also asked who could or should help them.

There were also problems with finding respondents from among female labor migrants from Tajikistan. This is, first and foremost, related to the fact that the total number of female migrants is several times lower than that of male migrants. Also, it was due to many female citizens of Tajikistan coming to Yekaterinburg following their husbands, not in search of employment, for to do housekeeping.

The filled out questionnaires were processed and analyzed using the computer software SPSS21.

➤ **In-depth interviews with representatives of interested parties**

In total, 25 in-depth interviews were conducted with representatives of state, non-governmental and international organizations working in the sphere of migration. In the course of the interview, representatives of interested parties told about the role of their organizations in working with migrants, gender differences in problems and access of labor migrants to medical, educational and legal services, as well as gender aspects of integration and adaptation of migrants in the RF.

➤ **Focus group discussions with representatives of the public sector organizations and state structures**

In the course of the study three focus group discussions were conducted with representatives of state and non-state organizations of Yekaterinburg. The main criteria of selection of focus group participants was level of awareness, competence of potential respondents in issues of migration and gender policy of the RF, KR and RT. The discussions allowed to map the main places of residence, work and leisure of labor migrants, as well as receive expert assessment of gender and ethnic aspects of labor migration, changes in migration policies in the three countries, and practices of cooperation with state structures and NGOs from other countries in the sphere of migrants' right protection.

➤ **Participant observation in places of dense living/working/leisure of labor migrants**

Participant observation in Yekaterinburg was conducted by researchers in places of dense living of labor migrants (Taganskii ryad area), work (Taganskii ryad market, #4 vegetable warehouse) and recreation (Karnaval trade center). During one week a group of researchers studies "life worlds", daily life of labor migrants' social communities; observed and evaluated real business and informal relations among people.



Chapter 1.

LABOR MIGRANT'S EVERYDAY LIFE IN YEKATERINBURG.

Daily life or everyday life is defined in the social sciences as “individuals’ process of life-sustaining activities unfolding in usual common situations on the basis of self-evident expectations. Social interactions in the context of daily life rest upon the precondition of uniform perception of interaction situations by its participants. Other characteristics of everyday experience and behavior: lack of reflectivity, lack of personal engagement in situations, typological perception of interaction participants and motives for their participation”⁶.

Academic literature contains various description of the experience of culture shock taking place when an individual moves from one cultural community to another. The conflict related to the transition from sedentary to migrant lifestyle also poses a cultural shock and calls forth an experience of organizing, constructing a new daily life in an environment of a foreign culture⁷.

New daily life, following Ortega y Gasset, may rightly be called experimental, since a migrant cannot choose among various strategies of adaptation to a foreign cultural environment⁸ and because the “behavioral automatism” of a habitual daily life does not come into action. A new cultural environment does not allow a migrant to traditionally relate to and reclaim social and physical space and time, reproduce meanings and relationships among various groups of people, even make distinctions/classifications of “typical” groups and people, etc.

Taking into consideration the fact that majority of labor migrants from Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan come from traditional local cultural communities, are residents of villages, who for the most part leave for metropolitan cities without any preparation, it is apparent that it is difficult to overcome a cultural shock and sort out their new daily life.

At the same time, as evidenced by a wide array of literature on migration and migrants in the RF from the post-Soviet republics of Central Asia and Caucasus historical commonness in the past translates into similarity of cultures despite the conceptions of radical differences among our societies in terms of

⁶ Культурология 20 века. [Culturology of the 20th century]. Encyclopedia, V.2

⁷ Nikiforova, S. (2012). Миграция: отдельные аспекты повседневности. [Migration: specific aspects of daily life] \\ Общество. Среда. Развитие. (Terra Humana), #1, pp. 112-115

⁸ One may identify at least four strategies of overcoming a cultural shock and, consequently, a frame for forming a new daily life: 1) **ghettoization**, within the framework of which a migrant may create enclaves inside another culture, in which s/he along with her/his compatriots continues to live in accordance with traditional culture, in an old model of daily life, 2) **assimilation**, when a migrant tries to adapt to a new culture to the maximum, tries to adopt its norms, values, behavioral models, completely abandoning their cultural heritage, 3) **cooperation** is an attempt to combine elements of both cultures, establish intercultural communication, dividing spheres of their life into spheres of one or another culture and daily life, 4) **colonization**, when migrants (conquerors) by all means propagate, impose their cultural behavioral models, oppressing traditions of the receiving society's culture.

values, behavioral norms, etc. According to subjective evaluations of migrants in various studies⁹, they almost do not experience culture shock arriving in capital cities (Moscow, Saint-Petersburg, as well as large cities as Yekaterinburg), they find many things that are common, clear and habitual.

The following fact may serve as an indirect support for the abovementioned thesis: according to Gallup Potential Net Migration Index¹⁰, Russia is holding Россия a humble 44th rank (8 million respondents from various countries consider Russia attractive for migration for themselves), letting ahead many Middle Eastern, European and Asian Pacific states. The most significant share of respondents that chose the RF as a desirable country for receiving migrants was comprised of residents of South Caucasus (14%), and countries of Central Asia and three countries located towards the west of Russia – Belarus, Ukraine and Moldova – offered 42% of the potential migration flow each¹¹. The reason for such a popularity of the RF among potential and real migrants is familiarity with the Russian language and culture, for many citizens of the CIS of the middle and elder generation the RF is a part of former homeland, it offers positive memories and current connections.

Studying new constructed daily life of labor migrants from Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan in Yekaterinburg in this report will cover both everyday work life and recreation and festivities, as well as various aspects of gender regime: labor routine, power, cathexis and symbolic representations. The starting point for description of the daily life of migrants from RT and KR in Yekaterinburg is presentation of their social and demographic portrait.

2.1. Who are labor migrants?

“The words ‘migration’ and ‘migrant’ do not have the same generally accepted meaning.. If desired a very broad class of ‘moving’ people may be called migrants, one may also introduce various types of limitations that would narrow this notion down to certain groups. Consequently, the question of who migrants are is closely related to the question of which authority determines who migrants are... It is most interesting that nowhere in the Russian laws is there a clear statement on who migrants are, which is why associating all concepts stated in the category with the acting legal statuses can only have an arbitrary character.”

Sergey Abashin “Central Asian migration: practices, local communities, transnationalism”¹²

✓ Social and demographic profile of migrants

Despite the fact that determining an average type of such a diverse phenomenon as labor migrants from Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan, if not completely hopeless, is formidable majority of experts in the media and scientific discourse do not find any problems with it. Media discourse has formed and is spreading a

⁹ Brednikova, O., & Tkach, O. Дом для Номады. [Home for a Nomada]. Available at:

<http://www.soclabo.org/index.php/laboratorium/article/view/219/506>

¹⁰ Index of a country’s attractiveness to migrants in a global ranking

¹¹ Gradirovskii, S., & Yesipova, N. (2010, May 4). Место России на глобальной и макрорегиональной карте миграционной привлекательности. [Russia’s place on a global and macroregional map of migration attractiveness]. Полит.ру

¹² Этнография миграции. [Migration ethnography]. (2012) #4, pp. 3-13

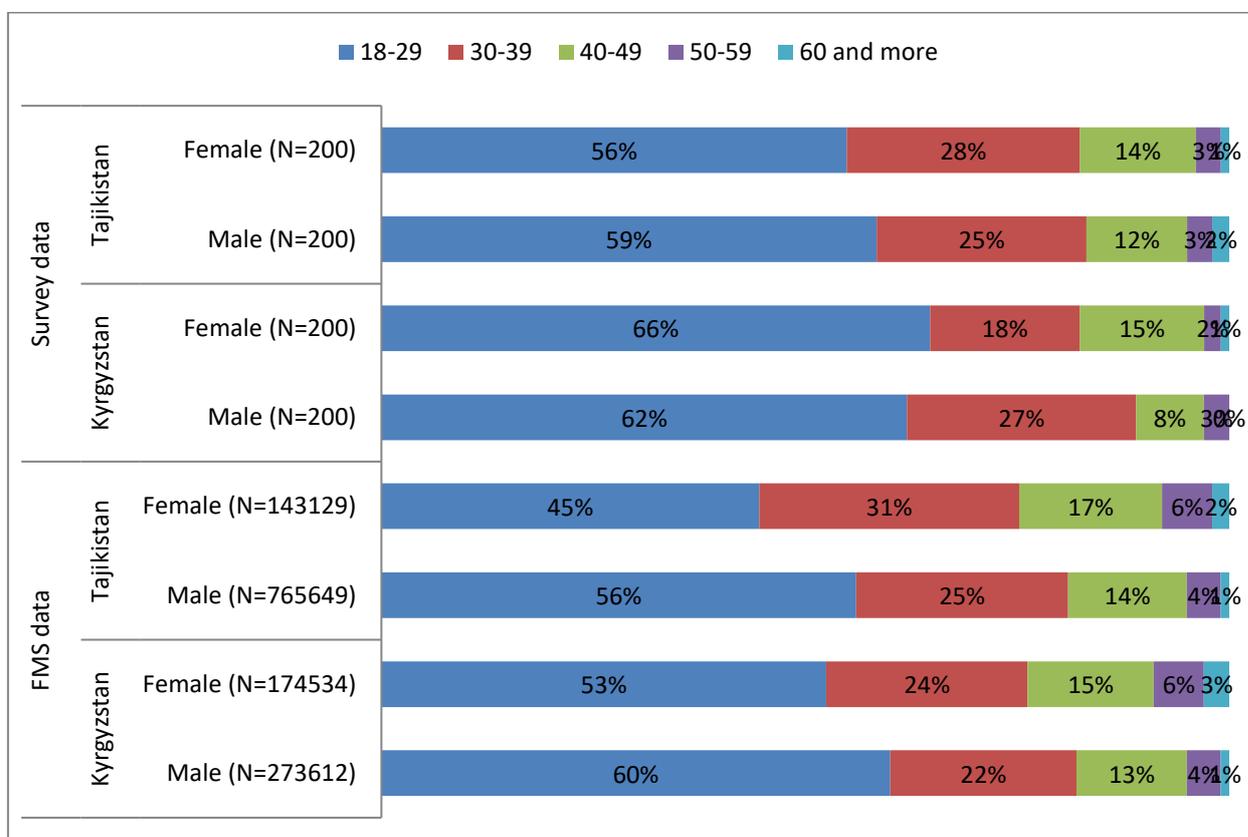
stereotypical image of an average migrant from Central Asia: “a man or a woman aged between 20 and 40 years, holding a secondary education, as a rule employed and having a family”¹³.

An effort to describe a spectrum of social and demographic characteristics as a “migrant’s portrait”¹⁴ from RT and KR to the RF according to the results of this study is presented below.

- **Gender and age structure**

Results of the survey dismantle the myth that only young men and women take part in migration. The average age of migrants from Tajikistan is higher than that of migrants from Kyrgyzstan. Women from Tajikistan leave for gainful employment in a slightly older age than men. Female migrants from Kyrgyzstan on the other hand are slightly younger than their male compatriots. Nevertheless, the over 40 age group among migrant men and women from KR and RT is comprised of 12 to 18% of respondents.

Diagram 1. Sex-age structure of migrants according to FMS data and the survey conducted



The received data also correspond to the results of the Russian study¹⁵ of women’s participation in labor migration that was conducted under supervision of E. Tiuriukanova in 2010 with the support of UN-

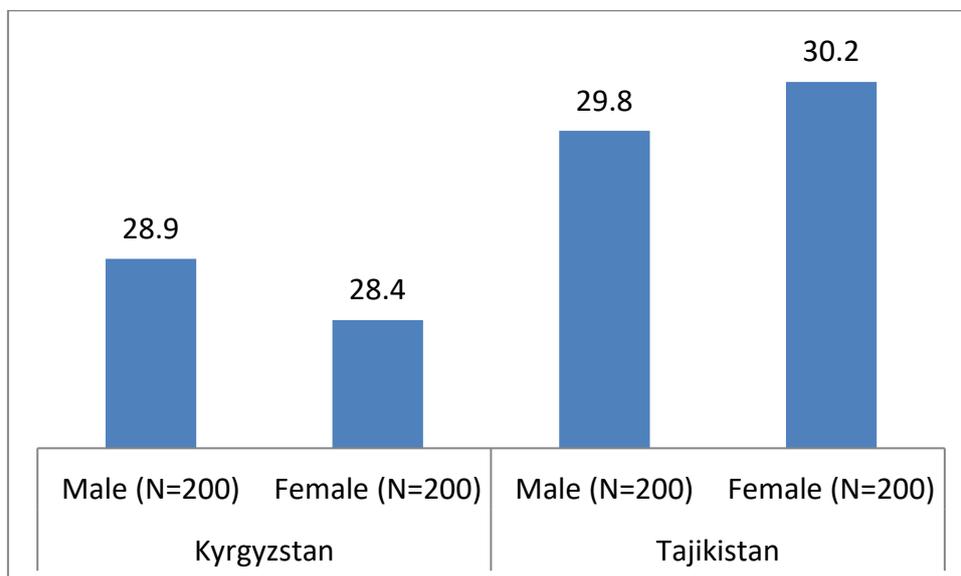
¹³ Available at: <http://www.stanradar.com/news/full/10831-portret-migranta-na-fone-moskvy.html>

¹⁴ Data as of September 2013 (during the time of the survey) as well as FMS data by gender and age of foreign citizens on the territory of the RF as of May 3, 2014. It is worthwhile to note that due to non-probability respondent selection method used in the study, while labor migrants constituted the target group, the sample overrepresents migrants of a younger age – from 18 to 39.

¹⁵ Tiuriukanova, E., (ed). (2011). Женщины-мигранты из стран СНГ в России. [Female migrants from the CIS countries in Russia]. Серия: Миграционный барометр в Российской Федерации Москва. [Series: Migration barometer in Russian Federation]. Moscow, Maks-Press. Available at: <http://migrocenter.ru/gender/pdf/doklad.pdf> The study was conducted in four regions of Russia: Moscow city and Moscow oblast, Samara oblast, Saint-Petersburg city and Leningrad oblast and Krasnodar krai.

Women. According to their data, majority of female migrants are in the most active employable and reproductive ages, women younger than 20 and older than 50 constituted less than 10%, although the “over 45) age group came to 20%.

Diagram 2. Average age of respondents



According to the data collected during the study of women’s participation in migration, supervised by E. Tiuriukanova, the youngest migrants in the study were recorded to be from Kyrgyzstan (their average age came to 31 years). The average age of all respondents came was 35 years, and median value – 34 years, in other words, the “under 34” age group is equal to the “over 34” age group in terms of quantity. Thus, the study of the sex-age structure of migrants from RT to KR revealed that women leave to earn money at various stages of the life cycle: pre-reproductive, reproductive and post-reproductive. Such events and marriage and giving birth to children do not stop them from migration, but merely change its form and models of women’s migration behavior¹⁶.

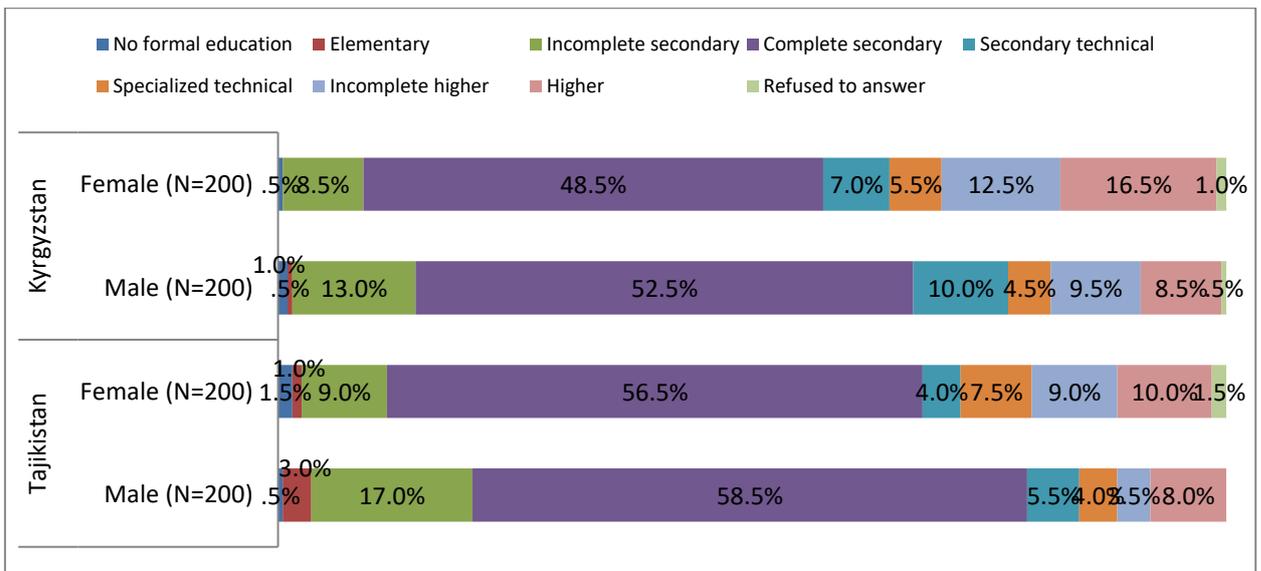
- **Educational status**

According to the results of this study, the share of citizens with secondary education is the dominant group among migrant-respondents, and more than one third of respondents have above secondary education. Due to the fact that a large share of labor migrants leave right after graduating high school¹⁷ educational profile of migrants is lower than on average in Russia and across sending countries.

Diagram 3. Level of education

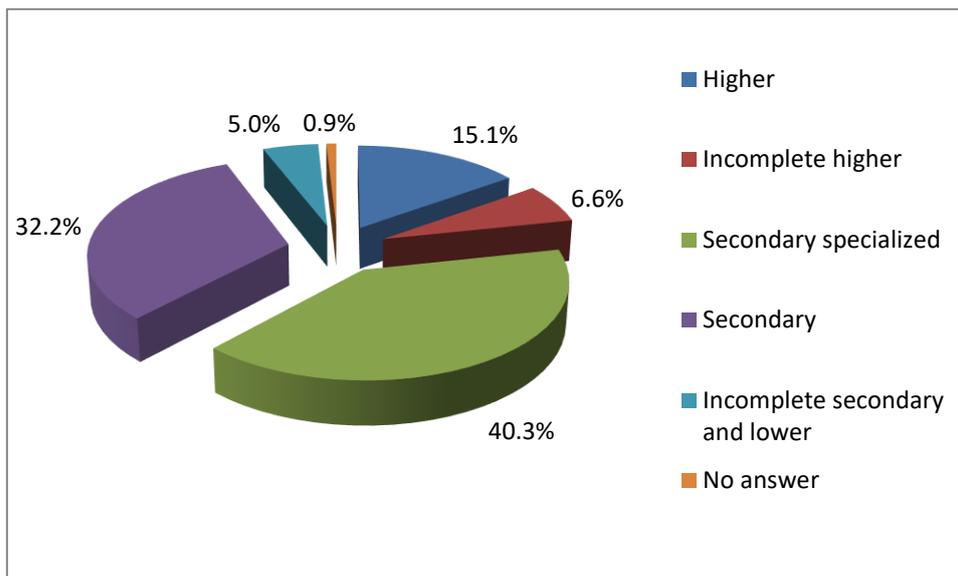
¹⁶ Tiuriukanova, E., (ed). (2011). Женщины-мигранты из стран СНГ в России. [Female migrants from the CIS countries in Russia]. Серия: Миграционный барометр в Российской Федерации Москва. [Series: Migration barometer in Russian Federation]. Moscow, Maks-Press. Available at: <http://migrocenter.ru/gender/pdf/doklad.pdf>

¹⁷ Mukomel Vladimir. (2012). Labour Migration And The Host Country: Russian case. CARIM-East Research Report 2012/31, 2012, European University Institute, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, Available at: <http://www.carim-east.eu/media/CARIMEast-2012-RR-31.pdf>, Retrieved on October 30, 2012.



The study under supervision of Tiuriukanova revealed a slightly different picture among female migrants in the RF¹⁸ having determined that a significant share of female migrants has above secondary education, but have to occupy low-qualified or unqualified labor niches.

Diagram 4. Level of education according to the results of the study by E. Tiuriukanova among female migrants



Often such a situation with employment is explained by weak knowledge of Russian language among migrants. Objectively, this problem exists among young generation of Tajik-and Kyrgyz labor migrants because learning Russian language is no longer required at schools and other educational insitutions of both republics, and only a small number of people speak Russian within families and they are predominantlyly city residents. Thus, according to the study in 2010 among female respondents only 10% of female Tajiks and 15% of female Kyrgyz stated that they communicate in Russian in their families.

Furthermore, respondents, who are labor migrants in RF, assess their knowledge of Russian language rather optimistically¹⁹:

¹⁸ Tiuriukanova, E., (ed). (2011). Женщины-мигранты из стран СНГ в России. [Female migrants from the CIS countries in Russia]. Серия: Миграционный барометр в Российской Федерации Москва. [Series: Migration barometer in Russian Federation]. Moscow, Maks-Press. Available at: <http://migrocenter.ru/gender/pdf/doklad.pdf>

Table 1. Knowledge of Russian language according to the results of the study by E. Tiuriukanova among female migrants

| CIS countries | Russian is a native language | Fluent in Russian language | Good knowledge of Russian language | Insufficient knowledge of Russian language |
|---------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| Azerbaijan | 4.2 | 31.2 | 50.0 | 14.6 |
| Armenia | 2.7 | 37.3 | 46.7 | 13.3 |
| Georgia | – | 34.6 | 53.8 | 11.6 |
| Belarus | 22.0 | 68.3 | 9.7 | – |
| Moldavia | 14.1 | 47.5 | 36.4 | 2.0 |
| Ukraine | 24.2 | 55.6 | 19.1 | 1.1 |
| Kazakhstan | 40.9 | 31.9 | 13.6 | 13.6 |
| Kyrgyzstan | 7.5 | 32.1 | 41.8 | 18.6 |
| Tajikistan | 2.9 | 19.0 | 46.7 | 31.4 |
| Uzbekistan | 4.7 | 19.7 | 56.6 | 19.0 |
| Total | 10.2 | 33.7 | 42.4 | 13.7 |

Knowledge of Russian language in the RF in the media and scientific discourse is given a political meaning. For majority of Russian scientists, journalists and politicians absence of visible efforts on the part of migrants from Central Asia to learn Russian language demonstrates that they do not desire to get integrated into the community and in the nearest prospect pose a threat of creating numerous ghettoized enclaves²⁰. Alternative reasons, which could be many, are almost not considered or accepted: no opportunity to squeeze in the time during a work week with inhumane work load; Russian language is not only non-demanded in labor migrants' homeland but also in the spheres of their concentration as a work force and in zones of dense mono-ethnic habitation in Russia; there is no adequate information about free educational opportunities. The attempt to objectively study the situation allows to make a conclusion that the problem with enrolling students in free Russian language courses is to be expected²¹.

- **Migrants' family status**

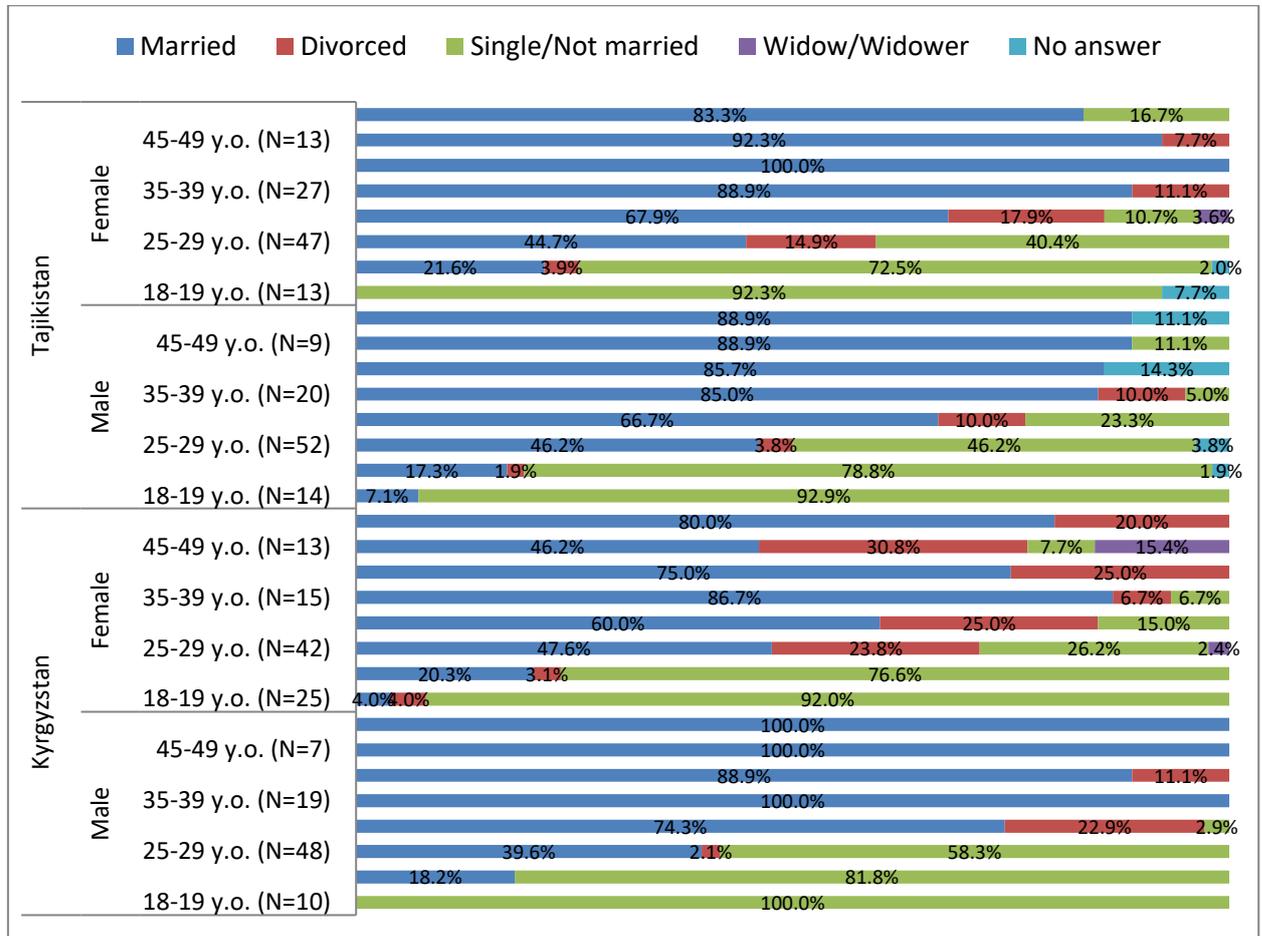
¹⁹ Tiuriukanova, E., (ed). (2011). Женщины-мигранты из стран СНГ в России. [Female migrants from the CIS countries in Russia]. Серия: Миграционный барометр в Российской Федерации Москва. [Series: Migration barometer in Russian Federation]. Moscow, Maks-Press. Available at: <http://migrocenter.ru/gender/pdf/doklad.pdf>

²⁰ Chesnokov, A. (2013). Миграционная ситуация в Свердловской области: проблемы и перспективы. [Migration situation in Sverdlov oblast: problems and perspectives]. Миграционные мосты в Евразии. Материалы 5 международной конференции «Трудовая миграция в РФ: предотвращение трудовой эксплуатации, стимулирование социально-экономического развития, совершенствование регулирования». [Migration bridges in Eurasia. Materials of the 5th international conference "Labor migration in RF: preventing labor exploitation, stimulation of social and economic development, improving regulation"]. Moscow, Econ-inform, p.199

²¹ Speech by Director General of the autonomous non-profit organization, Center of international education "Etnosfera" (Moscow). Yelena Omelchenko, PhD, at the "Russian language examination for labor migrants – consequences and perspectives" round table, organized by the "Civil agency" Committee, November 6, 2012, in Moscow. <http://www.fergananews.com/articles/7615> According to the experts' estimations, paid mandatory courses in 72 hours to receive a work permit in Russia do not solve the manifested tasks, rather latently aim at receiving additional economic profits from labor migrants.

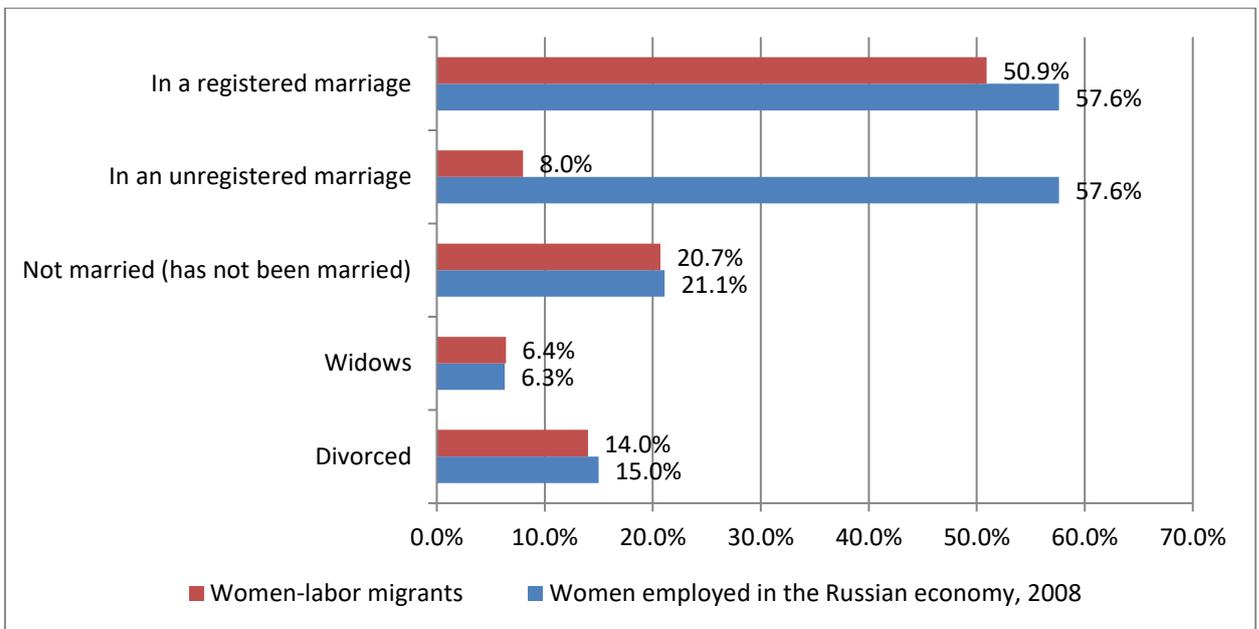
Less than half of respondents in this study (48%) are married. The share of married respondents is higher among Tajikistanis (52%) than among Kyrgyzstanis (42%).

Diagram 5. Family status and age of respondents



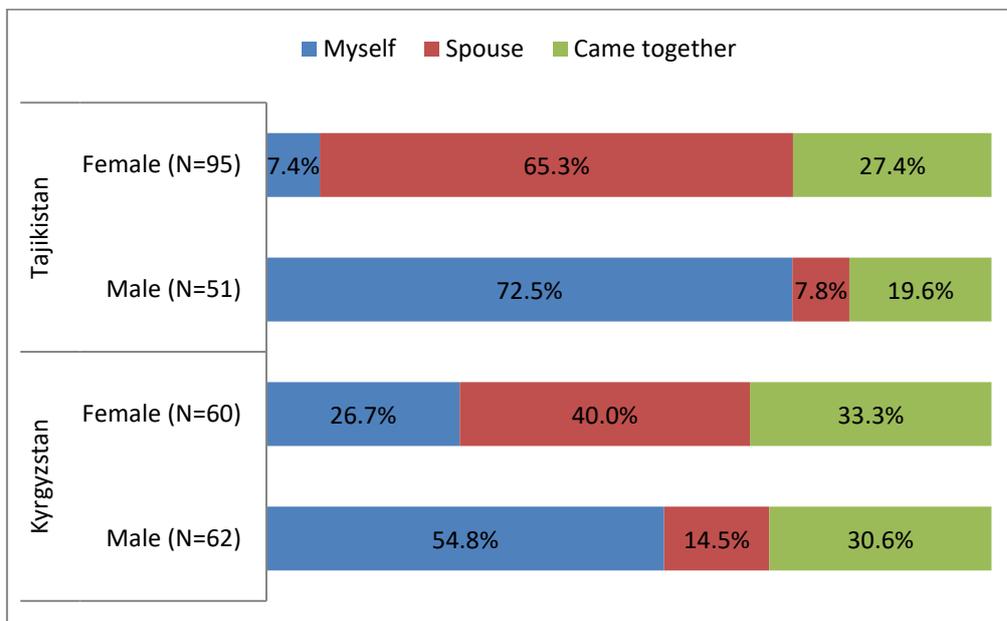
A study in 2010 received very interesting results regarding the family status of female migrants: distribution of female migrants by family status generally corresponds with the family structure of employed female Russians!

Diagram 6. Family status of respondents according to the results of the study by E. Tiuriukanova among female migrants



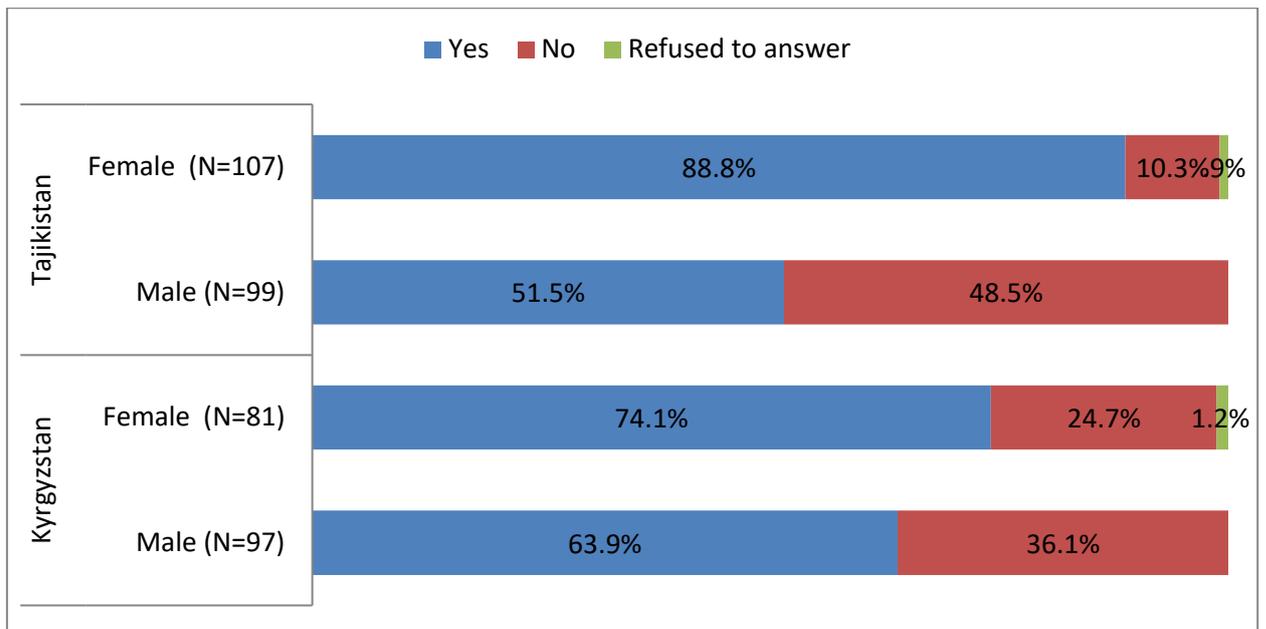
Traditional viewpoint about women, as “adjacent” to men – family members – increasingly does not reflect the reality. Only 41% of Kyrgyzstani women and 54% of Tajikistani women are married; moreover, the share of married women is very low among respondents of young age. A certain degree of autonomy among female labor migrants reflects men’s and women’s strategies of migration: more than one fourth of female migrants from Kyrgyzstan responded that they migrated earlier than their husbands. Among Tajiks the tendency for men to arrive first remains. Only 7.4% of women arrived in Yekaterinburg first.

Diagram 7. Responses to the question: “Who arrived in Yekaterinburg first?” by gender (among those who lived together with their spouse in Yekaterinburg)



In general, 70% of married respondents live with their spouses in Yekaterinburg city. Among migrants with a family status the share of spouses living together is the largest among Tajik women, smaller among female Kyrgyzstanis and the lowest among Tajik men.

Diagram 8. Co-residence of spouses (% among those who are married)

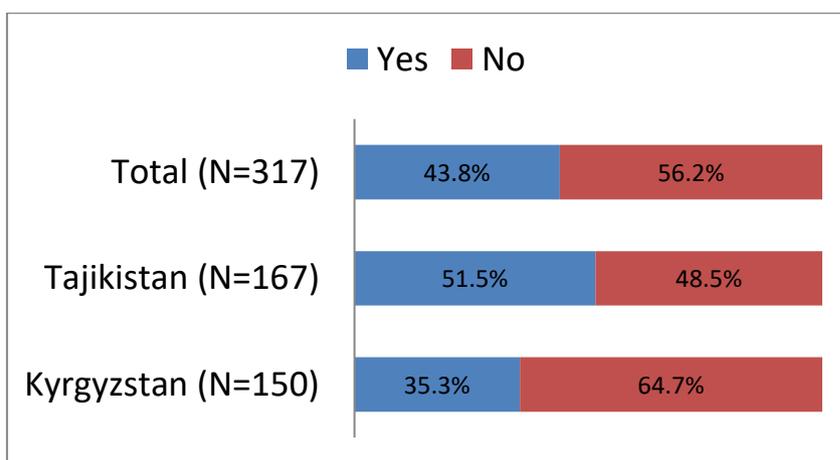


Such a characteristic as joint and separate residence of spouses and other relatives, including children, in case of labor migrants from RT and KR has a completely new meaning and form. While in homeland family residence means a nuclear household, availability of an intimate space for spouses, an opportunity to build their economic, power and emotional relations, in migration realities, on the other hand, nothing is left of this meaning of living together with a spouse or other relatives. As evidenced by numerous studies, migrants from both countries live in very dense communities uniting compatriots on various bases: being related, being fellow-countrymen, being simply acquainted or random joint settlement. According to the data of V. Peshkova and A. Rocheva, on average, 10 to 15 people may live in 3-room typical apartment²². The “home” space virtually stopped being a traditional “home” and represents only a physical space where an individual can only fulfill his/her very basic physical needs²³. Under new life circumstances and living conditions daily life of a family evidently has to unfold differently. Habitual comfort, coziness, satiation and isolation from the outside world stop being attributes on the new daily life. As a hypothesis one may make a statement that it is precisely due to framework of new living conditions that are irreconcilable with traditional daily life a large part of Kyrgyz respondents (especially women) prefer not bringing children with them. Thus, according to this study, approximately 40% of respondents have children under 18 years, and in the 2010 study of women’s participation in migration the following conclusions were made: 42% of interviewed female migrants have children under 16 – 24% of respondents had one child, 14% had two, and 4% had 3 or more children. Furthermore, among Tajikistani migrants, 51.5% of respondents live in the RF with their children, while among Kyrgyzstani respondents this share comes to slightly more than one third - 35.3%.

Diagram 9. Joint residence with children under 18 (among those who have children)

²² V. Peshkov, A. Rocheva. «Female migrants from Central Asia in a big city and pregnancy: choice, problems, perspectives» 23 March 2013. www.genderpage.ru

²³ Brednikova, O., & Tkach, O. Дом для Номады. [Home for a Nomada]. Available at: <http://www.soclabo.org/index.php/laboratorium/article/view/219/506>



- **Respondents' employment**

How does searching for and finding a place of work happen? This question was answered in various ways by tens of studies. It is generally stated in social networks helping migrants to find jobs, especially due to the fact that migrants' employment has a "sporadic spot" nature: men are concentrated in construction and trade, and women – in trade and services. Interviews with migrants serve for various ways – from networking (as a rule, these are more "protected niches – legal and higher qualified, such as teachers at schools or doctors and nurses in hospitals) to accidental, when migrants got a job after reading a vacancy announcement or having men a person that informed them about a potential opportunity of employment in a conversation. A number of wage works does not have any "prerequisites"; thus, women- and children-migrants from Tajikistan stand at a certain place at vegetable bazaar early mornings in order to get hired for a day or several days for processing – sorting vegetables and fruits.

For female migrants the strategy of determining a place of work, in comparison with the previous daily life, has significantly changed. While in sedentary life married women try to find work closer to home, since home is the focus of a traditional patriarchal everyday life and family, in Yekaterinburg and everywhere migrants undergo a change in attitude towards the place of home, space, a kind of displacement. Thus, women try to take up residency near their place of work in order to reduce their time and financial costs on transportation, as well as minimize the risk of encountering police and other "repressive" organs.

In general the spheres of employment of migrants in Yekaterinburg do not differ from the data across the country overall. The "top", most popular spheres of employment for labor migrants from Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan have significant differences both in terms of gender aspect and country of origin.

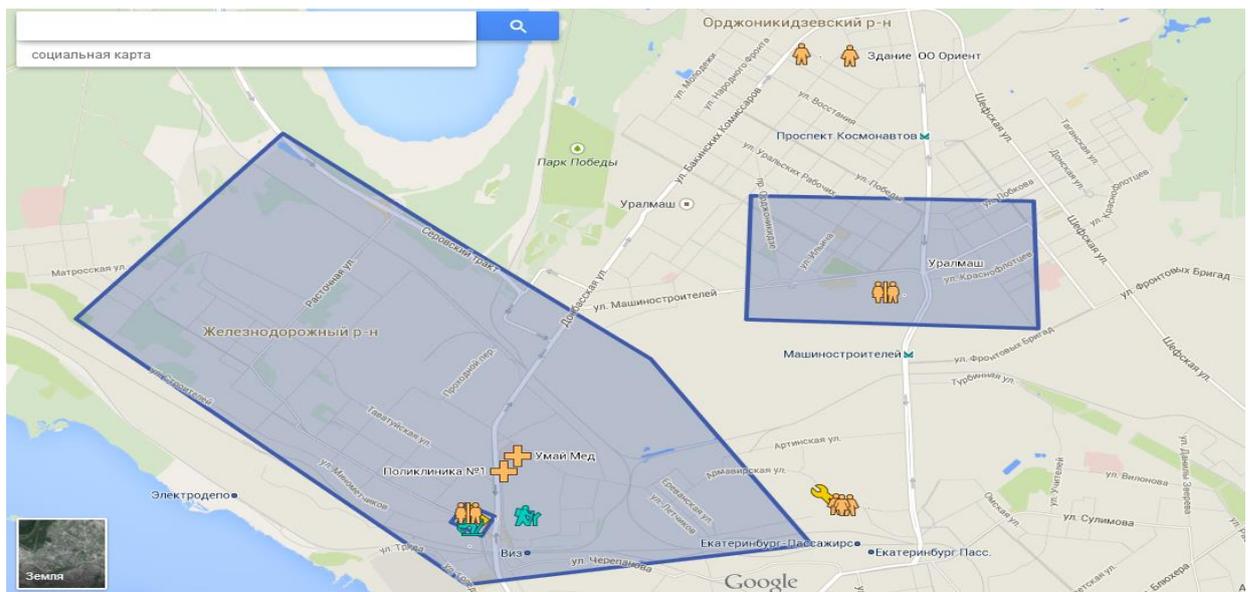
Table 2. Gender aspects of employment: top spheres

| Kyrgyzstan | | | | Tajikistan | | | |
|----------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|-----------------|-------|----------------------|-------|
| Men (N=200) | | Women (N=200) | | Men (N=200) | | Women (N=200) | |
| Trade | 36,0% | Trade | 55,0% | Construction | 40,5% | Trade | 37,5% |
| Construction | 21,5% | Public food services | 29,0% | Trade | 25,0% | Public food services | 32,0% |
| Transportation | 19,0% | Hotel business | 2,5% | Transportation | 15,5% | Cleaning company | 9,0% |
| Public food services | 13,0% | Care services | 2,5% | Photo and video | 7,0% | Transportation | 4,0% |

| | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|------|----------------------------|------|----------------------------|------|----------------------------|------|
| | | | | recording | | | |
| Housing and utility sector | 3,5% | Housing and utility sector | 2,0% | Public food services | 6,0% | Housing and utility sector | 4,0% |
| Furniture manufacturing | 2,0% | Hairdressing salon | 2,0% | Housing and utility sector | 3,5% | Caring services | 3,5% |
| | | | | | | Hotel business | 3,0% |
| | | | | | | Sewing industry | 2,0% |

The most noticeable of work place concentration points for migrants from Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan in Yekaterinburg are such markets as Taganskii ryad, Kirovskii wholesale market, Aramilskii market and Botanicheskii market. A large share of migrants from Tajikistan also work at the Ovoshebaza (Vegetable warehouse) #4²⁴ and markets of the Southern bus terminal, also a large part of migrants from both countries work at a construction company “Verhnyaya pazhma”.

Man of concentration of labor migrations from RT and KR on the territory of two rayons (districts) in Yekaterinburg city



Concentration of migrants at markets and other abovementioned objects is explained by the opportunity for migrants and employers to conceal the undocumented nature of activity, but consequently working in a shadow business leads to drawbacks. In the media discourse there is a long-standing opinion that the development of the shadow employment is related to the characteristics of migrants and their inclination to live and work outside of legal framework and not wanting to make their working status official thus evading economic expenses, etc. However, as noted by a researcher, E. Mezentseva, “in this situation, most likely, migrants are the victims of the economic situation in Russia that reinforces the factors stimulating shadow economy, which creates the main demand for illegal workers”²⁵.

In the mentioned niches labor migrants occupy the least qualified labor niches.

²⁴ See photos of everyday work of migrants from Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan in the appendix

²⁵ From the presentation at a seminar on gender budgeting in Moscow, in 2013

Table 3. Gender aspects of employment: top positions

| Kyrgyzstan | | | | Tajikistan | | | |
|---------------------|-------|----------------|-------|---------------------|-------|-----------------------------|-------|
| Men (N=200) | | Women (N=200) | | Men (N=200) | | Women (N=200) | |
| Seller | 18,5% | Seller | 43,0% | Construction worker | 19,5% | Seller | 29,5% |
| Driver | 16,5% | Cleaner | 14,0% | General worker | 16,5% | Cleaner | 29,5% |
| Construction worker | 14,5% | Cook | 8,0% | Loader | 12,5% | Cook | 8,0% |
| Loader | 9,5% | Kitchen worker | 6,5% | Driver | 12,0% | Kitchen worker | 6,5% |
| Guard | 8,0% | Waitress | 5,5% | Seller | 10,0% | Waitress | 6,5% |
| Street sweeper | 5,0% | | | Guard | 5,0% | Housemaid, maid, babysitter | 5,0% |
| General worker | 4,5% | | | Mason | 3,0% | Packer | 4,5% |
| Cook | 4,0% | | | | | Cranewoman | 4,0% |

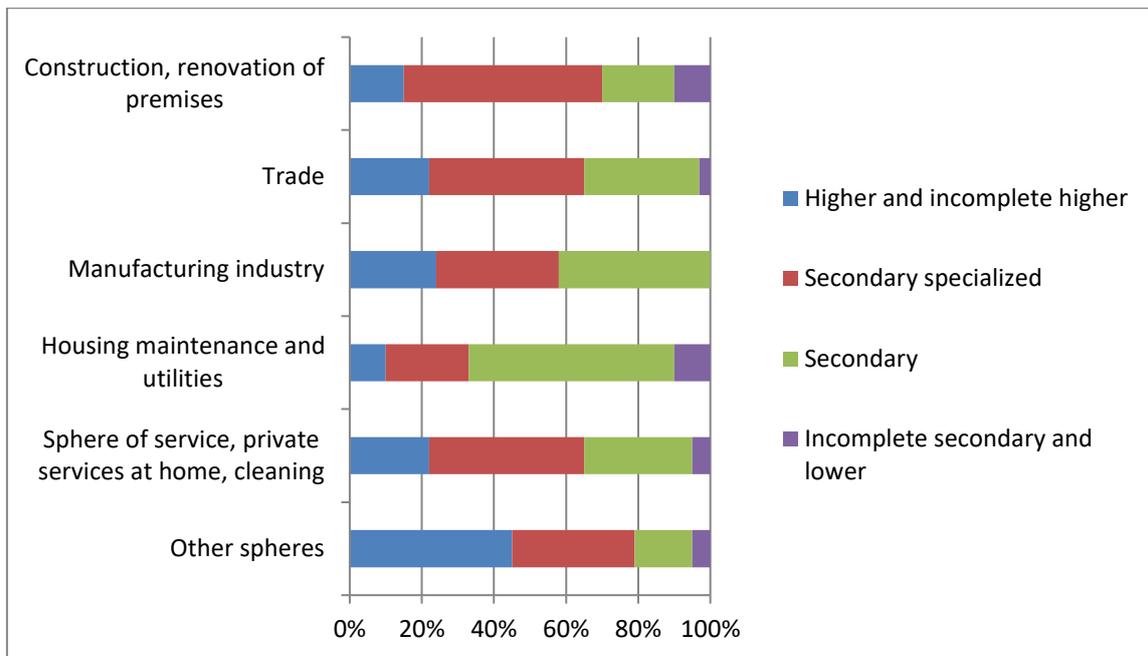
Among the niches taken up by migrants from RT and KR, low-qualified and unqualified positions are prevalent. As it has been already mentioned, it is particularly the market demand structure that shapes the qualification and educational characteristics of labor migrants from KR and RT. In this regard researchers of women's participation in migration (2010) revealed the following peculiarities²⁶:

- Level of education of female migrants is found to be unjustifiably low in relation to the spheres of occupation and position level that they hold in Russia. Thus, almost 15% of those working in construction and repair works and 22% of those working in trade have higher and incomplete higher education, 10% of women working in Moscow and cleaners have higher and incomplete higher education.
- In general it corresponds with the educational level of citizens of Russia employed in the same spheres; however, migrants, as a rule, hold much more humble positions and the abovementioned occupational spheres in comparison to Russian workers. Thus, for example, the share of those who have higher and incomplete higher education among those working in construction in Russia, in 2008, came to 21.8%, in wholesale and retail trade – 21%²⁷.

Diagram 10. Level of education of female labor migrants by occupational spheres according to the results of the study by E. Tiuriukanova among female migrants

²⁶ Tiuriukanova, E., (ed). (2011). Женщины-мигранты из стран СНГ в России. [Female migrants from the CIS countries in Russia]. Серия: Миграционный барометр в Российской Федерации Москва. [Series: Migration barometer in Russian Federation]. Moscow, Maks-Press. Available at: <http://migrocenter.ru/gender/pdf/doklad.pdf>

²⁷ Труд и занятость в Российской Федерации-2009. [Labor and employment in the Russian Federation]. Rosstat, 2010



Holding non-prestigious labor niches, migrants are always ready for quick change of work place. Frequency of workplace change is not only related to an individual choice of a migrant but is also caused by trends of changes in migration policy of the receiving state. Thus, during the course of the study due to new documents and official statements of the FMS heads migrants from Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and other CIS countries found themselves under a risk of being forced out of the spheres of trade, services, including public food services, transportation. Since these spheres are the top five most popular occupational spheres among Kyrgyz and Tajik migrants, 68% of male Kyrgyzstani and 57% Tajikistanis, and 93% female Kyrgyzstan and the same share of Tajikistanis were under a risk of losing a job²⁸. It is difficult to realize a complete displacement of migrants from these spheres²⁹, although increase in repressions will significantly worsen the chances of migrants for freedom of movement from one workplace to another, and as a consequence will increase the possibilities of exploitation and discrimination in relation to migrants on the part of employers.

A 2010 study of women's participation in migration revealed that, for example, more than half of female external migrants have worked at the last place of work less than half a year, and only 24% - more than one year. The “dynamically fluid” employment is also typical for male migrants. However, despite the fact that mainly a migrant’s place of work is not stable, in majority of the cases it is not one-time and not that spontaneous. Changing place of work automatically leads to changing a place of residence among migrants. This means that large masses of migrants find themselves on a constant move, forming groups of modern urban nomads.

- **Labor migrants’ legal status**

²⁸ Interestingly, it is precisely female labor migrations from both countries who will become the most vulnerable under new conditions of the migration policy of the Russian Federation, although it is apparent that nobody considered gender aspects of policy change.

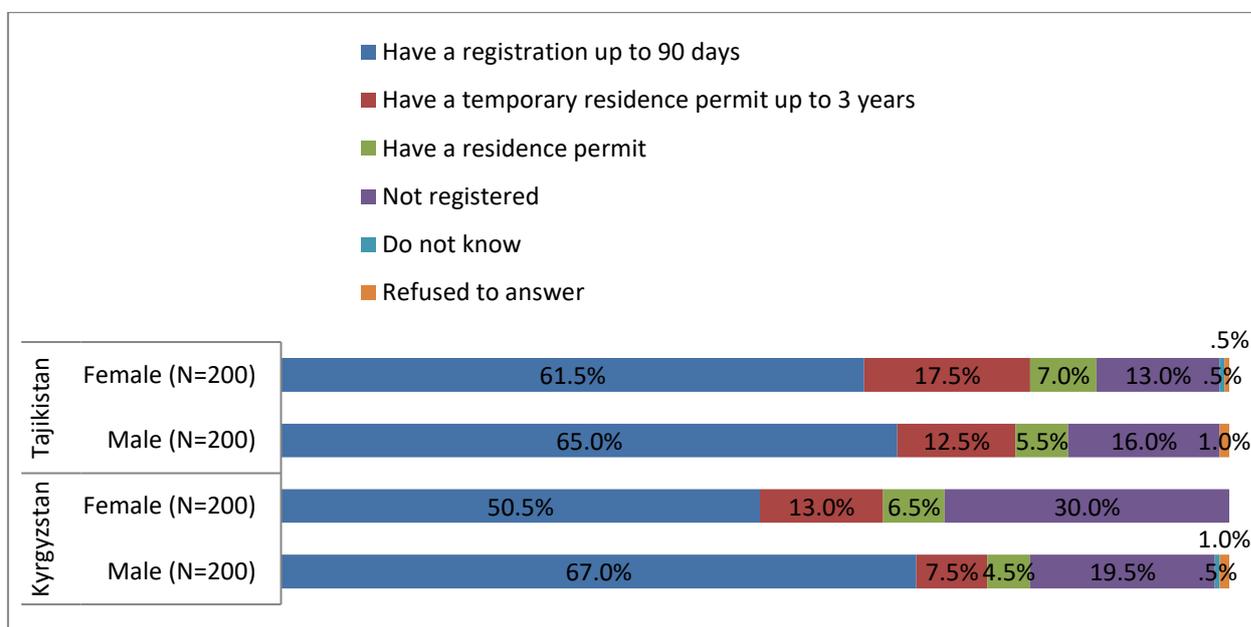
²⁹ See, the failed attempt to force out migrants from the housing and utilities sector, street sweepers in the first place

Despite the absence of the term “illegal migrant”³⁰ in the RF legislation this term is normalized in the public discourse of migration and it is common to imply movement of foreign citizens in the RF “with violation of the legislation on entrance of foreign citizens, staying/living on the territory of Russia and exercise of occupation”³¹ under this term. In this report this notion is expressed using the term “undocumented migration” and “migrants working without permission documents”, as well as “migrants having an illegal status of living and labor.”

As it was already described in Chapter 3 of this report, the system of receiving permission documents is a reason for reproduction of large masses of people violating the terms of residence and employment in Russian. Nevertheless, every migrant tries to “legalize” their position and an overwhelming majority of migrants have a 90-day registration. Due to favorable regime (simplified legalization) towards the citizens of RT, a comparatively lower share of migrants without a legal status was found among the respondents from Tajikistan. Approximately 40% of respondents work without permission documents. The most “law-abiding” labor migrants in this sense are women from Tajikistan, and the least are men from Kyrgyzstan.

A legal status, or rather presence of all permission documents, among labor migrants, especially women, is determined by age and legal status: the younger the woman, and unmarried, the higher the probability of not having a legal status. Furthermore, joint residence of spouses reduces the risk of an illegal status of residence. Migrants having children and living together with children in Yekaterinburg also minimizes this risk. Dependence of a migrant’s illegal status on age has a U-shape curve. Respondents of younger and older age more often not registered with a migration service than respondents of middle employable age between 30 and 40.

Diagram 11. Legality of migrants’ residing in Yekaterinburg

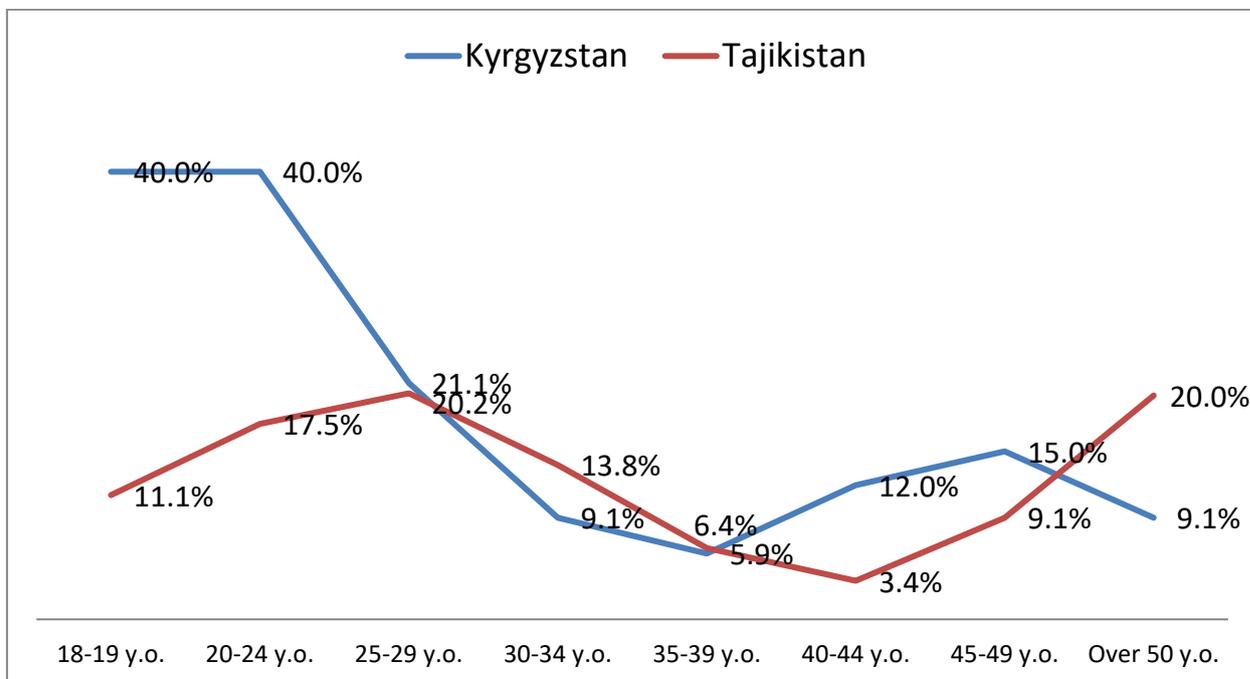


³⁰ A detailed analysis regarding the aspects that could determine absence of a legal status, as well as legal instability of the term, see in work of Abashin, S. (2012) Среднеазиатская миграция: практики, локальные сообщества, транснационализм. [Central Asian migration: practices, local communities, transnationalism]. Этнографическое обозрение. [Ethnographic review], #4, pp. 5-6. The author notes that at an international level politically correct language is used and labor migrants with no formal documents according to the requirements of the state system are called “undocumented migrants”

³¹ From the concept of migration policy, definition of illegal migration. Here cited from: Abashin, S. (2012) Среднеазиатская миграция: практики, локальные сообщества, транснационализм. [Central Asian migration: practices, local communities, transnationalism]. Этнографическое обозрение. [Ethnographic review], #4, p. 5

It is possible that being responsible for themselves and their children makes migrants with families go great lengths in order to receive permission documents, whereas younger and autonomous migrants consider it irrational to spend large amounts of money on permission documents. As a hypothesis one could assume that they have stricter obligations to send money to their families who stayed in the homeland than labor migrants with families who came with their children.

Diagram 12. Age and legality (percentage of respondents not registered with migration services)



Availability of migration registration and all permission documents is correlating with educational status of migrants: thus, respondents with higher education is more likely to have a migration registration. It is noteworthy to mention that the lowest share of those who does not have a legal status of residence and labor in Yekaterinburg is found among respondents with secondary technical training.

Diagram 13. Level of education and legality (percentage of respondents without a migration registration)

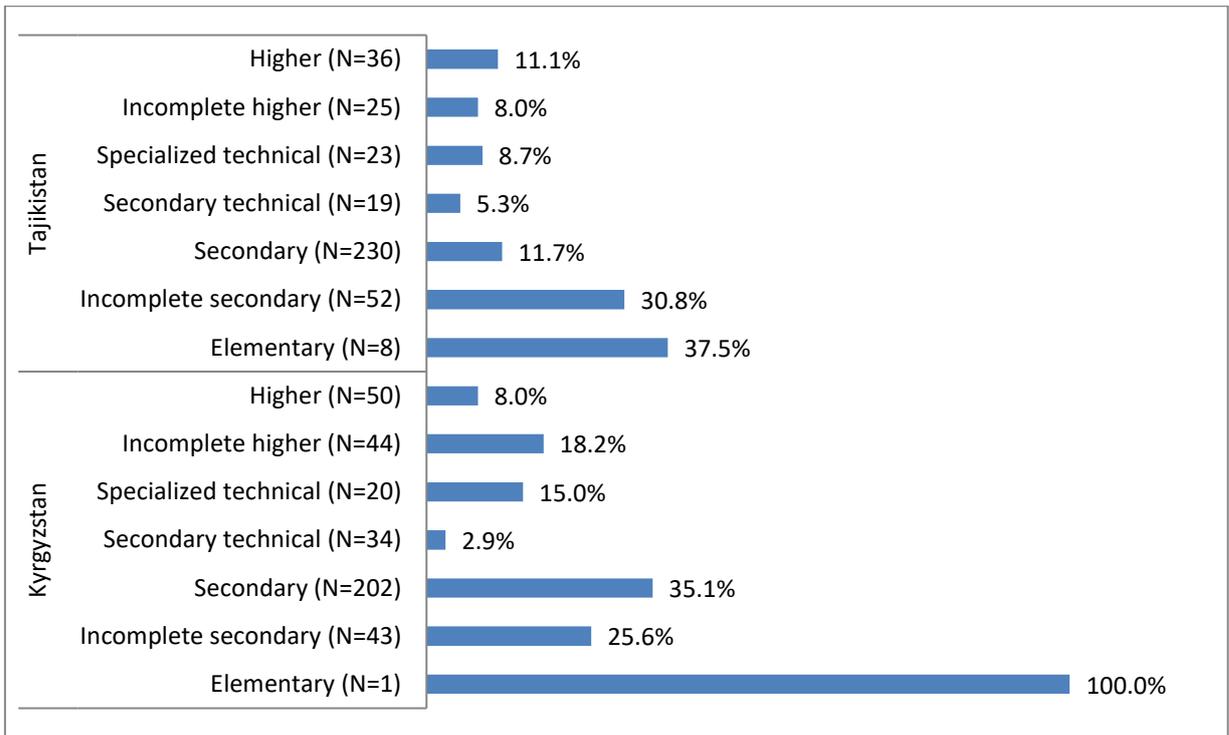
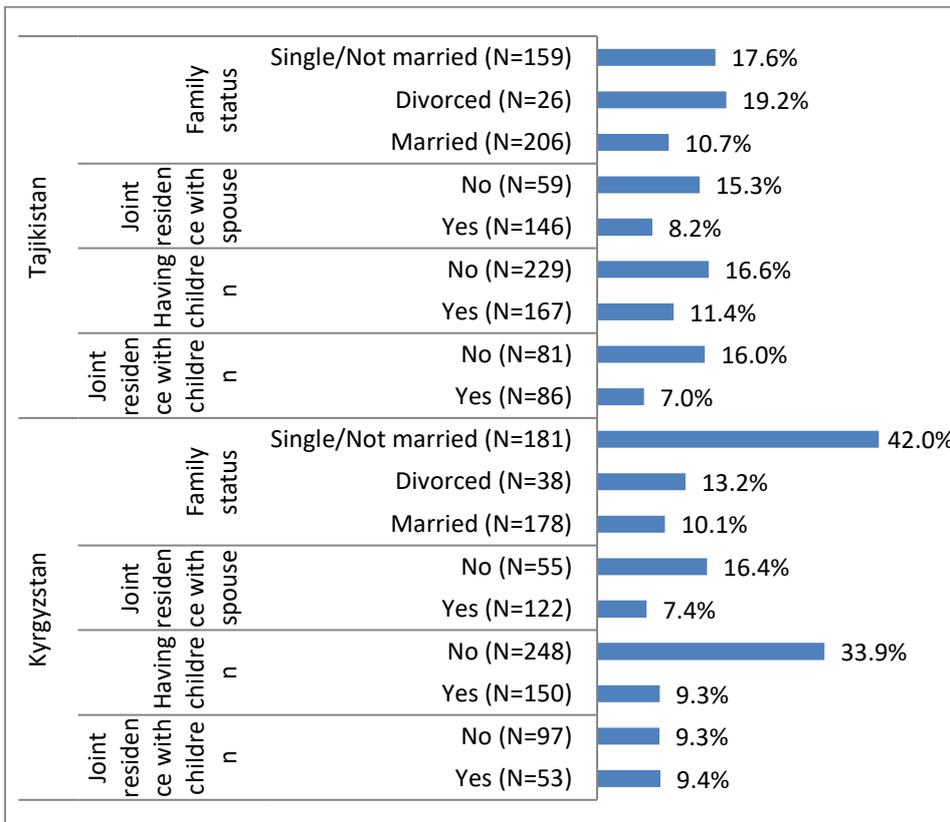


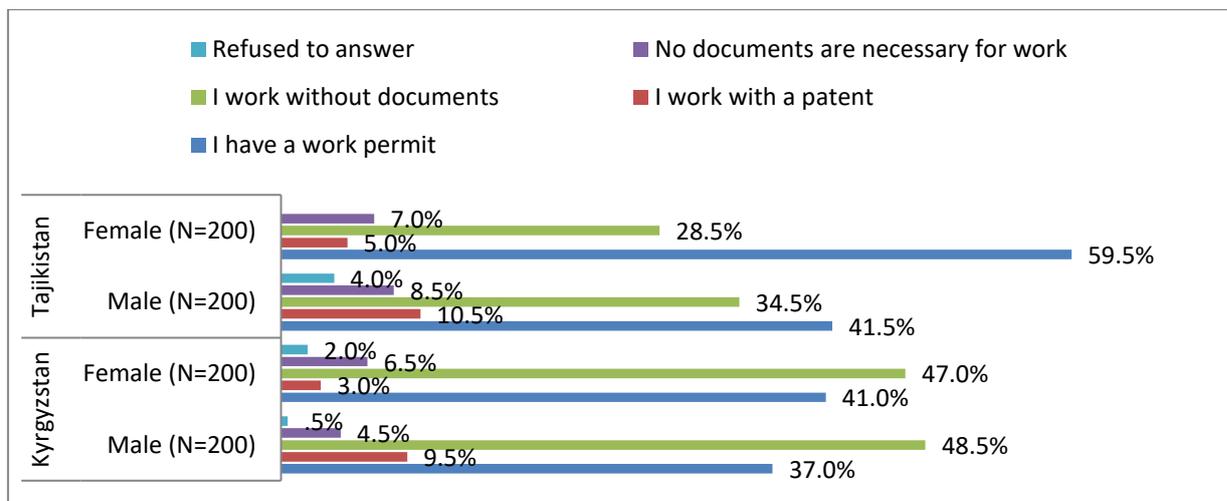
Diagram 14. Family status and legality (percentage of respondents without a migration registration)



Among the 40% of respondents who work without permission documents, apparently there is a group of labor migrants who do not understand and not informed about all requirements for receiving a legal status. Thus, while conducting interviews about availability of documents allowing to work on the territory of the RF, rather often migrant respondents thought that a 90-day registration automatically means a work permit and other documents permitting to work are not necessary. It is possible that

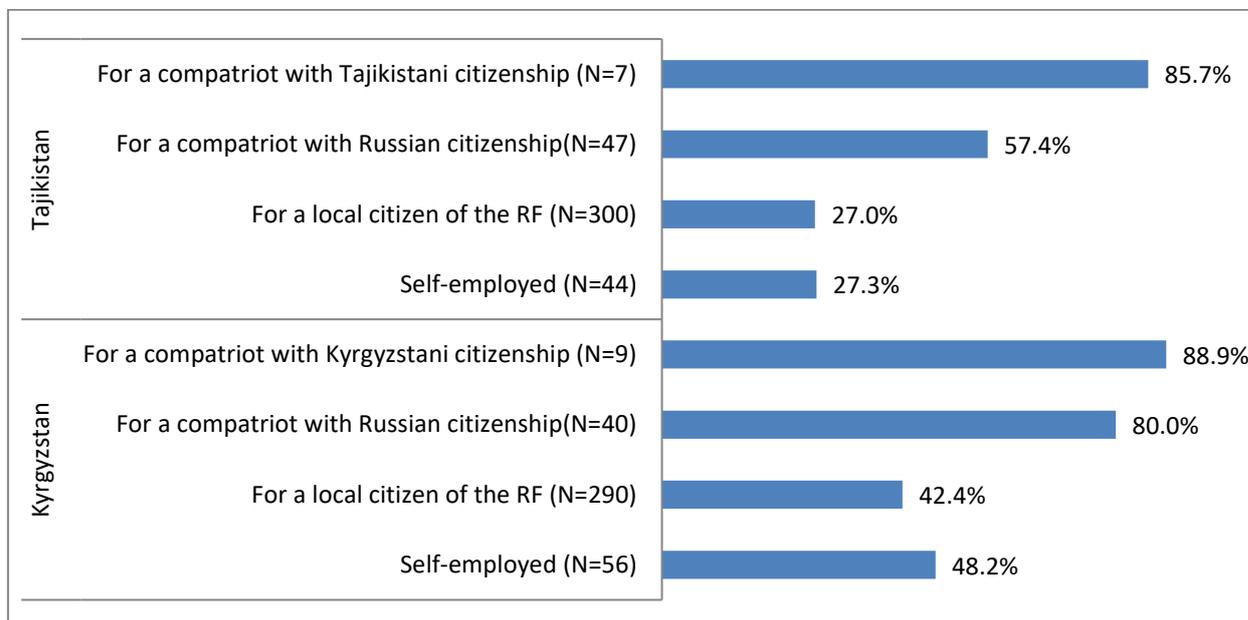
uninformedness of legal migrants is the reason why they turn for legalizing documents to dishonest intermediaries who sell them forged documents for a lot of money.

Diagram 15. Having work permits



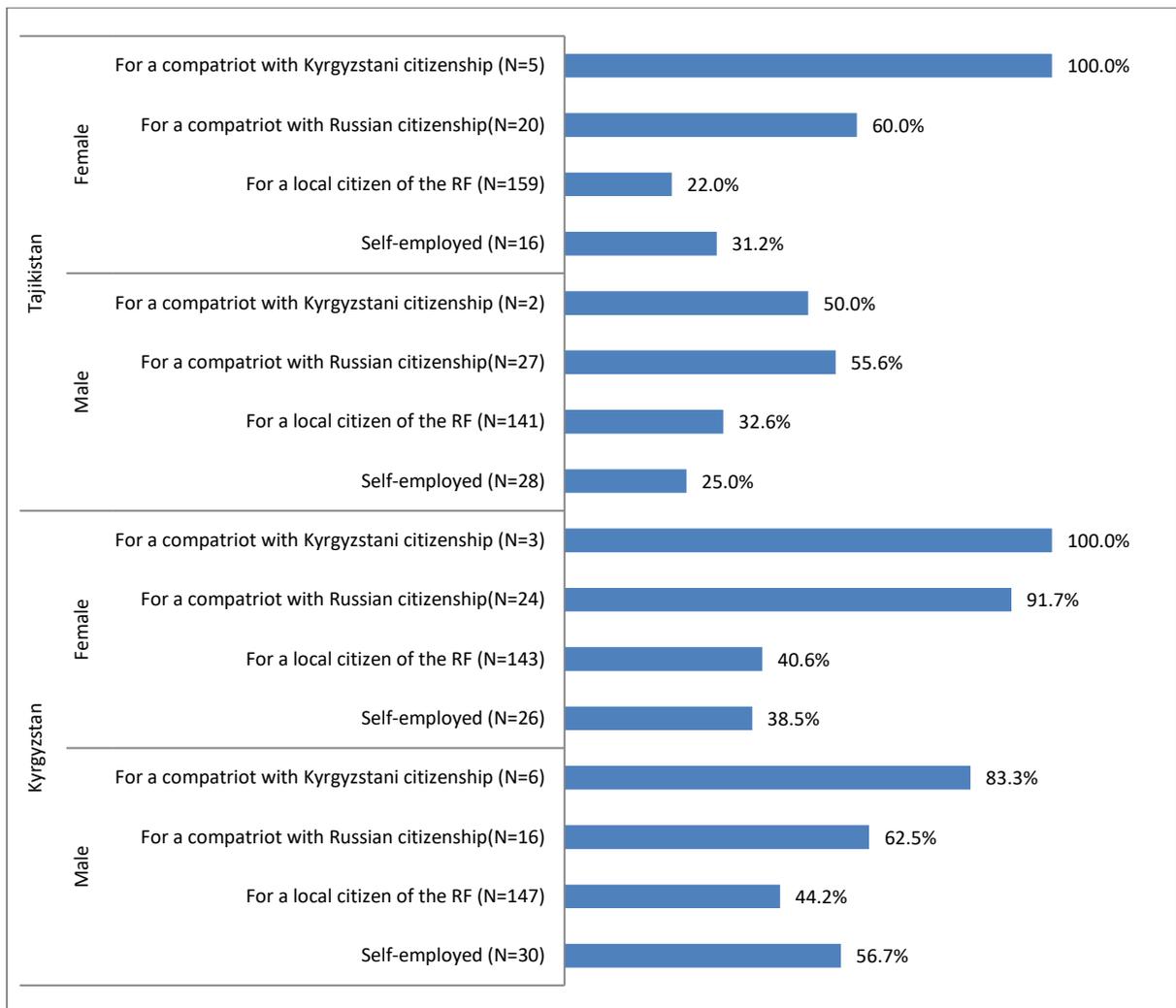
The study revealed negative aspects of diaspora relations. Among labor migrants working without permission documents a significant share work for compatriots (regardless of having a Russian citizenship).

Diagram 16. The share of respondents working without permission documents (by categories of employers)



This dependency is typical for status female labor migrants, who most likely will work without documents, if they work for their current/former compatriots.

Diagram 17. Share of respondents by age working without documents (by employers' categories)



There are several versions of explanation of a negative impact of diaspora relations in the sphere of employment:

- on the one hand, both a migrant and a compatriot-employer have higher chances of avoiding the requirements of the legislation on work permits passing migrants as their relatives who came for a visit and are episodically (at the moment of checks) helping in their compatriot's business
- discrimination practices that are used by employers coming from the same countries as labor migrants are related to psychological mechanisms of distancing from compatriots in an attempt to integrate in another culture through assimilation and acceptance of state organs' rhetoric on "objective guilt of a new migration wave"
- also using compatriot workers allows employers originating from the same countries as migrants to keep their business or its components (work force) in the shadow in order to maximize their profits without a risk of being held liable for exploitation and illegal labor treatment of migrants, i.e., make profit on "one's own" is more profitable
- many barriers for legalization of labor migrants' status forces them to turn to traditional relative, clan, fellow-countrymen networks for help, although these cannot function in a traditional order under new economic, political and cultural conditions. Thus, both compatriot employers and employees in a way become hostages of a situation and are not able to refuse from traditional everyday relations and values, they produce surrogate (dysfunctional) relations and values – pseudo help and mutual help and pseudo trust.

Moreover, the 2010 study of women’s participation in migration revealed that migrants do not that many incentives for legalization (receiving work permits) and formalization (signing a legal contract) of their employment. Thus, researchers established that salary of female migrants who have a work permit and legal contract is even slightly lower than that of those who work illegally or without a contract. The difference comes to 850 roubles (approximately 30 USD) in favor of illegal workers.

Table 4. Wage size according to the results of the study by E. Tiuriukanova among female migrants

| | Written contract with employer | Russian work permit |
|---------------|--------------------------------|---------------------|
| Available | 14,304 | 13,710 |
| Not available | 15,151 | 14,928 |
| Mean value | 14,638 | |

As stated by E. Tiuriukanova: “migrants who have a work permit receive an almost the same salary with those who works illegally, without a work permit. An average salary of the former is only 5% higher than that of the latter (15,429 and 15,114 roubles, respectively). Although illegal workers on average work several hours a week more than legal migrants, and of course they run much higher risks, but in other instances the conditions are almost the same. Even the amount of money that goes for police fines are approximately the same for legal and illegal migrants: 1,400 and 1,600 roubles. For legal migrants the risks are also rather high. While the state and economic system cannot create a certain set of guarantees for legal workers and lower their economic, legal and social risks, migrants will have few stimuli for legalization, as they do now”³².

- **Earnings of labor migrants in Russia and earning expectations**

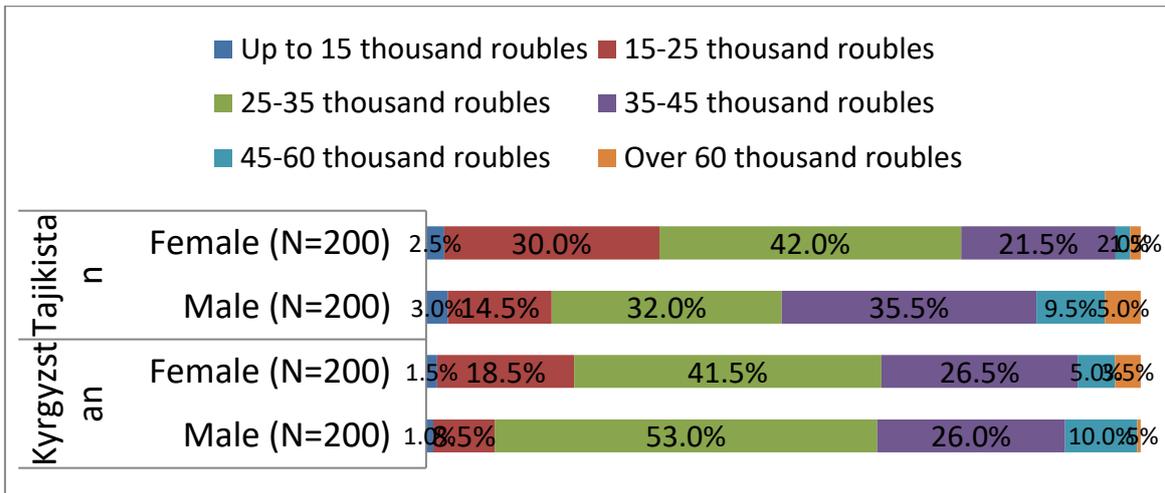
In Russian public discourse there is an established opinion that labor migrants from Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan are willing to work “for peanuts,” anti-migrant speeches blaming labor migrants for dumping prices on one or another labor is not rare. At the same time, in the public discourse of labor migrants’ homeland there is an opposite opinion: migrants are “raking” a lot of money in Russia, the salary level allows any migrant to become rich in a short time. It is apparent that the expectations of migrants and real earnings are largely defined by public discourses in Russian and in their homeland.

Measurement of expectations of migrants³³ - respondents of this study revealed that their expectations regarding their salary are approximately corresponding to average earnings of the population in Russian Federation. Approximately 80% of respondents said that in Yekaterinburg one should earn at least 25-35 thousand roubles a month. One can observe clear gender peculiarities: expectations of women from both countries are lower than that of men (gender gap is especially typical for Tajikistanis). Men from Tajikistan have the highest expectations in terms of earnings.

Diagram 18. Responses to the question: “How much should one earn to live well in Yekaterinburg?”

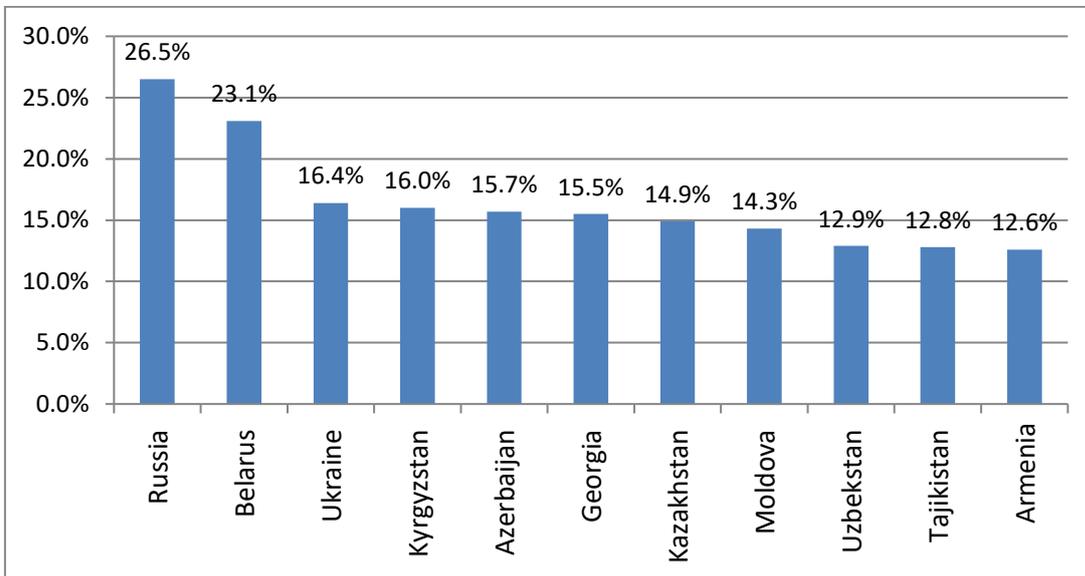
³² Tiuriukanova, E. (2010, July). Дешевые работники дорогого стоят. [Cheap workers cost a lot]. Миграция 21 век. [Migration 21st century], №1, p.43

³³ Measuring real incomes of respondents is one of the more difficult methodological tasks of the study. In this study, respondents were asked to name the amount that they consider sufficient for a normal life in Yekaterinburg, as well as answer whether they manage to earn such an amount.



The 2010 study of women’s participation in migration received the following data³⁴: an average salary of female migrants came to 14.6 thousand roubles, which is significantly lower than average across Russia (20.7 thousand in August 2010). Migrants’ earnings significantly differ depending on territory: in Moscow respondents earned 21 on average (average salary of Russian women in August 2010 came to 38.8 thousand roubles), in Saint-Petersburg – 12.8 thousand (Russian women earned 26.4 thousand on average), in Samara oblast – 10.1 thousand (Russian women’s salary came to 15.9 thousand), in Krasnodar Krai – 7.9 thousand (Russian women earned 16.1 thousand). The earnings are also affected by the country of origin/citizenship (possibly it is more correct to say: ethnicity) of female migrants.

Diagram 19. Average salary of women depending on citizenship, thousand roubles/month, according to the results of the study by E. Triuriukanova among female migrants



Comparison of salary levels of migrants and Russian workers without consideration of work day and work week length appears to be incorrect since the results of various studies have established that “migrants’ labor is actually significantly cheaper than labor of Russian workers, but only in relative calculation, i.e., in relation to time worked and produced product. ...Migrants work, on average, a 70-

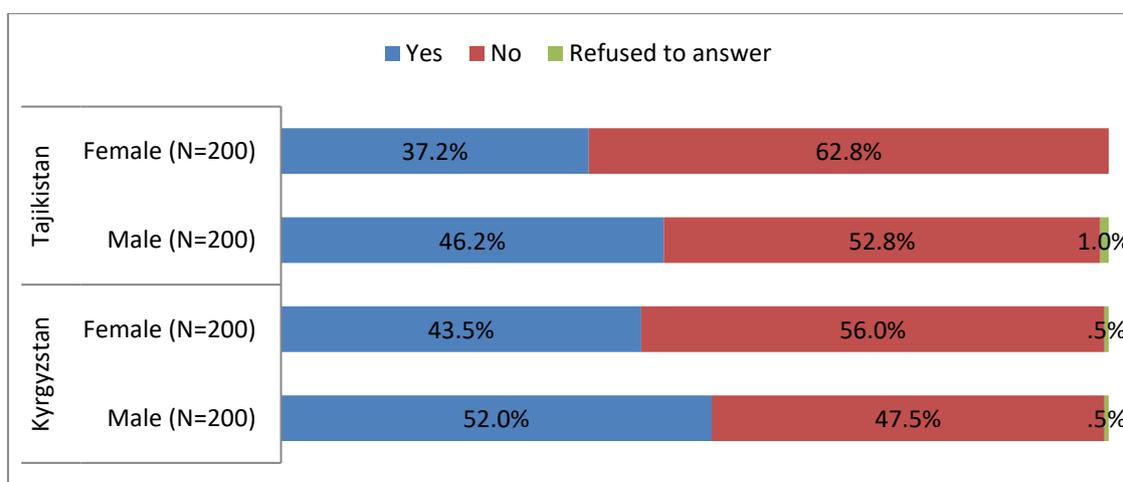
³⁴ Tiuriukanova, E., (ed). (2011). Женщины-мигранты из стран СНГ в России. [Female migrants from the CIS countries in Russia]. Серия: Миграционный барометр в Российской Федерации Москва. [Series: Migration barometer in Russian Federation]. Moscow, Maks-Press. Available at: <http://migrocenter.ru/gender/pdf/doklad.pdf>

hour week and more, i.e., on average they work 10 hours a day without day-offs. Migrants' average hourly salary is almost 2 times lower than that of Russian workers"³⁵.

A Russian employee of the Center of labor studies of the Higher School of Economics, E. Chernina, in her report "Migrants on the Russian labor market: portrait and salary" at the 3rd session of the seminar for young scientists of the Higher School of Economics "Secrets of the academic kitchen" notes: "While comparing earnings of migrants and local population, we see that in 2007 the differences between salaries of migrants and Russians came to 36-38%, and in 2009 – already 42-46%." Moreover, in the opinion of the young scientists there are several reasons that could explain the growing gap in earnings, one of them states: "... There is discrimination on the labor market. And finally, segmentation of the labor market. Migrants are "locked" in narrow segments, and their concentration leads to excessive labor supply and, consequently, decrease in salaries in these spheres"³⁶.

In this study we also received data about much higher level of satisfaction of labor migrants from Kyrgyzstan with their earnings in comparison with Tajikistani migrants. According to their subjective estimations they with higher possibility reach the level of earnings necessary for a "good life"³⁷. Migrants' expectations regarding the desired earnings to a greater degree corresponds with reality among men than among women.

Diagram 20. Evaluation of correspondence of expectations and real earnings of labor migrants



2.2. Work/family balance in the life of a labor migrant

New daily life of labor migrants in a very apparent way changed a traditional labor and recreation ratio, work and family responsibilities. How does migrant's experimental daily life take place? Is there place

³⁵ Tiuriukanova, E., (ed). (2011). Женщины-мигранты из стран СНГ в России. [Female migrants from the CIS countries in Russia]. Серия: Миграционный барометр в Российской Федерации Москва. [Series: Migration barometer in Russian Federation]. Moscow, Maks-Press. Available at: <http://migrocenter.ru/gender/pdf/doklad.pdf>

³⁶ Chumak, A. Как мигранты влияют на экономику страны? [How do migrants affect the economy of the country?] News service of the Higher School of Economics portal

³⁷ What respondents meant by "good life" is not known. Everyone interpreted and understood the questions in the questionnaire arbitrarily

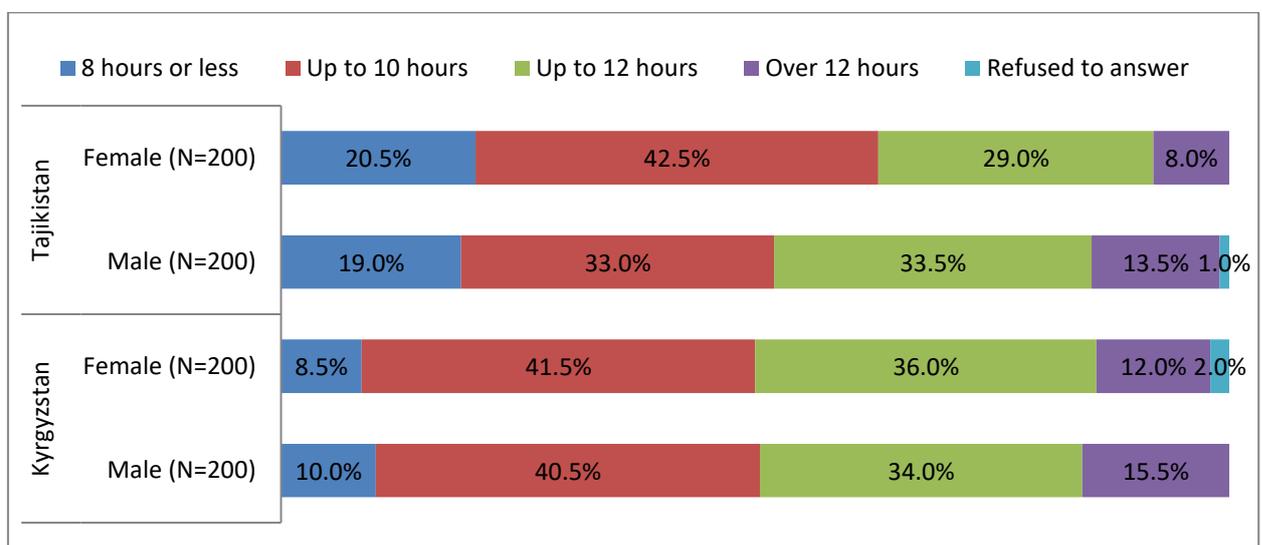
for recreation in it? How does space affect the change in labor and recreation ratio, work and family responsibilities? We tried to answer these and other questions in this small chapter in the report.

- **Labor routine**

As it has already been stated above the central place and the main goal in life of a migrant is labor. As a rule, a migrant has an image-goal for which this labor has to be that hard and even sacrificial. For that goal migrants initially come prepared for an irregular routine, with various hardships³⁸...

In reality, migrants' labor routine is very difficult. The length of a migrant's work day generally does not correspond with the RF labor legislation. It is interesting that Kyrgyzstanis, on average, have a slightly longer work day than Tajikistanis: almost 90% of Kyrgyzstanis and approximately 80% of Tajikistanis work more than 8 hours.

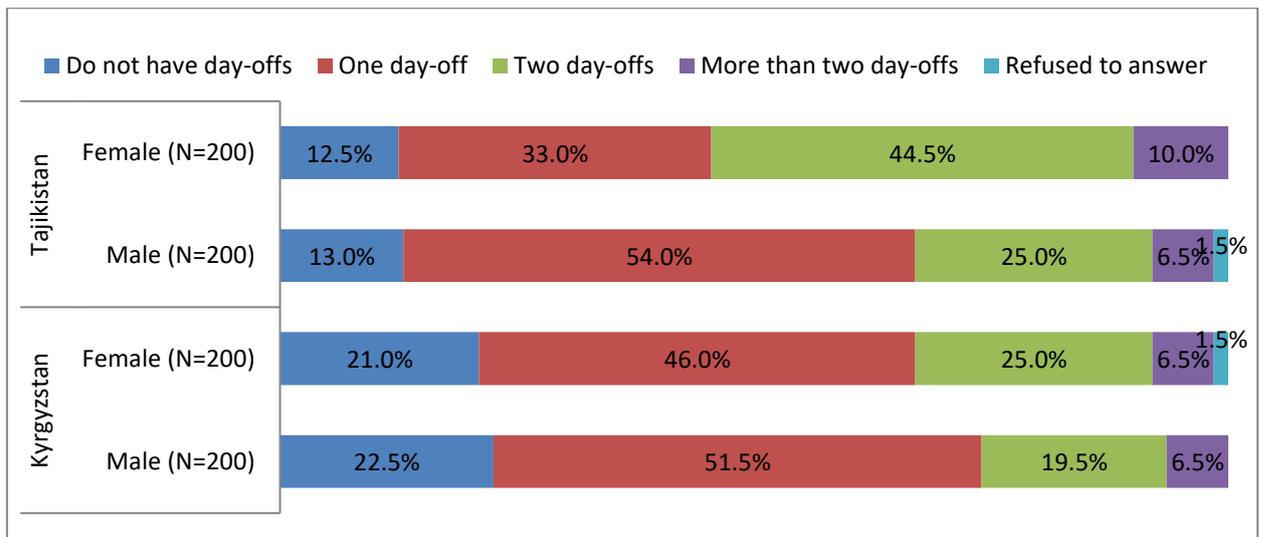
Diagram 21. Work day length



It is significant that migrants from KR also have fewer day-offs in comparison with Tajik labor migrants. It is possible that the reason for Kyrgyzstanis' relative "workaholism" is a lower degree of legality of their residence and work status in Yekaterinburg. It is possible that on the contrary, initially Tajik migrants, a larger share of whom has a family and children in the RF, search for work that would allow having day-offs and a shorter work day.

Diagram 22. Length of work week

³⁸ In one of the interviews a young Kyrgyzstani man, who had an experience of labor migration in the RF, admitted that if he worked as diligently at home he would have become rich.



Labor routine complicates the stay of labor migrants with children. As numerous studies reveal in families of migrants from Central Asia both men and women are eager to work despite having little children. The current study also established that the total number of children under 6 who live with their migrant parents came to 104 children, among them 49 children live with families where both spouses work. Only 11 out of 104 children go to a kindergarten. In order to solve the issue of caring after small children in the families from Kyrgyzstan they turn to the newly formed institution of private care after preschool children by girls of older age, adolescents, who are deprived of their access to education during the period of the “child-raising experience”³⁹. This institute received the name “bakchy” kyz and is based on the traditional everyday system of values and relations – hiring bakchy girls is done according to the principle of kinship or regionalism, and the skills of performing the functions of care and nursing after children are ascribed to girls as a natural quality in traditional families.

In the south of the country, in mass media, one may often encounter announcements about the need for a bakchy-girl for migrant families in Russia. Some announcements even include a reward amount – 500 dollars. Informants in Kyrgyzstan and Russia have provided various data about parents voluntarily send their minor daughters for paid work as a bakchy, about cases that arise with transfer of such girls, because parents in villages do not formalize necessary documents (authority to accompany stranger’s children during a flight, etc.), as well as high risks of violence, including sexual violence, in families with which bakchy-girls reside. According to the information of a medical employee in Yekaterinburg there was a case when a minor bakchy-girl got pregnant from the head of the migrant family who hired her and was delivered to a clinic for an abortion being far along in her pregnancy.

- **Labor migrants’ labor routine**

As it was stated above, labor migrants from Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan live as close to work as possible. Since several centers of concentration of working migrants from KR and RT were formed in Yekaterinburg, their life predominantly takes place in these areas: Taganskii ryad market, Uralmash and Elmash, Akademicheskii microrayon. Gradually accumulating the experience of migration and formulating new daily life a growing number of migrants, in comparison with the same period even 5-10 years ago, are changing chronopolitics of their life, allocating time for leisure in their labor routine.

The results of the research projects of the Center for independent sociological studies conducted in Saint-Petersburg during several years come to a conclusion that labor migrants received more time for

³⁹ See photographs of bakchy girls in Yekaterinburg in the appendix

leisure⁴⁰ during the last 5-7 years. While earlier the question of free time was met with complete astonishment among migrants, during the study conducted two years ago researchers of the Center could collect migrants' narratives about their leisure practices. The change in migrants' chronopolitics of labor and recreation seriously changes the attitude of the Russian social sphere towards migrants. Obtaining visibility masses of migrants who are not laboring in the struggle for their life but are taking a rest as usual Russian citizens cause anxiety and fears among the local population. In the public discourse this tendency is interpreted as problematic since it goes against the vision held by the authorities and the society regarding migrants exclusively as a work force. As it was stated by Romodanovskii during a visiting session of the State Duma committee: "Our task is not to allow in the country people who are idly roaming the streets and are potential aggravators and, as a rule, violate the Russian legislation"⁴¹.

Understanding the cultural aversion towards the regime of leisure in the local Russian environment migrants try to create their leisure structures: Kyrgyz and Tajik cafes, night clubs, etc. They may perform dual functions as spaces of intensive reproduction of ethnic identities and solidarity, as well as places for recreation and leisure. However, apart from parallel recreational infrastructures migrants ever more actively explore the places of Russian's traditional recreation, principally malls (Ashan, Karnaval, etc.) as well as parks (first and foremost, the family recreation park "Taganskii", former Sagaidak-park).

Furthermore, diasporal associations (representation of "Zamandash" party, cultural center of Tajiks and Kyrgyz) organize a number of festive events coinciding with Russian or Tajikistani/Kyrgyzstani remarkable dates (Nooruz, eids, countries' independence days, etc.). Traditional formats of organized recreation within the frameworks of events organized by diasporal associations are: traditional sports contests (Spartakiads mainly representing men's strength sports, especially traditional Central Asian, for example, kuresh), festive dinners to celebrate New Year's, beauty contests ("Miss Ala-Too Perisi"), national concerts to celebrate the 10-year anniversary of the Ural peoples day and many others⁴².

- **Labor migrants' health care routine**

Care about body and health of labor migrants is built upon ascesis or rather whenever possible prolonged until they return to homeland. Exceptions are acute illnesses, childbirth, vaccinations and examination of newly born children⁴³... It is apparent that the main reasons for ascetic attitude towards healthcare routine and limited access to medical services are problems with legalization of residence and labor status in the RF and expensiveness of turning to commercial medical facilities.

Only 124 respondents out of 800 had a medical insurance. The diagram below shows that Tajik migrants have more medical insurances than the Kyrgyz. The reason for such a difference is legality of the residence and labor status in the RF: there is a direct relation between a legal status and having a medical insurance. Thus, more than half of respondents who have a residence permit in the RF received a medical insurance. Among respondents who do not have a migration registration, the share of such migrants does not exceed 2%. Practices of medical insurance are gender sensitive: according to

⁴⁰ GazetaDPb (2014, January 23). У мигрантов появился досуг, и они его тратят на удовольствия. [Migrants got leisure time at last, and they spend it on pleasures] Available at: <http://www.gazeta.spb.ru/1561410-0/>

⁴¹ Rossiiskaya Gazeta (2013, June 4). Нелегалов посадят в спецприемник. [Illegal aliens will be placed in special detention center]. Available at: <http://www.rg.ru/2013/06/04/palcy-site.html>

⁴² See photographs in the appendix

⁴³ Obstetrics and neonatal nursing is offered for free. This is why for quite a while media discourse contains discussions of alarmist nature regarding vast majority of Central Asian expectant mothers straggling over the maternity homes in the RF and posing threats –from sanitary and hygiene issues to quiet expansion of non-ethnic citizens, who will not go anywhere from Russia.

traditional healthcare routines women of both ethnic groups more often have medical insurances in comparison to men.

Diagram 23. Having medical a medical insurance (certificate of insurance)

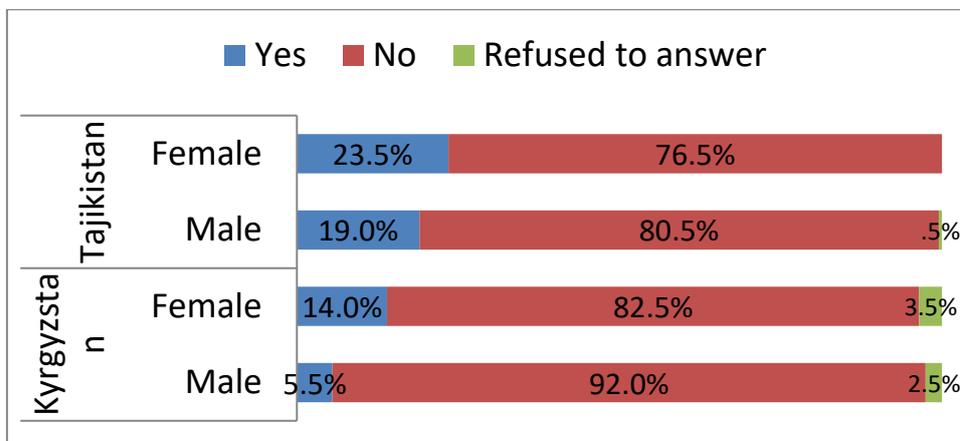
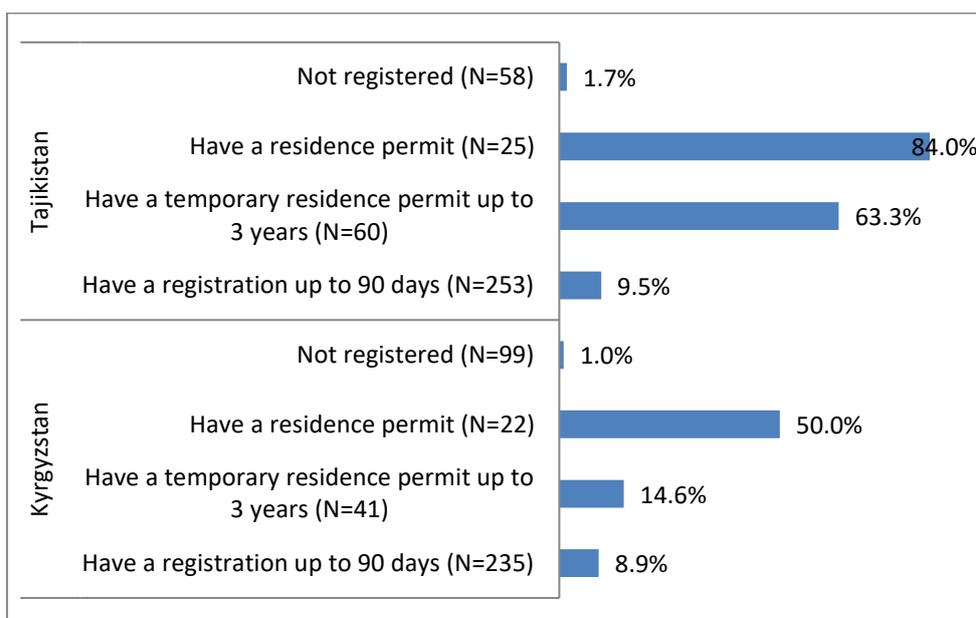
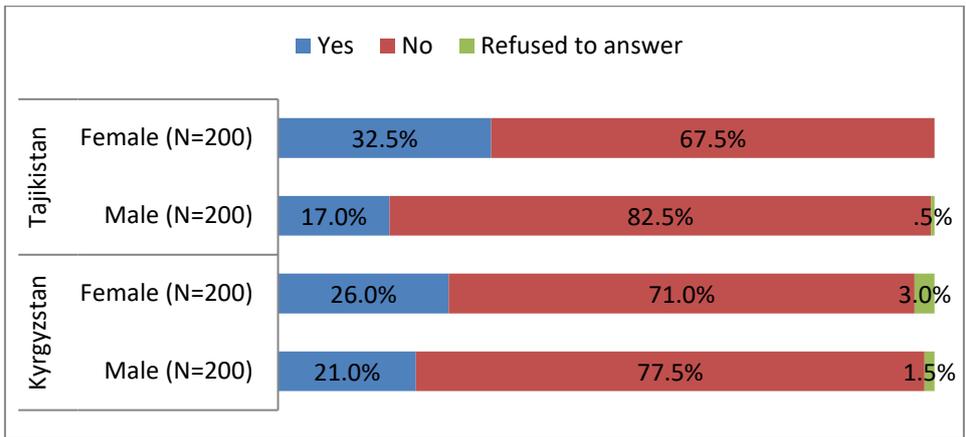


Diagram 24. Correlation between a legal status and having a medical insurance (certificate of insurance)



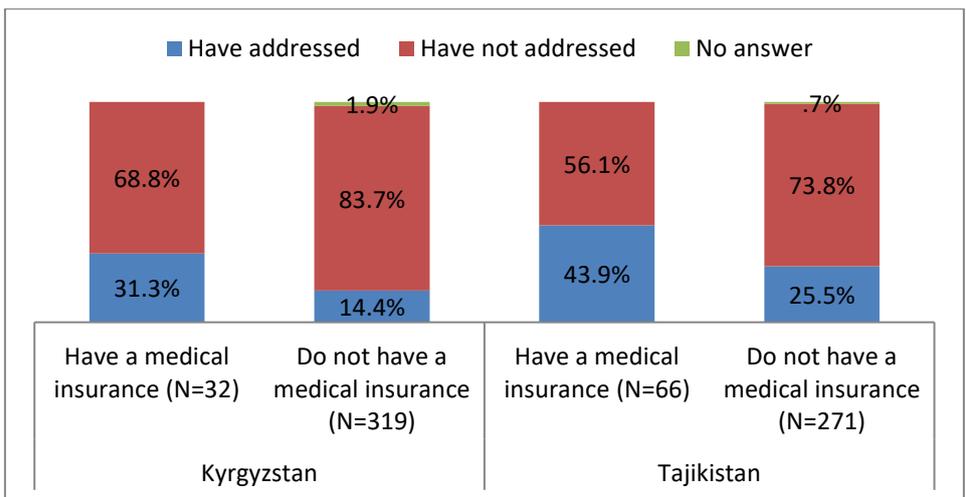
Migrants who do not have a legal status of residence and work in the RF as much as possible try not to turn to medical institutions for help in case of chronic illnesses; preventive examinations are not included into everyday standards and values of this category of labor migrants. Furthermore, subjective evaluations of health among migrant-respondents of the current study are rather pessimistic: approximately one quarter of respondents have stated that they have health issues; moreover, women tend to evaluate their health state lower than men, especially female Tajiks among whom one third evaluated their health as problematic, while one quarter of female Kyrgyz respondents diagnosed their health in such a manner.

Diagram 25. Problems with health (according to respondents' statements)



It is possible that difficult labor and living conditions, unusual climate, change in diet and other factors really do cause the growth of illnesses in the migrant sphere. This is indirectly reflected by the death rate⁴⁴ among labor migrants, as well as indicators of respondents turning to medical institutions. Thus, approximately one quarter of respondents turned to medical institutions with acute, urgent illnesses and acute exacerbations of chronic diseases.

Diagram 26. Correlation between having a medical insurance (certificate of insurance) and turning to medical institutions during one year (except for those who turned to receive a medical certificate)



Nevertheless, among those respondents who have a medical insurance turning to a doctor is not an ordinary event. Exercising care for health and body for a labor migrant is complicated by the very institutional culture of medical facilities that use the strategy of segregation and discrimination towards labor migrants. Segregated approach begins with the fact that two separate polyclinics were determined for labor migrants (1st and 3rd city medical institutions), to which migrants should turn regardless of the area of residence and work for matters: for medical check-ups and receiving health certificates, for preventive observations, and in case of illness. In certain purposeful polyclinics for migrants there is a special entrance allocated for them; they are identified by signs and instructions in Russian, English, Tajik and Chinese languages⁴⁵.

⁴⁴ Thus, according to the official statistics of Tajikistan (statement from the MIA head of the RT), in 2013, bodies of 1,055 migrants were returned to the home-country; moreover, in the majority of cases diseases were stated at the causes of death.

⁴⁵ See a photograph of a back-door in the appendix

While describing a similar institutional culture of offering access to medical services for labor migrants in another Russian city, Yakutsk, a researcher M. Aitieva reveals how ineffectiveness of organization of mandatory medical check-up for migrants, i.e., institution's dysfunction, virtually represents a latent function of organization of the regime of cultural, political and civil discrimination of labor migrants⁴⁶.

It is apparent that under the regime of such institutional cultural, political and civil discrimination of labor migrants the latter normalize their second-classness, inferiority, in the new daily life and internalize discrimination and violation of migrants' human rights as an attitudinal norm. This is exactly why despite the negative evaluations of the quality of offered medical services, rudeness of the medical personnel, only 13% out of 39 respondents, who have expressed their dissatisfaction with the service in the course of the survey, thought it possible to turn with grievances. An overwhelming majority of migrants (724 out of 800 respondents) did not know where, to which organizations they could turn with grievances regarding bad medical service and previously have not thought of the issue. Moreover, a significant share of respondents assumed that they do not have the right to turn for medical services for various reasons.

Diagram 27. The degree of satisfaction with services offered by medical institutions (among those who turned for services)

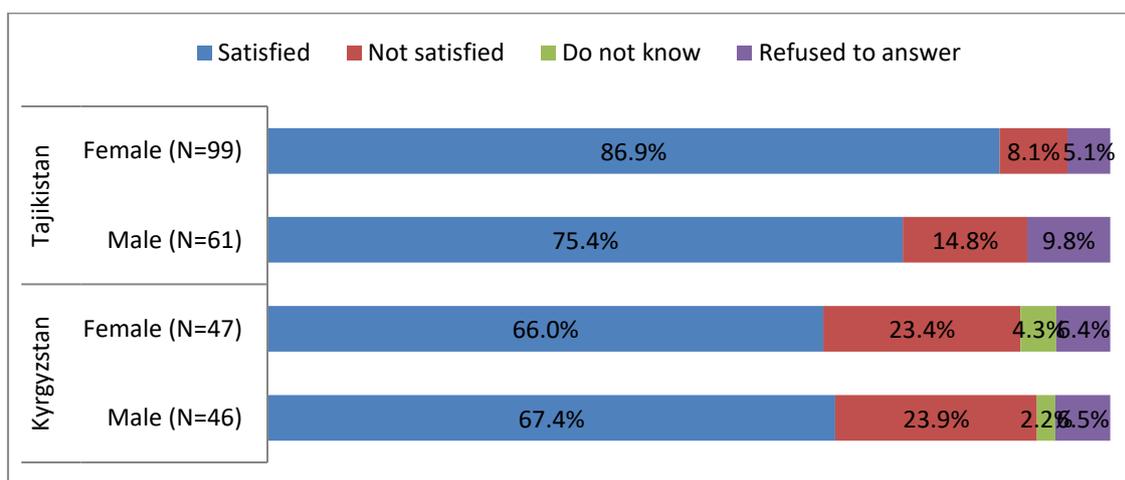
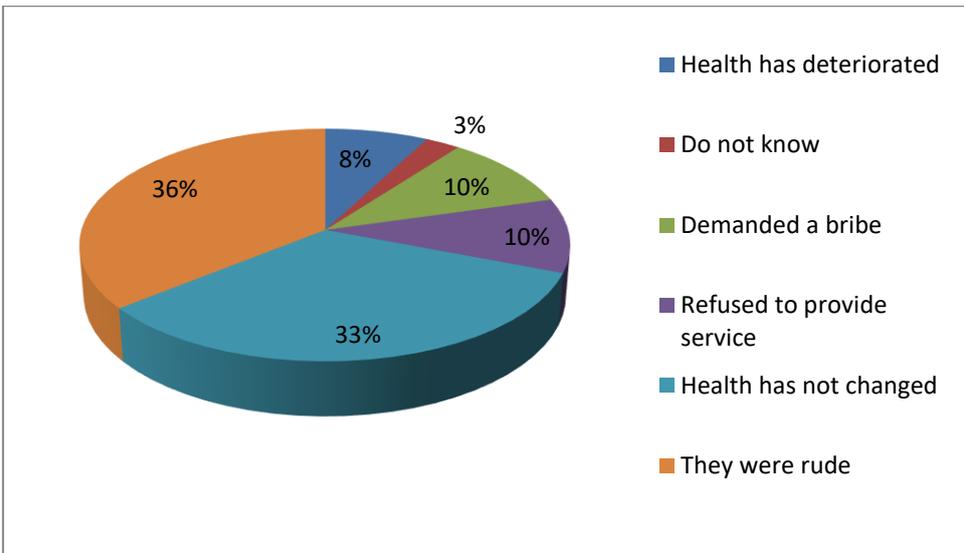


Diagram 28. Reasons for dissatisfaction with the service quality (among those who were not satisfied, N=39)

⁴⁶ Aitieva M. Work permits: creating a documented self in Russia. 19 September 2012

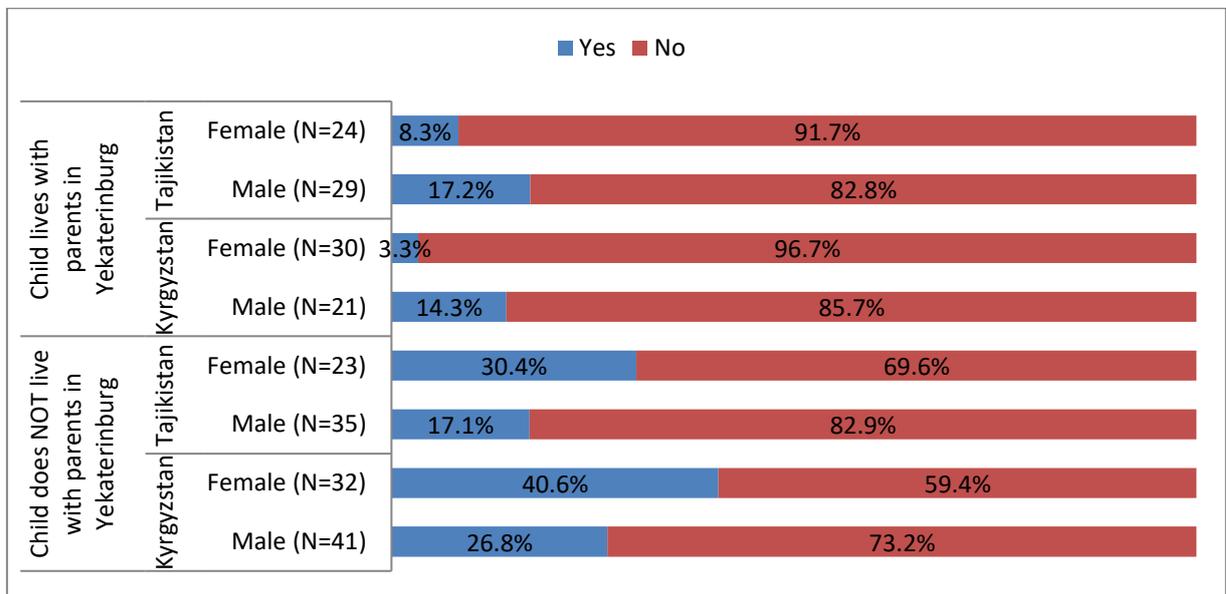
Available at: <https://www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/medina-aitieva/work-permits-creating-documented-self-in-russia>



- **Routine of child care (access to preschool and school education)**

Daily life in Yekaterinburg poses tremendous challenges for migrants who have children. If migrants leave with their families, including children, issues of their preschool education and up-bringing become a serious problem. As it has been mentioned earlier, only 10.5% of children of preschool age (or 11⁴⁷ out of 104 children, live together with their parents in Yekaterinburg) have access to preschool education, which is several times lower than the rate of preschool education coverage among Russian children in Sverdlovsk oblast⁴⁸.

Diagram 29. Access to preschool education in case of joint or separate residence with their relatives in migration



As it was revealed by the survey of respondents, in case migrants leave their children in the homeland their children's chances for access to preschool education increase: every fifth child of preschool age,

⁴⁷ Although the value does not allow to make generalizations, boys of pre-school age living with their parents in Yekaterinburg are more likely to attend kindergartens than girls.

⁴⁸ In 2006, the indicator came to 66.5%. See: <http://xn----7sbaobee7d5ajh.xn--p1ai/node/2791>

who stays in the homeland without parents, goes to a kindergarten⁴⁹. The index of coverage of children by preschool education stated in the survey of respondents is higher than average in both countries – Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. One could hypothesize that migrants’ money in the homeland is invested in preschool education for migrants’ children more often than when children are raised by “sedentary” citizens as a form of compensation for parents’ absence. Surveys of employees of the educational system in Kyrgyzstan support that children of labor migrants, who are working and living in Russia separately from their children, receive material comforts in much larger volumes than children coming from families with a similar social status. In other words, in the new daily life of labor migrants in the RF a new system of values and justification model are formed: the money sent may compensate for lack of emotional closeness, unrequited care and love; material investments in education and up-bringing of children on the money of migrants will provide a safe future for migrants’ children and their parents.

Access to free school education for migrants’ children in the RF is generally guaranteed and an overwhelming majority of respondents’ children (93.5%) of school age go to school. Only 6 out of 87 children in the sample do not go to school: 3 from KR and 3 from RT (5 boys – 10, 15, 16, 17 years old, and 1 girl – 17 years old). The ratio of migrants’ children studying and not studying at school according to this study is supported by the data provided by the expert on migration D. Poletaev who relayed that generally among migrants’ children of school age approximately 10% do not attend school⁵⁰.

In the sphere of school education a segregation tendency is already being formed: children of migrants are allocated to several schools, and parents of Russian children from surrounding areas prefer not to send their children to schools with high concentration of migrant children.

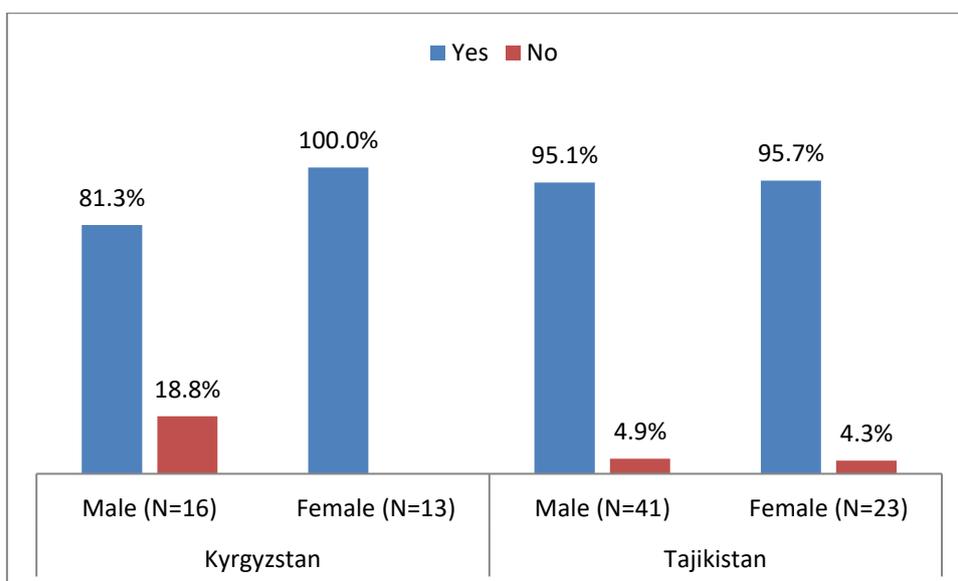
It is noteworthy that migrants, who have children, form a peculiar gendered disposition on whether they should take their children to migration or leave them in the homeland. In an overwhelming majority of cases migrants take sons with them, preferring to leave girls in the homeland. While commenting on their choice – to leave their children or take them to migration – migrant respondents talked about importance of saving “moral purity” of children and subsequent difficulties of getting married if a girl stayed in the RF for a long time. It is possible that migrants’ gender preferences are related to the traditional practice, in Central Asian countries, of instrumental attitude towards girls since early age and their inclusion to the economy of care and nursing for the elderly and little children.

In any case in schools with high concentration of migrants’ children from RT and KR in classes one may observe a gender disproportion in favor of boys. As it was noted by the principal of Yekaterinburg school #149, among students in the school boys constitute 66.3% among Kyrgyzstanis and 55.9% among Tajikistanis.

Diagram 30. Access to school education (among children aged between 6 and 18, living in Yekaterinburg)

⁴⁹ Here the correlation between a child’s gender and coverage by pre-school education is opposite to the Russian migration experience: girls are more likely to attend pre-school institutions than boys, although the value of the indicators does not allow to make any generalizations

⁵⁰ Poletaev, D. (2013, March-April). Дети мигрантов и дети – мигранты. [Migrants’ children and migrant children]. Миграция. 21 век. [Migration. 21st century]. №2 (17). pp. 21-24



2.3. Success stories of labor migrants: contradictions and compromises

Studying the experience of migration on the post-soviet space significantly differs from migration experiences in other countries that encountered mass external migration earlier. Thus, the famous “American dream” that became the attracting factor for millions of people from different continents and countries in tens of generations represents an example of a universal migrant success story.

Media discourse in Russia still does not assume a scenario of successful integration of labor migrants from Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. According to a precise remark made by S. Abashin, it is “dominated by two main opinions: the first lies in the fact that migrants, due to their “cheapness,” represent a “threat” to the Russian society – in this regard dumping of labor compensation, outflow of earned money, crime and diseases are mentioned; according to the second – migrants themselves are subjected to persecution, discrimination and exploitation, they live in inhumane conditions as “slaves”, etc. At first glance, both of these opinions are oppositional and are defended by politically and ideologically opposing forces – “nationalists” and “human rights defenders.” In reality the contradiction between the two is not that significant – these are two sides of the same medal because both of these positions share the initial postulate of “problematic nature” of migrants and paternalistic attitude towards them”⁵¹.

As the current study revealed, each side, all key actors in the migration processes have their idea of a successful labor migrant from RT and KR.

Studying the media sources and generalizing qualitative information collected during this study allowed to single out typical visions of a successful male/female Central Asian labor migrant:

Table 5. Typical images of a successful male/female Central Asian migrant

| Position | Image of a successful migrant |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| Position of a migrant from RT and KR | A “successful” mediator in legalization of documents (as a rule, diaspora leader, works through illegal channels and procedures. |

⁵¹ Abashin, S. (2012). Среднеазиатская миграция: практики, локальные сообщества. [Central Asian migration: practices, local communities]. Этнографическое обозрение. [Ethnographic review] #2, p. 7

| | |
|---|--|
| Position of natives from RN and KR, who have received the RF citizenship | Has an RF citizenship) A migrant that has established their own business (citizen of the RF, prefers hiring their “own” compatriots and helps them work without permission documents) + one that has left for homeland after “getting on their feet” – usually closer to pension age. |
| Position of Russian public officials | A law abiding, qualified migrant, who works at places where Russians do not want to work, has assimilated, who will leave for homeland in a near future |
| Position of ordinary Russian citizens | An invisible worker in hard, non-prestigious and low-paid spheres of labor, respecting the culture of the society in a receiving state, and understanding that the local population is always prioritized and possesses the right |
| Position of compatriots in the homeland | Often (regularly) sends money and a lot of it, has apparent status advantages: an expensive car, a newly built house, giving tois (festivities), receiving arriving migrant compatriots |
| Position of public officials in the homeland | A migrant, who has returned with a capital and knowledge/skills, who invests in development of territories |

Interviews with migrant respondents, state servants, leaders of non-governmental organizations and diaspora associations allowed to collect a gallery of specific success stories of labor migrants from RT and KR in Yekaterinburg. All received cases, despite the richness of detail, have the following uniting elements:

- All success cases represent male images. There are occasional exceptions with women’s success stories, traditionally they were explained through masculinized women.
- Migration is not seen as an experience of growing autonomy of women, her emancipation, which is conditioned, among others, by non-recognition, invisibility of women’s labor contribution
- None of the success cases was related to defending of migrant’s rights, struggle for equality, despite the fact that migration experience is very much connected with violation of rights and discrimination.

Chapter 2.

Discrimination, violation of migrants' rights. Information needs of labor migrants.

2.1. Violation of labor migrants' rights

Giving a speech in May, 2009, at the Federation Council the head of the FMS Konstantin Romodanovskii has characterized migrants' sphere of employment as "three D": difficult, dirty, dangerous⁵².

According to the experts' estimations, labor migrants, especially those coming from RT and KR, produce 10% of the RF GDP⁵³, yet they find themselves among the most vulnerable and discriminated groups.

Labor migrants' daily life is full of violence and risks; moreover, having all required permission documents does not guarantee protection from abuse of power and violence from authorities (police, FMS), population (especially from nationalist groups), employers.

Among the most widespread types of discrimination and violation of migrants' human rights the following are leading:

1. **Violation of social and economic rights of migrants:**
 - **Right to work, for an 8-hour work day, for fair working conditions, equal pay for equal work, etc.** As a rule, labor migrants are subject to risk of delay, incomplete payment and non-payment of wages, have to work long days and weeks without day-offs, subjected to forced labor without the right to miss work due to illness, they also run a risk of experiencing psychological violence, humiliation of dignity and honor, experience sexual harassment at work and in public places.
2. **Violation of personal rights and freedoms of labor migrants**
 - **Right to integrity of a person, right to be punished only through court – ban on extrajudicial punishment.** In reality labor migrants experience constant violence from police and FMS employees in the form of detention without cause, corrupt extortions and illegal take away of money and valuables, illegal placement in detention, including migrant children; deportation of children separately from parents.
 - **Right to life.** Labor migrants are risking to experience physical violence or threats of physical violence from organized groups of local citizens.

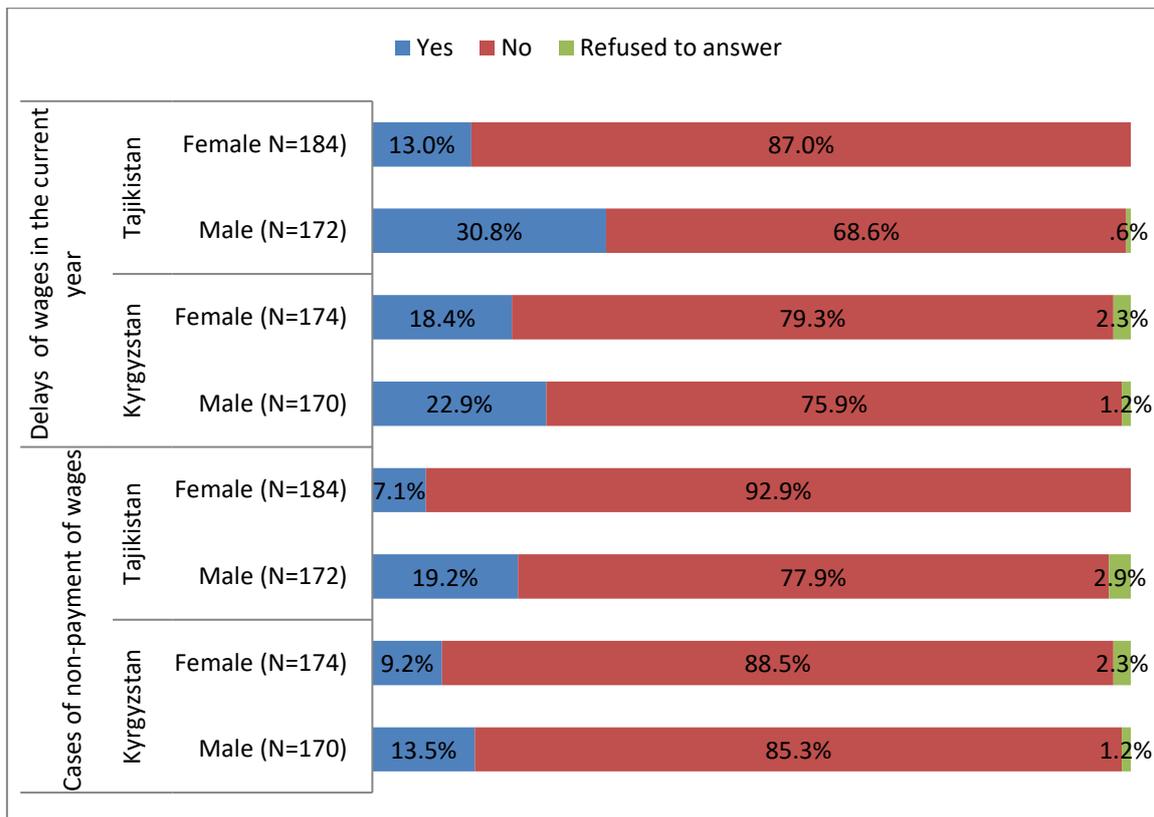
Almost each fifth respondent of the current study replied (148 respondents out of 700⁵⁴) that he/she had problems with wage delays, each eighth (85 out of 700) that there were cases when they did not get paid a wage for a certain work.

Diagram 31. Delays and non-payment of wages to labor migrants

⁵² Эксплуатируем, при этом ненавидим. [We exploit and hate at that]. Миграция 21 век. [Migration. 21st century]. #1, July 2010.

⁵³ Such a number was stated by a Russian researcher Tiuriukanova, WB economist, coordinator of the MiRPAL network S. Kanagaradja, while the head of the FMS voiced 8% of the Russian GDP.

⁵⁴ Total number of respondents is 800 people, 100 of which are self-employed.



In the total number of respondents the most vulnerable to this type of human rights violations are men from both countries: they more often encounter such problems than women; moreover, Tajik men more often stated experiencing such discriminations than citizens of KR.

The 2010 study of women’s participation in migration, edited by E. Tiuriukanova, has revealed that 15% of female respondents evidenced to non-payment of wages, 20% more said that their employers did not follow the prior (oral) agreements regarding the size of salary, conditions and type of work. Furthermore, 62% stated that they were never deceived⁵⁵.

Over the past years, human rights organizations, mainly ADC “Memorial” and civic organization “Sova”, in their reports and public addresses have repeatedly informed about incidence of such types of violations of migrants’ rights as overdue salaries or their delays and other violations.

Thus, for example, in 2011, in their open address to the FMS head, Romadanovskii, a representative of “Memorial” Stefania Kulanova has stated: “Materials of human rights monitoring reveal that violations of labor legislation by trade networks and middleman structures are of systemic character. Not concluding contracts with migrants, overdue salaries along with fines and deductions, 12-hour work day, work without day-offs, annual leave and social guarantees, expropriation of passports or migration documents of their workers by managers, and as a consequence ungrounded dismissal of workers – all of this is taking place across the board.

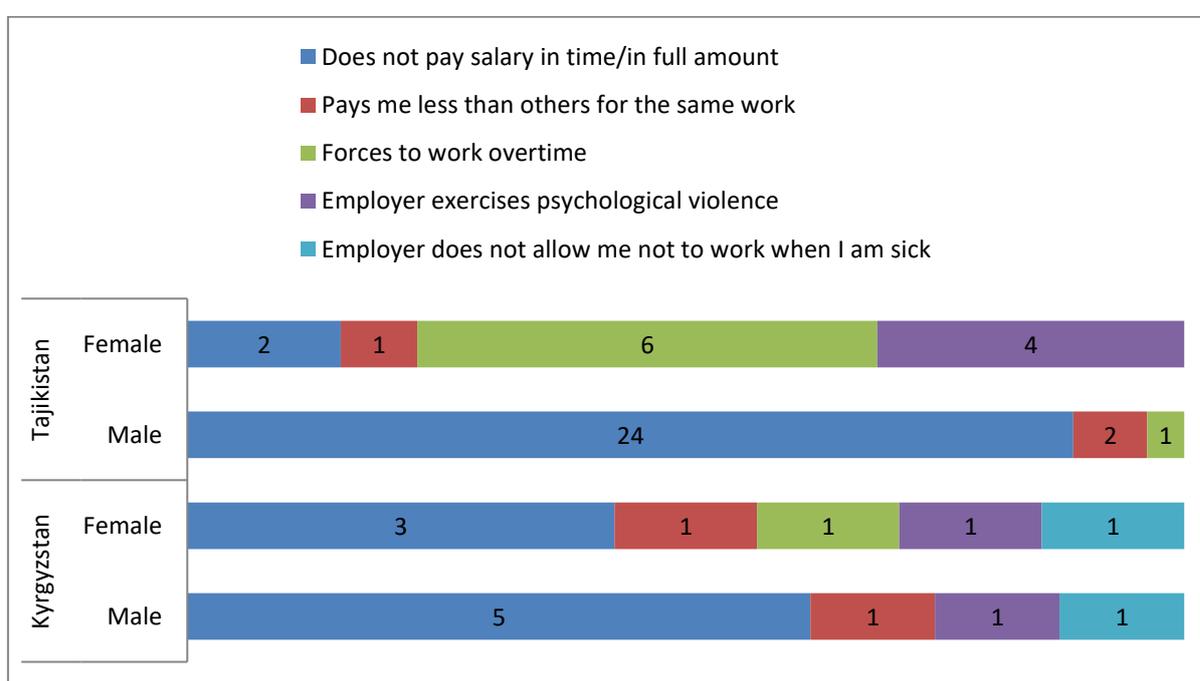
Along with that our lawyers have encountered difficulties while appealing these violations in law enforcement agencies and courts; investigations of big employers are limited by formal checks and references to lack of work contracts.

⁵⁵ Tiuriukanova, E., (ed). (2011). Женщины-мигранты из стран СНГ в России. [Female migrants from the CIS countries in Russia]. Серия: Миграционный барометр в Российской Федерации Москва. [Series: Migration barometer in Russian Federation]. Moscow, Maks-Press. Available at: <http://migrocenter.ru/gender/pdf/doklad.pdf>

...Insufficiency of efforts made by the Russian Federation in case of protection of labor migrants' rights has found its reflection in Recommendations of the 46th session of the United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights on May 20, 2011. Thus, points "c" and "d" of article 17 of the Recommendations contain an appeal to the Russian Federation to "fulfill a strict control over private structures on providing respect for justice, equally favorable social and labor conditions for labor migrants." ...We would like to make a special emphasis on the fact that violations of the migration legislation and unexecuted necessary documents in majority of cases is the fault of employers and middlemen in the first place. A vulnerable position of foreign workers is beneficial to dishonest entrepreneurs because it allows them to receive a significant profit from such a "socially irresponsible" business"⁵⁶.

Problems of interaction with employers in the current study were reported by 59 respondents; moreover, for different categories of respondents the problem emerged differently.

Diagram 32. Problems with employers at the present time⁵⁷



As it was noted earlier, men from Tajikistan experience more problems with employers not paying them salary in time, in full volume, less than others for the same work, and also forces them to work overtime. Women from Kyrgyzstan complain more regarding untimely or incomplete payment for work, and women from Tajikistan are to a greater degree forced to work overtime and experience psychological violence from employers. In the 2010 study of women's participation in migration, a large share of female respondents have complained about the impossibility of getting a paid annual leave, opportunity to count for a complete or partial payment for "sick" day leaves. Thus, only 17% of female respondents had the opportunity to receive a paid leave, only 5% of respondents stated that their employer paid them their sick leave in full, another 7% could count on a partial payment, and those who did not have the opportunity to skip work even in case of illness accounted for 12%⁵⁸.

⁵⁶<http://adcmemorial.org/>

⁵⁷Frequencies are presented in absolute numbers because the number of respondents in each category does not exceed 30 people

⁵⁸Тириуканова, Е., (ed). (2011). Женщины-мигранты из стран СНГ в России. [Female migrants from the CIS countries in Russia]. Серия: Миграционный барометр в Российской Федерации Москва. [Series: Migration barometer in Russian Federation]. Moscow, Maks-Press. Available at: <http://migrocenter.ru/gender/pdf/doklad.pdf>

It is noteworthy that in the current study none of the respondents noted problems with sexual violence and harassment from employers.

At the same time, in the 2010 study of women's participation in migration, such forms of rights violation and discrimination at work place as sexual harassment were revealed. Thus, 4% of female respondents admitted that they experienced sexual harassment from co-workers, 1% - from employers, and 1.6% of respondents – from clients⁵⁹.

In the course of the field study, female respondents in in-depth interviews confessed that they find themselves under double stress of suspicions: on the one hand, employers perceive them as available women and harassments become a factor complicating an already complicate life of female migrants, on the other hand, compatriots are stigmatizing and often physically violate because they suspect them in sexual relations with employers and lynch them.

The biggest problem with violation of rights of labor migrants from RT and KR in Yekaterinburg is related to lawlessness from the police and FMS. In the current study an absolute majority of migrants responded that most harassment they experience comes from law enforcement of Yekaterinburg. According to respondents' testaments, ungrounded detentions and bribe extortions are widespread practices among policemen and even FMS employees.

One of the respondents in our study, a 30-year old female migrant from Tajikistan told about her personal experience of interaction with FMS employees and the police in Yekaterinburg:

R: Yes. I am a peaceful person, but when I came here I began to argue with people more and more. I saw that at the Directorate of FMS at Krylova. There were Kyrgyzstanis, Uzbeks, Tajiks, Azerbaijanis, Vietnamese, Chinese. And workers of the FMS Directorate simply take batons, they are just standing there to get into the queue. There is a lot of injustice there. Without any rights they can simply beat up with a baton or lock up. There was a situation with our co-worker. Everything was alright with his registration and he was supposed to get the temporary residence permit in the FMS Directorate. When they green-lighted the temporary residence permit at the FMS Directorate they take the passport for a week to put a stamp and fill it out, but they give a stub saying that they have the passport. And they police caught him, walked him around the city for 4 hours, they took all of his clothes off, without shoes, they placed him in jail. It was cold there. They didn't give food. They took him out to the street again and let him go without clothes, without nothing, but they took his money and cellphone.

I1: When was that?

R: Approximately in August-September. And now it is very cold here.

I2: And that was the police?

R: Yes.

I2: So they endure harassment from the police as well?

R: Well, of course yes. It also depends on a person. If a migrant does not know his right he bluntly sits and watches. Once I was stopped because of registration. Although I have a registration and all the documents are original because my parents are very strict about it. My brother is a Russian citizen and works at Sberbank, he tracks all of that. They input my data in the computer and told me that my registration was forged. When I put forth my rights they said "Oh, we are sorry, we have a bug in our program. It turns out that everything is fine with your registration."

I1: Even if everything is fine they may do it on purpose?

R: Of course. They stopped me at a subway, they said it was document check, I said "OK, go ahead and check." They had a PC, they input the data and said that my registration is forged. But I know that it was not forged, I crossed the border myself and when I started to push for my

⁵⁹ibid

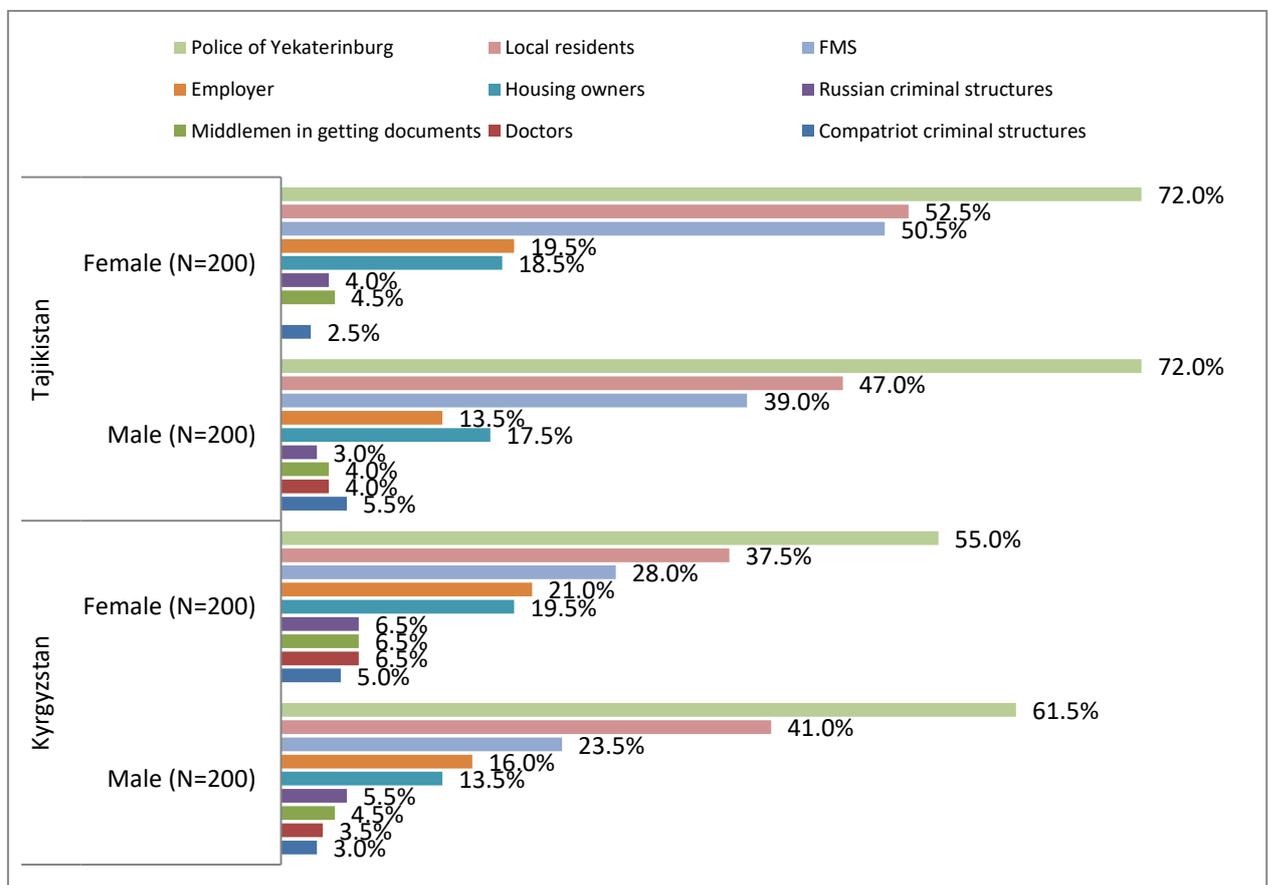
rights and said that I would call my brother, citizen of Russia, and would file a report through his passport and that my telephone records a video and a voice recorder and that I would present all of that.

I2: With what purpose do they stop?

R: Bribery. But they did not manage, because I know my rights. And one of my acquaintances one gave 500 roubles and another time – 1000.

Respondents have repeatedly shared the opinion that it is Tajik women that experience discriminatory treatment to a greater degree because they mainly prefer wearing their traditional clothing. It is worthwhile to note that in the interview with government officials, representatives of the Russian education agencies the style of clothing of Tajik women was defined as factor irritating the local population, and was interpreted as “uncultured” [ill-mannered], not corresponding with urban civilization. Thus, the concept of universal human rights faces cultural relativism, when each cultural group has its list and its hierarchy of human rights.

Diagram 33. Respondents’ opinion on whom migrants endure harassment from



Monitoring reports by human rights organizations of the RF every year collect a significant material – documentation of acts of violence and violation of migrants’ labor rights in Russia.

For example, in 2013, ADC “Memorial” report: “Samikjon Samikov found himself in a difficult situation, not being able to return to the RF where his mother was, where he was supposed to continue his studies, he had to go to Kyrgyzstan, which was not safe for him as a native of Osh city, ethnic Uzbek. The ban on entering the RF for underage Samikov became a direct consequence of imperfection of the Russian legislation, which does not allow to formalize a registration for underage foreign citizens during their parents’ stay in the RF.” In the footnotes

to this and other examples of violation of migrants' rights, including migrant children, the lawyers of the anti-discrimination center noted:

"As a rule children get separated from parents after FMS and police joint raids directed at determining illegal migrants on the territory of one or another region. As a result of these raid, children whose parents are either acknowledged as illegal migrants or cannot confirm their relationship with the children, get in social shelters for stray or neglected children, or in Centers of temporary isolation for young offenders. After identity check of each child social shelter employees accompany foreign and out of town children to their homeland and either pass them on to their relatives, if such were found, or representatives of children's homes, where children stay until they are not picked up by relatives. In majority of cases this happens because parents of the children stay in Russia violating migration rules or they do not have documents, sometimes they are taken away during FMS raids. During FMS raids on detecting cases of illegal migration it is not rare that all children are taken and placed in hospitals and social facilities, from where their parents try to take them, but they are often refused. The ground for refusal may be not only absence of documents, but even parents' inability to prove that they have a legal housing or a job. There known cases when parents, having documents on their hands, asked to give them their children back and express readiness to leave the RF together with the children, but they were refused and children were taken to Tajikistani children's homes (in the spring of 2013 and in the spring of 2014, such mass detentions and deportation of children from Saint-Petersburg to Tajikistan took place)"⁶⁰.

Among the gravest violations of migrants' human rights human right activists note: illegal detention of pregnant women in the Center of foreign citizens detention, absence of a regular court control over the detention of people and time limits of compliance with a court order on deportation. In all fairness it should be noted that in the human rights activists monitoring bases such cases were recorded in large numbers in Moscow and Saint-Petersburg, there are no data on Sverdlovsk oblast and Yekaterinburg city.

Violence from local residence, especially from radical right, towards labor migrants from Central Asia start being more and more harsh in Russia in general and in Yekaterinburg in particular. As it is noted by the IAC "Sova" in their annual report on human rights protection monitoring⁶¹: "The top largest group of victims became natives of Central Asia: 13 murdered, 45 wounded, and a year earlier – 7 murdered, 36 wounded.

...Furthermore, they reported 29 injured (1 murdered, 20 wounded) among people of unidentified "non-Slavic appearance," most often described as "Asian," in other words, most likely an overwhelming majority of injured is comprised of natives of Central Asia. A year earlier they were 16 (1 murdered, 15 wounded).

... Here one should mention unprecedented cases of attacks by a group of young people at the railway station "Ternovka" at the South-East railway (Voronej oblast) on trains "Moscow-Dushanbe" (during the night of October 26, 2013) and "Moscow-Hujand" (October 27, 2013), accompanied by nationalist statements and threats towards passengers. Several people received trivial injuries."

According to the IAC "Sova," in July, 2013, in Sredneuralsk in Sverdlovsk oblast, a "People's gathering" took place, during the course of which participants address with a request to the

⁶⁰ Положение детей из уязвимых групп в Российской Федерации [Position of children in vulnerable groups in the Russian Federation]. Alternative report by ADC "Memorial". 2014. pp. 25-26. Available at: <http://adcmemorial.org/www/8511.html/>

⁶¹http://www.sova-center.ru/racism-xenophobia/publications/2014/02/d29004/#_Toc379209511

mayor of the city regarding eviction of all migrants – natives of Tajikistan. Unsatisfied with the answers of the local authorities young people armed with bats and guns went to the dorm where Central Asian labor migrants were settled. Only intervention by the police stopped the anti-emigrant racist flurry from turning into a massacre⁶².

2.2. Violence against women

In the situation of constant and various risks, indignity, labor migrants do not present an equal rights community. Within the ethnic communities of labor migrants more “power” groups are created, which use their power opportunities, violating the rights of their compatriots in the first place. The most vulnerable group is female migrants, in relation to which male migrants perform their strategies of control, custody and violence.

Generally in both Tajik and Kyrgyz migrant communities, there is a tendency towards stigmatization of the image of a female migrant. Migration itself is considered by – in many ways adherers of traditional values – migrants as an experience of “spoiling for women.” It is not by accident that migrant families prefer leaving girls (especially adolescents and of older age) in the homeland, or sent them back as soon as they reached adolescence. Among labor migrants from Kyrgyzstan there are rumors about moral degradation, debauch among young women from Kyrgyzstan, that hundreds of Kyrgyz women constantly get abortions and give birth (and abandon⁶³) to children from casual sexual partners of different nationalities as a result of dissipated and uncontrolled sexual life. In 2013, in Yekaterinburg and Moscow there were cases of lynching of Kyrgyzstani women done by their compatriots⁶⁴ with the purpose of “normalization” and “protection of nation’s dignity.”

Risks and dangers for female labor migrants exist in their own families. Thus, in the course of interviews one of the informants from Tajikistan has told us that there are cases when women used their wives as a collateral in order to receive a credit from lenders. In case of nonpayment of credits women became the property of loan providers and virtually found herself in labor (sexual) slavery.

R: ... I had a female client. After we refused her she started calling and telling that a Tajik is threatening her because she is Uzbek and her husband owes him. And he really started selling her. She once came to my work with tears in her eyes and asked: “What should I do?” I asked her, what are you doing in Svedlovsk? Go home! The train ticket costs 6000, 200 dollars. But she does not want to. Her husband owed this man, left the wife and ran away to Moscow. And this guy kept this woman locked up as collateral. He repeatedly raped her, brought friends.. And a friend of this guy, when he found out about the girl, allegedly bought her out.

On the basis of non-systematic and limited information received during the course of this study a new problematic area with violence against bakchy-girls was discovered; it requires a long overdue further

⁶²www.sova-center.ru/racism-xenophobia/news/racism-nationalism/2013/07/d27575 Here as well, in the database of monitoring of the message about the murder of Tajikistan citizen, attack on a Kyrgyz citizen in 2013.

⁶³ Within the framework of this study interviews were specially conducted with representatives of a children’s home, medical personnel in Yekaterinburg and it was proved that the rumors about an extremely high number of refused children of female Kyrgyzstanis were not true. At least because the register in the system does account for ethnicities of women giving birth and newborns.

⁶⁴ Thorough analysis of one of the cases of lynching see in the forthcoming article: Gulnara Ibraeva, Anara Moldosheva, Mehrigiul Ablezova “We will kill you and we will get acquitted!” – Critical discourse analysis of a media case of violence against female labour migrants from Kyrgyzstan. Central Asian Survey.

investigation. Even when adolescent girls are not subjected to sexual violence in families, in which they take care of children, one could speak of labor exploitation of children and deprivation of their rights on getting education.

“The situation in the sphere of female migrants or women whose relatives are labor migrants bears record to absence of practical measures for their protection. Many of them, due to their irregular status and absence of domicile registration [propiska], cannot receive a place in a shelter and access to medical help”⁶⁵.

2.3. Information needs of labor migrants

Almost all actors of migration policy are sure that there would have been less violation of migrants’ rights and discrimination if migrants were informed about their rights, about procedures and regulations in the receiving country.

In the course of this study the issue of awareness and need for information for labor migrants are among the most important. The study has revealed subjective readiness and need of migrants to be informed about issues of migrants’ rights in the RF: more than 80% among Tajiks and more than 70% among Kyrgyzstanis expressed such a desire. At the same time each group had their preferences in the thematic focus of information needs.

Table 6. On which aspects of rights do migrants want to receive information (among those who replied that they would want to receive information about human rights of labor migrants in Yekaterinburg)

| | Kyrgyzstan | | Tajikistan | |
|---|--------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|
| | Male (N=146) | Female (N=140) | Male (N=165) | Female (N=167) |
| About the opportunity of protection from violence, cruel and degrading treatment | 24.7% | 35.7% | 23.0% | 31.7% |
| About the opportunity of protection from forced labor | 20.5% | 22.9% | 13.3% | 22.8% |
| About the opportunity of legalization of their labor migrant status | 44.5% | 49.3% | 57.0% | 51.5% |
| About the opportunity of gaining access to social services | 43.8% | 54.3% | 55.2% | 56.9% |
| About protection from ungrounded checks by officers | 25.3% | 19.3% | 33.9% | 32.3% |
| About guarantees of compensation payment due to shutdown/liquidation of a company where a migrant is employed | 24.7% | 27.1% | 32.1% | 19.8% |

Thus, women are more interested in how they could protect themselves from violence, cruel and degrading treatment; Tajik women more often wanted to know about the opportunity of protection from forced labor, and among women from Kyrgyzstan – about the opportunity to gain access to social services. Tajik men were more interested in guarantees of salary payment in case of organization liquidation, and Kyrgyz men – about protection from ungrounded checks. Thus, it is apparent that in each group of respondents certain categories became salient, raised different types of rights as

⁶⁵ <http://www.vb.kg/203836>

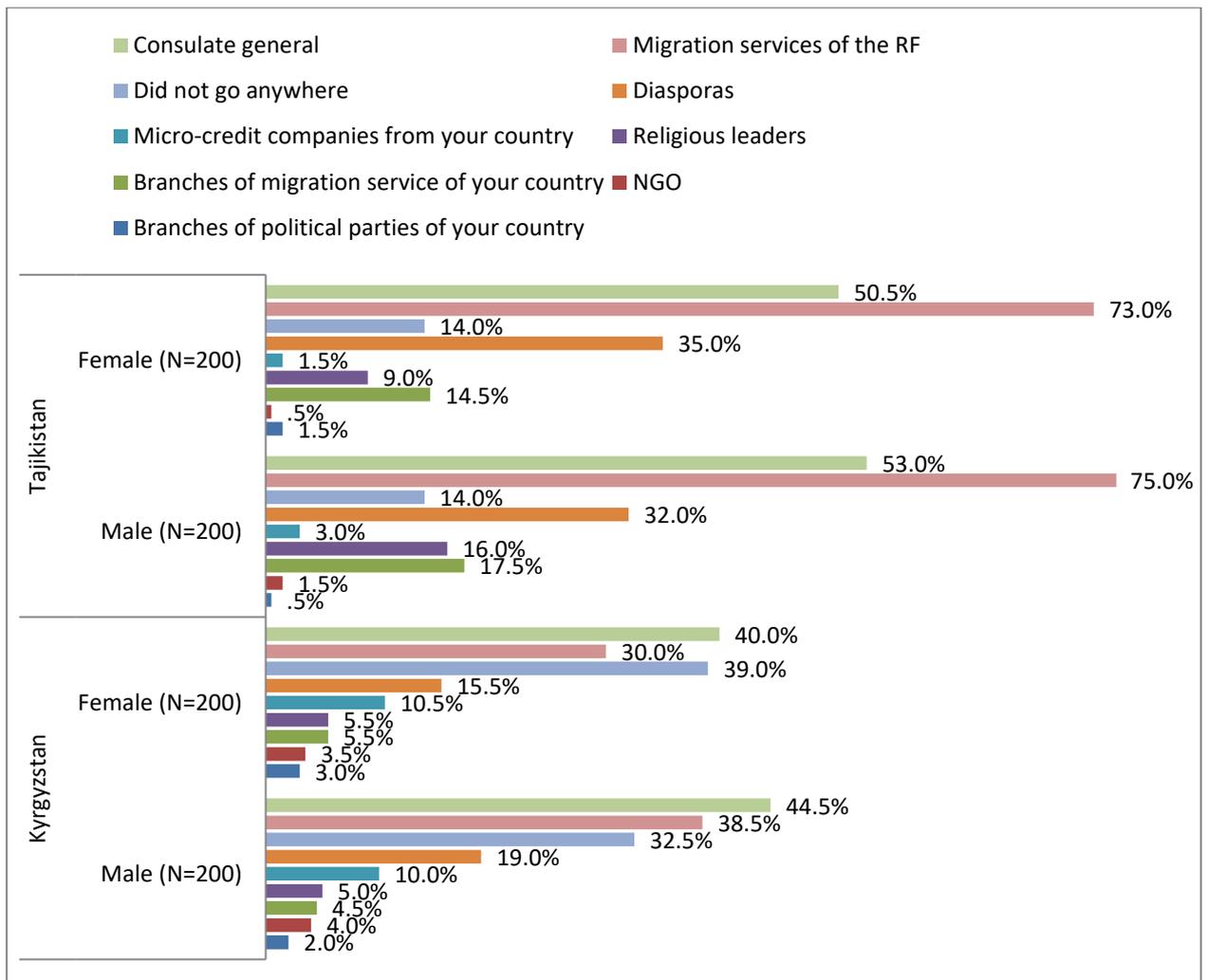
priorities and – what is important – received different meanings. For instance, women who talked about the importance of access to social services (medicine and education) were guided by the understanding of human rights as needs expecting social welfare in the country of stay, where they are not citizens. For men, who stood for stopping ungrounded checks, understood rights as a result of procedural justice⁶⁶, when people are ready to agree with any rules when these rules are followed by more or less everybody... BUT each of the groups that in one or another way formulated their needs for information about protection of specific rights, apparently fleshes out the understanding of human rights as a complex of **universal** personal, social, political, economic rights, whereas majority of Russian residents and state officials in Yekaterinburg formed a vision of “rights for Russians” and “rights for others.”

Respondents’ answers to the question about filing complaints in case of discrimination and violation of rights, efforts in restoration of violation of specific rights, predominantly reflected a passive position and pessimistic mindset. For instance, telling about rude and discriminatory attitude towards migrants in FMS an overwhelming majority of respondents in this study (731 respondents out of 800) said that they do not know where they should turn to with a complaint regarding bad service, and 33 respondents noted Consulate-general of their country. Majority of labor migrants do not hold the idea of fighting for their rights, do not have a clue with whom, which groups and organizations they could associate in this regard.

A significant share of labor migrants does not have high trust, which could be evidenced by the frequency of turning for help. Thus, to the question on structures to which migrants turn for help respondents have the following answers:

Diagram 34. Structures to which respondents, or their acquaintances, address for help

⁶⁶ А. Soboleva. Четыре измерения прав человека. [Four dimensions of human rights]. http://russiancouncil.ru/inner/%3Fid_4%3D2162



As the diagram demonstrates, migrants from Tajikistan turn to different structures for help more often; additionally, FMS is the leader in the list, which is not related to trust towards this structure, but to more favorable regime of status legalization in accordance with a bilateral agreement between the RF and RT. More than one third of migrants from Kyrgyzstan said that neither they nor their acquaintances turn to any organizations for help.

Migrants from both countries nevertheless rather often turn to the consulate general of their country, but the nature of addresses may be different. Observation conducted in consulate generals of both countries revealed a large flow of citizens that turn with personal documents – passports, birth certificates, etc. – in case of loss of documents, birth of children, etc. Citizens also address them in case of salary nonpayment.

It is noteworthy that among respondents from Kyrgyzstan a very small share of migrants mentioned NGOs as a source of support and help although according to testaments of “Zamandash” association members of this organization successfully conduct negotiations with dishonest employers who do not pay salaries to labor migrants and in out-of-court manner help migrants solve this issue, and also the issue of compensation payment; they also organize transportation of deceased compatriots to the homeland⁶⁷...

⁶⁷ D. Poletaev. (2013) Наилучшие практики предоставления помощи трудовым мигрантам из Кыргызстана в России. [Best practices of rendering help to labor migrants from Kyrgyzstan to Russia]. Working papers of “Tian-Shan policy center”, AUCA and OSI, Bishkek, p. 9

Every tenth interviewed migrant from Kyrgyzstan raised the issue of help as assistance in access to finances and told about the experience of turning to Russian representative offices of microcredit companies from Kyrgyzstan.

According to the opinion of experts channels of information about migrants' rights could vary depending on migrants' categories. For instance, according to the study by D. Poletaev the more time migrants spend in Russia the more they begin to use Internet opportunities⁶⁸, they become a part of social networks that can be used as platforms for information on various aspects of rights. Experts also suggest widening the opportunities of hot lines working under state and non-governmental organizations; the experience of informing in the country of origin on the basis of rural libraries, etc., is considered effective.

However, as a rule, in discussions of the issue on raising labor migrants' awareness about rights they do not raise the issue of uniformity of understanding the concept of migrant's human rights, nor critically analyze the barriers for labor migrants in access to protection mechanisms of provision of human rights, in other words procedural rights (inviolability, presumption of innocence, adversary character of the judicial process, etc.)⁶⁹.

⁶⁸ *ibid*

⁶⁹ A. Soboleva. Четыре измерения прав человека. [Four dimensions of human rights]. http://russiancouncil.ru/inner/%3Fid_4%3D2162

Chapter three. Actors of protection of rights of labor migrants in RF, KR and RT and equal opportunity policy

According to estimates of the Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations, "in the world with a population of 7 billion people, at least 214 million are living outside the country where they were born. If all international migrants created their own country, it would occupy the sixth place in the world in terms of the number of people⁷⁰."

"People since their inception are in constant motion: natural (are born, die), social (change their social status, profession, area of activity), migration (make spatial movements). It is due to migration that human settlement around the globe took place. The face of the modern world is an illustration of the results of the migration processes⁷¹." But since the second half of the 20th century, migration gained global characteristics.

The main contradiction of modern migration processes can be formulated following the Austrian researcher R. Baubeck as a "discordance of borders of the nation state and the borders of citizenship." Why might it be problematic? There are several reasons:

- With the advent of the new era of globalization, the share of immigrants in the states' population has increased radically. This circumstance led to a whole series of difficult issues for the state. Inclusion\acceptance as citizens of huge masses of incoming migrants implies the need social security, which the state should guarantee. And that at least demands for the need to expand the existing infrastructure of the state, increase the fiscal burden and challenges of managing large numbers of people who may have problems in cultural interaction.
- Changes in the nature of wage labor in the contemporary world has destabilized traditional labor markets and determined that the state no longer guarantees a stable and full employment of its own citizens. The actual development of the segments of the labor market with a partial, distant employment of citizens essentially makes them mobile wage workers. Moreover, citizens of other countries that do not make physical relocations may actually serve as distant workers. In this situation, an even greater expansion of the subjects of the labor market in a dynamic uncertainty is no less a challenge to which the state should respond in the short-term perspective.
- "Citizenship is more than a status. It means membership in a political community, is restricted by a certain territory, namely the territory of the state. Citizens

⁷⁰ <https://www.unfpa.org/webdav/site/global/shared/documents/publications/2011/RU-SWOP2011.pdf>

⁷¹ А. Федорак. Миграция населения: понятие, причины, последствия. [Migration of population: notion, reasons, consequences]. Журнал международного права и международных отношений 2012 [Journal of international law and international relations]. №4 Available at: <http://evolutio.info/content/view/2000/232/>

also have certain obligations, but in order to treat the latter seriously they need to feel that they belong to the political community, referred to as a nation (a nation-state). In other words, citizenship involves not only formal but also substantive individuals' belonging to the community, i.e., identity"⁷²

Experience of different countries over the last decades demonstrates the presence of different strategies of formulation of migration policies and responding to these challenges: from the attempt to strengthen the repressive measures and complete exclusion of migrants from the society to multiculturalist attitudes and again towards the attempt of re-integration through assimilation/acculturation.

In search of the most effective and relevant migration strategy there is an active involvement on the part of a group of key actors: the state, civil society, international organizations⁷³. Each of the actors has a specific mandate, resources and value systems for the protection of migrants' rights, as well as constructs its discourse of migration. This chapter is a kind of mapping of the main actors of migration policy in the RF, KR and RT with the aim of deep understanding of the structural and cultural conditions of labor migration from Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan to the RF.

- **State as an actor of migration policy**

Regulation of migration processes in all three countries - the Russian Federation, Tajikistan and the Kyrgyz Republic – is entrusted by the competent authorities within the government structures -.

In Russia, such a body is the Federal Migration Service, which has its own structural units in all administrative territories. The FMS is a federal body of executive power, the mission of which is to implement the state policy in the sphere of migration and implementation of law enforcement functions, the functions of control, supervision and provision of services in the field of migration.

The FMS of Russia is charged with the function of making decisions on granting, suspending or annulment of permits to hire foreign workers, work permits⁷⁴.

In addition, the FMS of Russia and its territorial bodies perform functions related to licensing activities to assist the employment of RF citizens abroad⁷⁵, a significant role in the protection of the rights of migrants is to be played by the Institute of the Commissioner for

⁷² V. Malahova, V. Tishkova, A. Yakovleva (eds.) Государство, миграция и культурный плюрализм в современном мире. Материалы международной научной конференции. [State, migration and cultural pluralism in the modern world. Materials of an international scientific conference.]. p. 9. Available at: <http://iph.ras.ru/uplfile/rushist/yakovleva/Vvedenie.pdf>

⁷³ It is apparent that there are much more actors of migration: mass media, religious organizations are also involved. But in this study the emphasis is placed on studying three stakeholders: the state, civil organizations and international organizations.

⁷⁴ In accordance with the Decree of the President of the RF dated July 19, 2004, №928 "Issues of the Federal migrations service" an enactment on the Federal migration service was approved.

⁷⁵ In accordance with the Presidential Decree of August 11, 2009 №933 functions of the competent authority provided for by the ILO Convention number 179 on the recruitment and placement of seafarers

Human Rights of the Russian Federation⁷⁶, which also has representative offices in the subjects of the federation.

In the Kyrgyz Republic, in the government the authorized body for coordination of internal and external migration policy is the Ministry of Labour, Youth and Migration of the KR, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which according to the Decree⁷⁷, organizes consular activities overseas, including protection of rights and interests of individuals and legal entities of the KR, migrants, carrying out their work activities abroad, in accordance with the legislation of the Kyrgyz Republic and the norms of international law.

Mandate of the MLYM of the KR involves the development of public policy in the sphere of labor, migration and youth, solving tasks of developing and implementing measures of the state policy of the Kyrgyz Republic in the sphere of international migration, including external labor migration; developing and strengthening international cooperation in the sphere of international migration, including international labor migration⁷⁸.

In RT, the Migration Service under the Government of the RN implements licensing, regulation, inspection, checking and delivery of public services in the sphere of migration policy. Moreover, its tasks include:

- Inter-agency coordination and involvement of donors in relation to the formation of the system of labor market analysis and forecasting of labor migration abroad, as well as promotion of the development of new employment markets overseas;

- Organization and establishment of the system of organized recruitment and sending labor migrants abroad;

- Assistance in creation of an effective system of social and medical insurance of labor migrants abroad;

- Implementation, in accordance with the legislation of the Republic of Tajikistan, of control and supervision over the activities of individuals and legal entities in the sphere of labor migration, employment of RT citizens abroad and regulation of the processes of foreign labor migration in the Republic of Tajikistan;

- Within its competence, suppression of illegal migration of foreign nationals;

- Migration registration of citizens of the Republic of Tajikistan traveling for labor migration and returning from abroad;

⁷⁶ Legal bases of activity are represented in the federal constitutional law of the Russian Federation dated 26 February 1997 №1-FCL "On the Commissioner for Human Rights in the Russian Federation."

⁷⁷ Regulations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kyrgyz Republic, approved by the Decree of the President, KR Governmental Decree on 20.09.2011 №560

⁷⁸ Regulations of the Ministry of Youth, Labour and Employment of the Kyrgyz Republic, approved by the KR Government Decree dated February 20, 2012 № 122.

- Interaction with diasporas, public organizations and compatriots abroad in the established field of activity;

- Promotion of the development and improvement of the system and corresponding private organizations to assist in employment abroad;

- Creation of favorable conditions for attracting entrepreneurs, employers, international, non-governmental and other organizations to create centers for education and advanced vocational training of labor migrants;

- Together with relevant government agencies, organize and hold job fairs for employment of labor migrants abroad;

- Assistance in coordinated migration policy in order to create a unified migration space of the CIS member states, the European and Asian Economic Cooperation Organization and other countries;

- Interaction with the Commissioner for Human Rights in the Republic of Tajikistan and the Commissioner for Human Rights in the states of employment in order to protect the rights of labor migrants coming from the Republic of Tajikistan⁷⁹;

As you can see, the mandate of the authorized body of the RT is much wider of the similar state agency in KR, which is explained by the prioritized attitude of the Government of the RT to external labor migration. In the Sverdlovsk oblast and Yekaterinburg city competent authorities of the three countries are represented by Directorate of the FMS of the RF for Sverdlovsk oblast, the Institute of the Commissioner for human rights in the Sverdlovsk oblast, and the Consulate General of Tajikistan, the Kyrgyz Republic in Ekaterinburg. Activities of the DFMS of the RF in Sverdlovsk oblast aims "to make possible the use of the migration potential in socio-economic development of the oblast, which involves working not only in terms of the organization of migration flows and control over migrants following the set rules, but also in terms of social adaptation of migrants." The range of tasks of the authority is represented by the following directions:

- the implementation of the migration registration of foreign citizens;
- obtain reliable information on the presence of foreign citizens and persons without citizenship in the Russian Federation;
- combating illegal migration;
- implementation of international readmission agreement of the Russian Federation;
- attraction of qualified professionals in the region.

It should be noted that since 2004, the functions of the FMS remain unchanged, as in the Decree on it the understanding of the mission of the federal authority remains the same.

⁷⁹ Regulation on the Migration Service under the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan, approved by the TR Government Decree on 30 April 2011 №229

Change of practical policy of the FMS and its units is explained political reasons and changing priorities of the state.

Another state agency with a mandate in the sphere of migration and human rights is the institution of the Commissioner for Human Rights in Sverdlovsk oblast, whose tasks include: the restoration of violated human rights, the improvement of legislation in accordance with international standards and principles of human rights, promotion of international cooperation in the sphere of human rights and legal education on human rights and freedoms, forms and methods of their protection. The rights of migrants singled out as a separate category within the rights of persons without citizenship.

Consulates General of the Republic of Tajikistan, the Kyrgyz Republic in Yekaterinburg have similar general mandates in the framework of diplomatic missions abroad, namely the protection of the rights and interests of citizens and legal entities residing on the territory of Yekaterinburg. Work with labor migrants is not singled out as a separate function, a similar special service of the consulate is also not provided. Labor migration issues are viewed through the prism of the interaction with the diaspora.

Activities of consular offices of KR in a foreign country are regulated by the Decree on the establishment by the Kyrgyz Republic of consular office in a foreign state⁸⁰, and in RT this activity is regulated by the Consular Statute⁸¹.

Analysis of the normative legal acts of the two states suggests that the functions of consular offices outside of the two countries under consideration are very similar. The differences lie in the fact that the basic functions to guarantee the rights of citizens on the territory of a foreign state in RT are borne personally by the consul, while in Kyrgyzstan they are assigned to the consular office in general. According to art. 23 of the RT Consular Regulations, the Consul shall take measures to ensure that individuals and legal entities of the Republic of Tajikistan could fully exercise all the rights granted to them by the legislation of the host state, internationally accepted standards and practices, as well as the rights established in the international acts to which the Republic of Tajikistan and the host state belong. In sec. 11 of the Decree on consular office of the KR in a foreign country, this function is stated more concisely: "Consular offices in host states provide protection of the interests of the Kyrgyz Republic, its citizens and legal entities within the limits permitted by international law."

The head of the consular office of the RT is required at least once a year to make a detour of their consular district (art. 21 of the Consular Statute of RT), while the head of the consular office of the Kyrgyz Republic only provides a visitation of their consular district (sec. 33 of the Decree on the consular office of the Kyrgyz Republic in a foreign country).

When it comes to the issue of interaction of the consular office with the citizens of the sending state, according to art. 25 of the Consular Statute of the RT, the consul assists in the performance of official duties to the located within the consular district representatives of the

⁸⁰ Approved by the Decree of the President of the Kyrgyz Republic dated July 31, 2007 № 357

⁸¹ Approved by the Decree of the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan, dated July 30, 1998 № 275

ministries, departments and organizations of the Republic of Tajikistan, as well as other citizens of the Republic of Tajikistan, who arrived in his/her consular district. According to art. 26, a Consul informs the citizens of the Republic of Tajikistan who are temporarily staying in his consular district of on the laws and other regulations of the host state, as well as local customs. Consular offices of the KR are limited to promoting the establishment and development of relations and contacts with the compatriots residing in the host country and national centers (sec. 11 of the Decree on the consular office of the Kyrgyz Republic in a foreign country).

Moreover, in practice, as shown by surveys of respondents, Consulates mediate employment/recruitment of labor force for Russian employers; provide translation services in Russian courts; provide advice to citizens requesting assistance, including in cases of domestic and/or sexual violence. This is a serious challenge for service workers, as they do not possess neither the resources nor the expertise in these matters.

- ***Resources of the state for the implementation migration policy***

Resources that are included in budget of the Russian Federation for the implementation of the migration policy, in relation to the total expenditure of the budget, may be presented as follows.

Federal Law "On the Federal Budget for 2013 and the planning period of 2014 and 2015," dated December 3, 2012 № 216-FL, in Article 1 defines the basic characteristics of the federal budget for 2013 and the planning period of 2014 and 2015 and the approves them on the basis of their of the projected volume of the gross domestic product in the amount of \$ 66,515 billion rubles and the inflation rate not exceeding 5.5 percent (December 2013 to December 2012). Total expenditures of the federal budget for 2013 has been determined in the amount of 13,387,340 174.7 thousand rubles.

At the same time the budget of the Russian Federation planned expenditures for the FMS of Russia in the amount of 137,103,882.1 thousand rubles, which is 1.02% of the overall federal budget on the expenditure side. Actually 84,796,664.6 thousand rubles were used, which is 0.63% of the overall federal budget on the expenditure side.

According to sec. 12 of the Decree on the FMS of the RF, approved by the Government of the RF on July 30, 2012, № 711 financing of the costs on the maintenance of the central office of the Federal Migration Service, its regional offices, foreign apparatus and other organizations and subdivisions belonging to the system of the Service is made from the funds provided for in the federal budget.

FMS may also earn revenues from other sources of funding provided by the legislation of the RF; however, official data about them and the state of the budget funds is not available.

Overview of information resources of the DFMS 13 revealed differences in the definition of service categories, their recruitment and organization of the process among the district offices. For instance, the Zheleznodorozhnyi district accepting documents for the issue of work permits and patents granted to foreign citizens is carried out for 3 hours 1 day a week along with admission to the administrative commission for the citizens of the RF (in the same office). In Ust-Isetsk district the service for the issuance of work permits is not specified at all, and the acceptance of documents for a patent for foreign citizens is carried out for 2 hours, 1 time per week (separate room).

Such differences may reflect that despite the fact that the same service is provided to the population the activities of the state agency are not standardized and therefore not effective enough.

FMS of Russia is a coexecutive in the following government programs: "Social support of citizens", "Provision of quality housing and utility services for the Russian population", "Promotion of population's employment", "Ensuring public order and combating crime", "Information Society (2011-2020)," "Regional policy and federal relations", "Socio-economic development of the Far East and the Baikal region", "The federal target program "Housing" for 2011-2015." Furthermore, the cost of implementing the mentioned programs of the FMS of Russia is as follows⁸²:

Table 7. Costs of implementing the FMS of the RF program

| | Name of the state program | Costs of implementing state programs |
|---|--|---|
| . | "Social support of citizens" | in 2013 – 148,101.3 thousand rubles; in 2014 – 152,858.8 thousand rubles; in 2015 – 153,147.6 thousand rubles. |
| . | "Provision of quality housing and utility services for the Russian population" | in 2012 – 46,764.0 thousand rubles. |
| . | "Promotion of population's employment" | in 2012 – 18,038,101.4 thousand rubles; in 2013 – 17,744,543.0 thousand rubles; in 2014 – 17,718,664.1 thousand rubles. |
| . | "Ensuring public order and combating crime" | in 2012 – 123,905.1 thousand rubles; in 2013 – 119,754.4 thousand rubles; in 2014 – 130,363.4 thousand rubles. |
| | "Information Society (2011-2020)" | in 2012 – 8,582,833.7 thousand rubles; |

⁸² Information on FMS of Russia: <http://www.fms.gov.ru/>

| | | |
|---|--|--|
| . | | in 2013 – 8,582,833.7 thousand rubles; in 2014 – 8,582,833.7 thousand rubles. |
| . | "Regional policy and federal relations" | Appropriations for the implementation of activities of this government program are reserved in the federal budget according to Chapter 92 "The Ministry of Finance of the Russian Federation." |
| . | "Socio-economic development of the Far East and the Baikal region" | |
| . | "The federal target program "Housing" for 2011-2015" | |

As can be seen, the cost of the "Promotion of population's employment" program are decreasing from year to year, at the same time the cost of the "Ensuring public order and combating crime" program increases by 8.8%. A similar trend – an increase in expenses on the FMS activity in the sphere of law enforcement and crime prevention – should be seen as a symptom of militarization of the FMS activity and criminalization of migration as a phenomenon. Thus, the financial resources allocated to the regulation of migration policy will depend entirely on the nature of the policy, which presently seems highly contradictory - on the one hand, there has been tightening up of the regulation of migration flows from Central Asia, the practice of mass deportation of migrant workers, on the other hand - creation of conditions for certain companies to attract foreign labor without permits or compliance with labor rights.

Among the most important resources of the authorized bodies on coordination of migration policy and other government agencies are state mass media, which constantly cover the issues of migration, forming public opinion.

- **Government discourses of migration**

Studying actors of migration policy is impossible do without the analysis of migration discourse that is produced, constructed by these actors. According to Russian experts, in the last decade government discourse⁸³ and media discourse have become dominant in the formation, negotiation, implementation of the migration policy of the RF.

⁸³ Academic discourse partially merged with the one used by the authorities, partially lost "the ability of articulation." Other actors who do not have the necessary resources (power resources) to promote their ideas about the phenomenon are deprived not of discourse articulation as a possibility but rather of its promotion and imposition on public opinion. - For more details see. V.Mukomel. (2011, September 26 - October 9) Российские дискурсы о миграции: «нулевые» годы. [Russian discourses on migration: "zero" years.] Demoscope-Weekly, № 479-480. Available at: <http://demoscope.ru/weekly/2011/0479/demoscope0479.pdf>

It is the media and government discourse that can demonstrate changes in the socio-political climate in the "zero" years, which include the following characteristics⁸⁴:

- Firstly, there was an increase in importance attached to the ethnic origin of migrants, which became the key marker of relations "we/other."
- Secondly, migration policy began to be considered through the prism of the problems of national security and public safety that have acquired high significance in the early 2000s.
- Third, xenophobic sentiments shared by the majority of the Russian population became widespread.
- Fourth, migration policy began to be considered by the authorities as a foreign policy resource.
- Fifth, there have been significant shifts in migration processes themselves, economic motives came to the forefront.

All these changes in real life of the Russians and labor migrants from TR and KR (and others) in Russia take place by virtue of and within the frameworks of primarily media discourse, in which public statements of key politicians of the country and agencies can be singled out.

Russian researcher Mukomel notes that in the speeches of government officials one observes the evolution from the beginning of zero years: from "a straight-line approach linking migration (meaning illegal migration), crime, drug trafficking, human smuggling and human trafficking, threats to national security" to the rhetoric of the forced need for migrants and from it – to the contemporary foregrounding of the problem of cultural identity of the host community and migrants, migrants' adaptation, the economic consequences of migration.

However, a non-systemic observation of speeches of the President of the RF, V. Putin in this study suggests an absence of a clear discursive model; on the contrary, there is an inconsistency in the government discourse. Thus, speaking at the APEC summit in October 2013, Putin declared that "the labor market needs labor migrants to fill the jobs that are not filled by citizens of Russia." But the message of the President of the RF in 2013 migration is marked as "a complex issue" that "distorts", "causes imbalances", "provokes" and "sharpens" the existing problems. At the same time, he voiced calls for "strengthening the responsibility of employers," as well as "the need to pay taxes by foreign workers who are using the "systems of education and health." Although "a special connection with the former republics of the Soviet Union" is emphasized, nevertheless, "it is necessary to put things in order."

Actually the media discourse, based on a detailed analysis, was divided by a Russian researcher O. Yakimova in two models: the migration crisis model, in which international migration is related to social issues and is perceived as a threat, and a model of pragmatic-limited tolerance, where international migration is perceived as a necessary evil, with which,

⁸⁴ ibid

however, it is necessary to reconcile due the demand for foreign workers in the domestic labor market⁸⁵.

In the model of migration crisis these are the main discursive practices:

- Topics of publications are devoted primarily to the criminal activities of migrants and presenting them as a threat to national security
- intentional text-forming categories are presented by negative social ideologemes and hidden negative assessment
- the tones of headings and material are negative, alert, worried or ironic

In the model of pragmatic-limited tolerance discursive practices are as follows:

- topics of publications are devoted primarily to labor activity of migrants and their role in the national economy and presentation of migration as an element of the process of global business, cultural and educational development of the region
- intentional text-forming categories are represented by positive social ideologemes, metaphors of cooperation and tolerance, neutral journalistic terms fixed praise standards, justifying the need for migrants
- the tone of titles and materials is neutral, balanced, sympathetic-positive⁸⁶

O. Yakomova summarizes her analysis by noting the following characteristics of images of immigrants constructed in individual and mass consciousness via media tools:

- **otherness (foreignness):** migrants are culturally distanced, badly adaptable and not willing to integrate;
- **danger:** migrants become more, in the future they may absorb the indigenous population by their number;
- **hostility (aggressiveness):** migrants are criminals, they are a threat even in the case of non-criminal employment;
- **modesty (plainness):** migrants do the hard and dirty work for a small payment;
- **endurance:** migrant are hard-working, work long hours, often combine several works;
- **demand:** migrants are necessary to perform low-skilled jobs, which local residents do not want to deal with.

⁸⁵ O. Yakimova. (2013). Медиадискурс миграционного процесса в контексте взаимодействия принимающего и иммигрантского сообществ. [Media discourse of the migration process in the context of interaction of receiving and immigrants' communities]. Современные исследования социальных проблем (электронный научный журнал) [Contemporary studies of social problems (electronic scientific journal)], №11(31). Available at: www.sisp.nkras.ru

⁸⁶ O. Yakimova. (2013). Медиадискурс миграционного процесса в контексте взаимодействия принимающего и иммигрантского сообществ. [Media discourse of the migration process in the context of interaction of receiving and immigrants' communities]. Современные исследования социальных проблем (электронный научный журнал) [Contemporary studies of social problems (electronic scientific journal)], №11(31). Available at: www.sisp.nkras.ru

Despite the fact that multitude of migrants are constructed not as homogeneous but different "by degree of danger\usefulness" ethnic groups, the gender dimension in the media discourse does not clearly exist. Traditionally, labor migrant is a man, and a migrant woman is regarded as "attached" to the man as a member of the family, and that is why she is invisible as a worker.

3.2. Civil society institutions in Yekaterinburg

According to the resource and methodology center for social assistance of the Ministry of Social Policy of the Sverdlovsk oblast, more than 300 public non-profit organizations work in the region. Among them are a few examples of organizations that have the task of promoting the rights of migrants as one of the activities, which can tentatively be divided into the following types:

- associations of compatriots and migrants from the CIS countries
- national-cultural centers
- human rights organizations
- format of state-public partnerships - public/observational/advisory councils under state agencies
- diasporal associations of citizens from countries sending migrants (including Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan).

Associations of Compatriots and migrants from the CIS countries on the territory of Sverdlovsk oblast appeared almost two decades ago. One of the first in the region resettlement organization was a nonprofit organization Uralskaya Assotsiatsiya Bezhentssev [Ural Association of Refugees] (established in 1993, currently N.Tagiltseva is the head), in 1997 an organization "Uralskiy dom" [Ural house] was established (L. Grishin and R. Serazhidinov are the heads)⁸⁷, later – "Soyuz pereselencheskih organizatsiy Urala" [Union of emigrant organizations of Ural] (L. Lukashev is the head). All organizations today are part of the union at the national level - Forum of emigrant organizations⁸⁸.

In their activity emigrant organizations determined compatriots who have moved during the first waves of returnees to Russia from the former Soviet republics as their target group. After nearly two decades, these organizations have been recognized as a successful union of migrants in the struggle for their rights and interests. Currently, organizations continue to adapt to the contemporary groups of migrants who belong to these organizations not as members of the in-group, but as external (out-group) clients. It is noteworthy that representatives of these organizations predominantly uniting ethnic Russians, who had returned from the national Soviet republics after the collapse of the Soviet Union to Russia, in some contexts are defined as diasporas.

⁸⁷ uralhouse@bk.ru

⁸⁸ <http://www.migrant.ru/>

In the list of these organizations the organization "Uralskiy dom" is holding an important place, it provides the following range of assistance to labor migrants (they defined on its website as foreign nationals):

- Search for a job with accommodation
- Preparation of documents for obtaining a work permit/patent (including the translation of the passport, payment of state duty and photography);
- Provision of accommodation in the hostel of the Center of complex support for migrants along with the migration registration
- Advising on the rights and obligations associated with staying and working on the territory of the RF;
- Legal assistance and protection for the entire period of stay of a labor migrant in the RF.
- Teaching Russian language;
- Help in the adaptation and integration into Russian society;
- Provision of housing for people in difficult life situations.
- Pick up at a station/ airport, escort to the office of the Center of complex support for migrants;

Providing intermediary services in legalization, representatives of the organization follow only lawful methods, allowing them to call themselves "white intermediaries." Today there are no cases of protection of the rights of labor migrants in organization's active practice. The change in attitude towards the issue of adaptation of migrant children to school seems noteworthy. At the beginning of their activity when emigrants encountered with negative attitude towards newly arrived, a gap in the level of knowledge and skills of emigrant children in comparison with the requirements of the Russian school, they registered each lagging emigrant child and started working by a special project with teachers and children. This project was remembered by the founders of the organization as the most successful in their activity. Presently the representatives of the organization note presence of a problem with adaptation of migrant children in school, children not visiting school due to lack of language knowledge, etc. In his interview the head of the organization, L. Grishin, brought an example of how he personally helped a migrant child to get into language courses and school for studies. But the organization no longer has an idea of how many migrant children need such help. Moreover, representatives of the organization think that for children of contemporary migrants the most acceptable form of education is studying in specialized classes for invalids, "because teaching a foreign child requires the same approach, the same principles."

National-cultural centers are represented by the House of peoples of Ural, established in 2012, and composed of about 30 ethnic organizations united in the Association of national-cultural associations of Sverdlovsk oblast. House activity is organized through working groups in six areas: 1) legal aid, 2) methodic support, 2) education, 3) sports, 4) culture, 6) youth activities. The House has a conference hall, classrooms, offices for group work, library⁸⁹.

⁸⁹ http://www.e1.ru/news/spool/news_id-374525.html

Furthermore, “Dom Mira i Druzhyby” (House of Peace and Friendship) has been working in Yekaterinburg since 1986; it brings together more than 100 community organizations, including the societies of friendship and cultural relations with foreign countries, the national-cultural autonomies and associations of fellow-countrymen. At present, the main focus of the association is to promote cultural ties between the peoples of the countries of near and far abroad. It also provides an opportunity to study the native and foreign languages⁹⁰. In general, a broad representation in the region – about 60 ethno-cultural organizations (autonomies and ethnic communities⁹¹) – is probably due to the variety of ethnic groups in the region.

In Yekaterinburg, approximately 10 organizations are working directly with human rights aspects of labor migration. Among them there are organizations working on a network basis, particularly, Sverdlovsk oblast civil society organization “Nelegalov.Net” [No illegals], which is also a partner of the regional program/platform “Central Asia in motion” (ACT Alliance). Thus, N. Tagiltseva, one of the founders and chairs of the organization defines the tasks and prospects of partnership with the program in the following manner: *Our organization... is rather young, it was registered at the Ministry of Justice of Sverdlovsk oblast in January 2013. But we, its founders, are dealing with solving the problems of migration for decades already and are familiar with all of its stages in the newest history: from appearance of refugees and internally displaced persons (former Soviet Union), to labor migration and all of its advantages and disadvantages. Since the aims of our organization coincide with aims of the program, we eagerly responded to their offer of becoming partners in this project. That is why to the best of our abilities we will try to make an impact by word on this rather not simple situation, when the public opinion attributes all misfortunes taking place in the life of the Russians to migrants, when interethnic conflicts happen more and more often. We want to create an alternative to the information in those mass media that are chasing fried facts from the sphere of migration without bothering to think what dark business they are doing⁹².*

Among the human rights organizations actively working in Yekaterinburg there are also regional offices of Russian nationwide human rights organizations, such as the Anti-discrimination center "Memorial", whose main task is to draw attention to the problem of systematic violations of the rights of migrants⁹³.

There are examples of other Russian nationwide organizations that do not have official representatives in the region, but are covering it through monitoring of violations of migrants' rights. In particular, the IAC "SOVA", an organization that first publicly stated about the facts of

⁹⁰ <http://www.ethnoinfo.ru/za-dmid/1613-sverdlovskij-dom-mira-i-druzhyby-spravka>

⁹¹ Sverdlovsk oblast cross-national library database: <http://www.somb.ru:8087/info-resources/ethno-assocs?catid=7&start=60>

⁹² <http://nelegalovnet.livejournal.com/>
<http://nelegalov.net/communication/forum/257/>- fora

Общероссийская Общественная Организация Федерация Мигрантов России [All-Russian Public Organization Federation of Migrants of Russia] - <http://www.fmr.ru/> (Сайт изменился)
www.migrants.ru - accused of fraud

⁹³ As a result of joint work of lawyers of the network "Migration and Law" and ADC "Memorial" in July 2014 the European Court of Human Rights issued several important decisions on complaints of Russian citizens relating to conditions of stay in the detention center for foreign nationals who received actual prison terms (indeterminate length, reaching up to 2 years in prison!) only for the fact that they do not have the necessary documents - that is, not for the crimes but for violations of immigration rules

<http://adcmemorial.org/>; <http://adcmemorial.org/www/category/byulleteni/byulleten-45-mart-2014-byulleteni/>

gender-based violence against female migrants from Kyrgyzstan in Yekaterinburg and Moscow. The sphere of interests of the center "SOVA," which was founded in October 2002 by a group of employees of the Information Research Center "Panorama" and the Moscow Helsinki Group, includes issues of nationalism and xenophobia, interrelationship of religion and society, political radicalism, (non)rooting of liberal values and the (non)observance of human rights in our country⁹⁴. "SOVA" conducts information and research work on the basis of daily monitoring of radical expressions of racism and ethno-religious xenophobia, including in relation to labor migrants⁹⁵.

Restrictedness of activities of human rights organizations in Russia in protection of labor migrants' rights, including those from the RT and KR, seems symptomatic, reflecting a greater methodological problem. Before the era of the global migration process the institutions of civil society in a natural way worked within the framework of a nation-state, promoting the value of human rights for the citizens of a particular state. Active migration influx destabilize the usual coordinate system of human rights defenders, colliding the identity of a citizen, a patriot, a representative of a particular ethnic category and advocates of fundamental and universal human rights.

One may talk about the formation of ambivalent attitude of Russian civil society activists to migrants: on the one hand, being a part of society, they are influenced by the media and the government discourse on migration, distinguish migrants as strangers and often express apprehension and antagonism, as any other layman of the city. On the other hand, professionally belonging to the field of activity based on the absolute value and prioritization of human rights activists have to, at least in the rhetoric, advocate for these values. But in every concrete fact of clashes between migrants and local citizens interpreted by the media discourse as aggression/threat of strangers, others' towards "our" people, the activists are forced to make a difficult choice between their identities of a patriot-citizen and a fighter for universal human rights.

As a hypothesis, we may assume that the distinction between "ours" and "others", with a "natural" truncation of rights for certain categories of people, may be partially motivated by the project nature of activity of majority of NGOs, which "targets" a vulnerable group for work.

A category of NGOs working in the sphere of migration policy also includes public advisory boards under government bodies responsible for the implementation of migration policy. Such a board under the DFMS of Sverdlovsk oblast operates since the fall of 2007 in order to improve the interaction of the DFMS with public and scientific organizations, representatives of the business community in the implementation of migration policy. One of the main functions of the Board is to develop proposals for joint action of associations, academic institutions and the mass media on issues related to migration.

From the information about the meetings of the Board presented on the official website of the DFMS it follows that the Board's agenda included issues related to the problems of the

⁹⁴ <http://www.sova-center.ru/about-us/>

⁹⁵ <http://www.sova-center.ru/racism-xenophobia/>

work permits and health insurance by foreign nationals, raising awareness among labor migrants, organization of public events on issues of migration.

During the focus group discussions with representatives of civil society organization the activity of the Board has been criticized for passiveness. Civil society activists noted a decrease in performance during the last two years. It is not possible to objectively judge the activity of the Board since 2012 because the information on the Sverdlovsk oblast DFMS website contains information about the activities of the Board until the end of 2011. It is noteworthy that the Board has the unexpected opportunities for international Migrants Day to provide "a holiday promotion for migrants to receive real work permits and patents."

Summarizing, we can say that the NGOs' mandates in the sphere of labor migration includes such basic activity directions as:

1) provision of services of obtaining permission documents for exercise of profession and employment of migrants. This direction in particular is covered by the NGO "Uralskii dom" that has developed the technology "migration flows" allowing to effectively – according to the assessment of the developers - carry out an organized recruitment of labor migrants;

2) provision of information and training for migrants for successful adaptation and integration into society. An example of work in this area is the project "The right to be strong. Support and training for migrant women" of the Transnational Information Centre (2014). The project aims at strengthening the social position of migrant women by teaching them the basics of the Russian language, the key skills in defending their rights and practices of adaptation to a new social environment.

3) research, monitoring and evaluation of the situation. A study of the migration situation is one of the main functions of the abovementioned Community Advisory Board under the DFMS of Sverdlovsk oblast.

Implementation of mentioned activities is a challenge for the organizations themselves in terms of values and understanding of contemporary migration. Many NGOs see themselves as solely a continuation of the nation-state appropriating some of the functions of the state as a machine of repression and control. Understanding the importance of migration inflow into the country they are trying to neutralize the negative aspects for the receiving state and society, at least make migrants less visible. In particular, during the interviews with NGO representatives they expressed a symptomatic vision of their tasks: *make migration controlled, professional, and so that it does not cause irritation that it causes is in our society now* (Interview with a representative of the CSOs of the RF).

In accordance with such a vision of migration educational programs for migrants are designed. It seems that the main idea is to teach migrants "how to behave" in order not to irritate those around them. Indicative in this respect is the abovementioned project "The right to be strong." The content of teaching materials of the project bears testimony to the use of a "medical" approach to solving problems of migrant women and generally insensitive language (for example, using such definition as "Gastarbeiter").

Ambiguity of understanding and treatment of migrants, obviously, determines the restrained activity in rendering them help in protecting the migrants' rights. Results of the survey of labor migrants revealed that only 1.5% of respondents seek help from the NGOs.

Number one among civil society representatives, to whom migrants had to turn to seek help is diaspora: 16.2% of respondents in this study indicated the presence of such an experience in his own migrant biography. In Yekaterinburg, there are well-known organizations that were created on the basis of diaspora networks of KR and RT. In particular, such as:

- Association "Zamandash" and an affiliated public organization "Foundation of assistance in preservation and development of cultural and business ties of citizens and organizations in the Uralsk region and Kirgizia "Kirgizia-Ural": "The development of cultural and business ties, legalization of migrant workers."⁹⁶
- Sverdlovsk oblast public organization of the Kyrgyz diaspora "ATA-JURT": "conducting cultural and sports events, financial assistance to compatriots living in Sverdlovsk oblast who find themselves in difficult life circumstances, citizens who are in penitentiary facilities."
- Regional civic organization "Society of Tajik culture "SOMON": "development and strengthening of relations between Russia and Tajikistan, assistance to migrants."⁹⁷
- Sverdlovsk oblast civic organization (of Pamir Tajiks) "DIDOR": "preservation of culture, language, traditions of the Tajik people." It should be noted that the head of the organization is a member of the Community Advisory Board under the Sverdlovsk oblast DFMS⁹⁸.

However, despite the appreciation for the work of these organizations in the diaspora associations in the consulates general of the two countries, the statements by the representatives of the diaspora (leaders) on the performance and high utility for migrants, the study found that the role of diasporas in promoting the rights of migrant workers is ambiguous.

What is a diasporal organization? As such it is a business structure. On the territory of Russia it is a business structure. However it is called – a national cultural autonomy, or a civic organization, a fund. It is a business structure that deals with legalization, earns money, lives, leaders are living off of it, it is service of those compatriot migrants who are arriving to the region. Because they are more advanced, because they know the language, ins and outs, their established informal connections, it is very easy for them to do corrupt things. On the one hand they help migrants, but on the other they are earning on them. These are their clients, clients based on ethnic principle in the first place: Uzbeks are making money on Uzbeks, Kyrgyz on Kyrgyz, Tajiks on Tajiks. So we have such a division (Interview with a representative of a CSO of the RF)

Around the leaders of individual diaspora associations in the Russian media discourse there are rumors about the criminal nature of their activities. Also some respondents from

⁹⁶ http://www.zpress.kg/news/news_only/30/38381/163.py

⁹⁷ <http://www.somb.ru:8087/info-resources/ethno-assocs?sobi2Task=sobi2Details&catid=28&sobi2Id=82>

⁹⁸ <http://www.ethnoinfo.ru/news/1226-10-qg>

among the civil society activists in Russia, as well as respondents – labor migrants from TR and KR, negatively spoke about the leaders of diasporas.

Diaspora leaders recorded the following activities in their assets: negotiations and out-of-court communication with employers who do not pay wages to compatriot migrants, help status legalization, assistance in returning home to seriously ill migrants who do not have the means for that, organizing shipment of human remains as well as making applications for the citizens who for various reasons find themselves in prison. Also, the diasporas work as cultural associations that to help preserve ethnic and cultural identity of labor migrants, organizing ethno-cultural celebration and festivals.

There is evidence from respondents about mobilization work done by diaspora leaders, who are gathering compatriots in the homeland and put them into teams of countrymen, more often fellow villagers, to work at various locations in construction. Such mobilization activities combined with the illegal status of residence and work of compatriot teams preclude the inclusion and integration of migrants in the host society, which confirms the conclusion drawn by scientists on the basis of study of numerous diaspora associations in the world, "the diasporas become a place of accumulation of unabsorbed migrants", that is, the stronger the diaspora, the lower the absorption (integration) of migrants.

Human rights protection potential of the diasporas seems to be rather doubtful, because the legal culture and knowledge of the diaspora leaders themselves were often quite low. For example, the Kyrgyz and Tajik Diaspora leaders did not have the sensitivity to cases of gender discrimination and violence against female labor migrants from their countries. Commenting on the facts of violence against migrant women from Kyrgyzstan, diaspora leaders from the KR and RT strongly supported the "patriotic" acts of offenders who committed violence.

- **Potential actors in the migration policy**

Examples of the activity of the "Конфедерации труда России" [Confederation of Labour of Russia], "Novoprof", "Профосоюза трудящихся мигрантов" [Labor union of migrant workers] indicate the appearance of new positive trends in trade union activities at the federal level. During campaigns for protection of migrants' labor rights labor by unions several strikes, stop-campaigns as well as pickets and demonstrations were organized; with the participation of the labor union of migrant workers more than 3 million rubles has been returned. Criticism and lobbying by labor unions contributed to the change in legislation norms of hiring foreign labor violating the rights of workers during the preparation for the Football World Championship in 2018 in Russia, and in particular in Yekaterinburg.

Also, it should be noted that with the support of labor unions studies that raise new issues related to the promotion of the rights of migrant workers are conducted⁹⁹. The inclusion

⁹⁹ For example, "Analysis of the labor practices of foreign nationals (labor migrants) and their influence on the transformation of labor relations among Russian citizens," Center for Social and Labor Rights and the Center for Ethnopolitical and Regional Studies, 2013. Round table "Labor Relations and Migration in Russia: mutual influence and the possible consequences" dated September 16, 2013. Available at: <http://trudprava.ru/about/events/768>

of labor unions among actors of state migration policy is already being promoted at the institutional level in the RF: for example, representatives of labor unions, in particular the Russian labor union of workers of construction specialties and service organizations are a part of the Standing Committee on migration policy and protection of human rights in the sphere of international relations of the Council under the president of the RF on development of civil society and human rights. The agenda of the Standing Committee suggests that there are attempts by unions in raising issues about the inevitability of employers' liability (primarily those attracting a significant number of foreign citizens) for non-observance of labor, housing, civil, sanitary and epidemiological and other rights of migrants, as well as migration legislation.

Strong interest in strengthening its position in the migration policy was expressed by the Federation of Trade Unions of Kyrgyzstan¹⁰⁰, as well as sectorial trade unions. In particular, the Central Committee of the Trade Union of workers of agro-industrial complex of the KR, manifesting new goals says: "To improve the position of compatriots who are in the labor emigration, strive to create such conditions for workers in the homeland that they had no incentive to leave the country in labor emigration."¹⁰¹

However, to this day in the Sverdlovsk oblast labor unions are not actors in migration policy. Such traditionalism and conservatism in the activities of labor union organizations is also associated with the methodological problem of connectedness of human rights with the boundaries of a nation-state and citizenship. Traditional labor unions in most cases do not see the migrant workers as working people whose interests they are supposed to protect. Moreover, for many of the local labor union activists migrants as temporary workers, undemanding to the working conditions of employees are treated as lumpen groups opposing the interests of the working class.

- **Resources of civil society organizations for the protection of migrants' rights**

Human rights protection potential of diasporas is largely limited due to lack of resources to support the activity on protection of migrants' rights and the issue of stability of the organizations themselves due to lack of resources. Accumulating funds for the implementation of joint activities for the protection of migrants' rights is not possible, because the activities of diasporas and cultural centers is fragmented, there is a communication lag among diaspora associations of one country (regional – Pamir and Tajikistan).

There are examples of support from international organizations – the grant EFCA - Kyrgyzstan - Ural project on legalization of migrant workers, collecting humanitarian aid in 2010 for 1.5 million rubles, annual expenses on the large-scale cultural and sporting events (most often - sponsors are the Association "Zamandash "or private sponsors).

¹⁰⁰ On July 9-11, an International Forum "Innovation in the trade unions 2014" was held in Yekaterinburg, which was attended by the Federation of Trade Unions of Kyrgyzstan. At the forum a new draft of the memorandum on cooperation between trade unions of Kyrgyzstan, the Sverdlovsk region and the diaspora was presented for effective legal protection of labor migrants. See: <http://www.fpk.kg/index.php/megdunarodnoe-sotrudnichestvo.html>

¹⁰¹ <http://ikd.ru/node/19035>

In general, data on the financial component in the area of civil initiatives in support of migrant workers are not available, scattered and scarce.

Thus, the results of the contest of presidential grants 2013-2014, two Sverdlovsk organizations became winners, whose projects have included issues on promotion of migrants' interests. Among them is the already mentioned organization - Non-commercial partnership "Международный информационный центр" [Transnational Information Centre] (hereinafter - TIC), which has received funding for two projects:

- Project: The right to respect: the ethics of international communication in the work of law enforcement officials. The project envisages the creation of conditions for realization, protection and restoration of the rights of national minorities and migrants, development of anti-discrimination behavior on the part of law enforcement officials.
- Project: The Right to be strong. Support and training for migrant women (project aims were mentioned above). Total amount of funding for the two projects is approximately 2.5 million rubles.

2. Civic organization of and displaced persons "Uralskiy dom"

Project Title: Experience of experienced emigrees – to participants of the state program "Compatriots". The main objective of the project is, in cooperation with government agencies, optimization of conditions of reception and integration of compatriots who come to Russia under the state program. Grant Amount: 3,000,000 rubles.

It was impossible to conclude from open information sources and data from interviews with civil society experts what resources and to what extent, for whom and for what purposes were available in the past.

Among non-financial resources of civil society organizations one may state online resources of the TIC - ethnoinfo.ru, as well as websites of all civic organizations that provide information on legislation in the field of migration, centers that help in a difficult situation, etc.¹⁰²

- **Discourses of migration among civil society organizations**

Today an alternative voice of the civil society of the RF on migration issues is almost inaudible with the exception of individual votes of significant people at the nationwide level (S. Gannushkina - Head of the "Миграция и Право" [Migration and Law], L. Grafova - Head of the Forum of emigrants' organizations, etc.). Huge number of mass media raising "the issue of migration" in the space of the two models of the migration crisis and pragmatic and limited tolerance are opposed by individual media and online editions of civil society organizations, primarily, the journal of MiRPAL network "Migration. 21st Century."¹⁰³

¹⁰² <http://www.ethnoinfo.ru/>, <http://adcmemorial.org/www/category/zashhita-prav-menshinstv/materialyi-pravovogo-seminara/>

¹⁰³ <http://mirpal.org/migrjournal.html>

Moreover, the "choir" of voices of a number of civil society activists supporting the government policy is traditionally accompanied by invention of new norms and practices of discrimination against migrant workers. The topic of migration is regularly raised by political parties from which one would more often hear ideas against migrants. This kind of rhetoric is especially pronounced during election campaigns. An example is the election campaign of city council deputies, which was held in August-September 2013 in Yekaterinburg, during which parties as one united force, despite ideological differences, came out with anti-migrant slogans and promises to cleanse the Russian land from "aliens".

In general, as it has already been mentioned in the section on government and media discourses of migration, in the last three - five years, one can talk about convergence, merging of individual segments of Russian political, academic and civil discourse of migration with the government discourse.

3.3. International organizations as actors of migration policy.

The significance of the contribution of international organizations in the global, regional and local immigration policies can hardly be overestimated. Today it is difficult to imagine a country migration program, a strategy that does not rely on the standards of decent labor, developed within the framework of ILO or IOM, directed at preserving the human dignity of migrants.

Currently on migration issues, including the rights of workers are working: dozens of international donor organizations and development agencies, international non-governmental organizations, among which some work on the global (e.g., IOM, ILO, World Bank, UN structures) and others – on a regional (e.g., ESCAP) level.

Legally the statuses international organizations of involved in the migration agenda distinguish: development agencies and donor organizations (World Bank, UN agencies, different countries' Agencies for development - Sweden, USA, UK, etc.), international non-governmental organizations (e.g., International Alert, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights and others.)

The most important international organizations in this area can be classified into the following types according to the criterion of missions and goals:

- **Organizations working on the development of migrants' human rights standards as well as provide mechanisms and tools to protect the rights of migrants.** The key in this cluster are OHCHR UN¹⁰⁴, IOM and ILO.

The UN OHCHR cooperates with partner agencies in protecting the rights of all migrants at all stages of the migration process and provides information to clarify the importance of human rights for gaining benefits from international migration and development and solving

¹⁰⁴ as well as statutory and treaty bodies - the Human Rights Council, the Committee for the Protection of the rights of migrant workers, etc.

the problems generated by it¹⁰⁵. OHCHR supports the work of the Special Rapporteur on human rights of migrants and Special Rapporteur on trafficking in persons, especially women and children. OHCHR provides services to the Committee for the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families – the agency responsible for overseeing the compliance of member-states with the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families¹⁰⁶.

In the sphere of labor migration ILO provides its partners assistance in areas such as:

- reduction of irregular migration and regulation of legal migration in order to contribute to poverty reduction and economic growth;
- extending social protection to migrant workers through bilateral and multilateral agreements between governments that are based on the provisions of the 1962 ILO Convention on equality in the sphere of social security (#118)
- strengthening cooperation between public agencies and programs of assistance to migrants, particularly between government employment services, labor inspections, vocational technical training institutions and programs to promote small business and so on.

IOM works in the four areas of migration management: migration and development, facilitating migration, regulation of migration and the prevention of forced migration. In addition, cross-sectoral activities of the IOM include the dissemination of knowledge of international migration legislation, discussion of policy and providing consultations, protection of migrants' rights, protection of their health and consideration of the gender component of migration.

Program of Action includes improving the management of remittances, the creation of human capital through programs in the field of labor migration, return and reintegration of qualified professionals, capacity building for governments and the empowerment of female migrants.

- **Organization aimed at the study of processes and issues** of migration in the global and local contexts, collection of data and creation of databases on migration processes. Among such organizations are, above all, the Population Division of the UN Secretariat and the UN Statistics Division. Both the UN agencies are working with the migration agenda.

The Population Division provides secretarial support on substantive issues for the meetings of the Commission on Population and Development. It also carries out its main activities on international migration and development in support of the General Assembly. The Division is the source of authoritative estimates of the scale and trends in international

¹⁰⁵ The High Commissioner stressed that all migrants, regardless of their status, are entitled to the realization of human rights, and stressed that both migrant women and men contribute to the economic and social development

¹⁰⁶ The Committee, in the case when at least ten Convention member-states make corresponding statements, will be entitled to receive and consider communications from individuals who claim that a Convention member state has violated their personal rights provided by the Convention. The Committee shall review the reports submitted by each Convention member state and shall transmit to the interested member state comments that it deems appropriate

migration. After the high-level dialogue, it in conjunction with the UN Statistics Division¹⁰⁷ and the World Bank developed a comprehensive database on the number of international migrants.

- **Organization focused on individual aspects of migration in the world**, for example, on maximization of the contribution of migration to development and implementation of the MDGs by developing strategy scenarios in the sphere of migration, trade and development (UNCTAD), on issues of transfers from migrants to their families (MiRPAL WB), etc.

UNCTAD provides strategic consultancy to employees of decision making agencies, participants of negotiations on issues of trade and representatives of regulatory authorities on issues of use of opportunities in trade and investment created by migrants and on issues policy aimed at increasing the impact of remittances on the development process. UNCTAD contributes to the expansion of the knowledge bases on circular migration and emigration of highly qualified specialists.

MiRPAL is the first network of practitioners in the CIS in the field of migration and remittances, whose mission is improving the process of collecting data on the volume of labor migration in the CIS countries, improving collection of data on money transfers among the CIS countries. This WB project implies exchange of opinions, development of joint recommendations for improving the methodology of calculation of remittances and the number of migrant workers, their implementation, preparation of analytical materials depending on the proposals of the member-states.

- **Organizations that work with specific, relatively limited, target groups** (e.g., UNICEF, UNESCO, UNHCR, etc.)

UNICEF is looking for practical solutions to problems arising from migration, for example, the plight of unaccompanied migrant children and children separated from their families. The focus is placed on assessing the impact of remittances on *children* left home, protecting the rights of children and women affected by migration, prevention of child trafficking and documenting gender aspects of migration.

UNESCO focuses on migration of highly skilled workers, international mobility of students, international recognition of qualifications and diplomas, use of information networks of expatriate communities, cultural diversity and human trafficking. UNESCO has established a network of museums dedicated to the issue of migration, in order to demonstrate the contribution of migrants to the development of the host countries.

UNHCR has the task to ensure the protection of refugees and asylum seekers, and financing of measures to improve the plight of refugees. Persons in need of protection are increasingly among those migrating for other reasons. Refugees, despite their special status

¹⁰⁷ The department serves as the global center for issues of international trade, national accounts, energy, industry, environment and demographic and social statistics gathered from national and international sources; promoting international standards of methods, classifications and definitions used by national agencies; facilitates the monitoring of progress towards the MDGs; promoting the introduction of modern methods of research and display of information as a tool for growth and development

due to the fact that they are in need of international protection should be considered in the general debate on international migration and development. In order to address the challenges posed by the flows of "mixed migration" UNHCR has developed a ten-point plan of action on protection of refugees and mixed migration.

- **Organizations that monitor the migration of goods and resources after the migration of people**, tracking the economic impact of migration processes on the sending and receiving countries (e.g., the World Bank).

World Bank is engaged in the expansion of the knowledge base on international migration and development conducting country-specific and policy-related analytical studies on issues of international migration and development. Its activities aim to identify the scope and economic impact of remittances, the study of the effects of migration on household welfare and macroeconomic impact of international migration on the development process. WB supports the inclusion of standardized modules of migration into existing survey programs.

- **A wider range of international organizations engaged in supporting the institutions of civil society that are working to protect the rights of migrant workers** (Soros Foundation, Dan Church Aid and ICCO, Eurasia Foundation, USAID, etc.)

Soros Foundation since 2011 has been financing a project of the Public Foundation "Network of centers for support of migrant workers" (established by the initiative of the Eurasia Foundation), which aims to create guarantees of rights protection and promote civilized migration of Kyrgyzstani citizens to Russia, by providing a consolidated set of services in the field of labor migration.

Dan Church Aid and ICCO since 2012 supported the work of the "Central Asia in motion" platform.

USAID and IOM since 2006 supported the project of the Public Foundation "Omur Bulagy" - "No to trafficking!"

Immediately in Yekaterinburg work is done only by EU information centers, as well as a number of countries: UK, USA and other countries working as centers of cultural exchange¹⁰⁸. None of these representations is working on migration and human rights. Thus, in Yekaterinburg close contact and influence of international organizations with agendas on human rights are not created. Local non-governmental organizations in the area are almost exclusively influenced by the state agenda, except for those organizations that are representing Russian nation-wide civil rights organizations in Yekaterinburg.

At the same time, local non-governmental organizations are working on grants from international organizations, although in recent years they prefer to receive social orders from government agencies to avoid the risk of obtaining a "foreign agent" status. This is probably why, in recent years campaigns and activities of local organizations together with organizations of other CIS countries, first of all, KR and RT, are gaining popularity.

¹⁰⁸ <http://www.ekburg.ru/administration/administration-gorod/4/8/218/>

In the KR and RT, almost all existing international organizations - UN agencies (primarily OHCHR, UNDP), IOM, ILO, Soros, OSCE, NED, GTZ and others - have specific projects and programs in the field of migration processes. Among the projects and programs are: support of awareness campaigns for migrants, conducting research and analysis of the legal and regulatory framework, the analysis of the situation in the field of migrants' rights, etc.

It is noteworthy that representative offices of the same international organization in different countries may raise more or less broad tasks and action priorities. For example, in the three countries IOM implements the following goals and tasks:

Table 8. Comparative description of the goals and objectives of IOM in the RF, RT and KR

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|--|
| <p><u>IOM of the RF:</u></p> <p>In its activities, IOM is committed to the principle according to which humane and orderly migration should benefit both migrants and receiving society.</p> <p>As an intergovernmental body, IOM and its partners in the international community carries out activities aimed at:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - assisting in the solution of operational tasks in the field of migration; - explaining problems associated with migration; - supporting social and economic development through migration; - all possible assistance to true respect of human dignity of migrants and care about their welfare |
| <p><u>IOM of the KR:</u></p> <p>GLOBAL MISSION of the IOM.</p> <p>IOM adheres to the principle that humane and orderly migration benefits both migrants and communities.</p> <p>As the leading international organization for migration, IOM and its partners are working in order to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - assist in addressing the growing challenges in management of migration processes - promote a better understanding of migration issues - support social and economic development through migration - protection of human dignity and well-being of migrants <p>Strategic directions of the IOM</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Provide safe, reliable, flexible and cost-effective services to the people who need assistance in international migration. - To promote humane and orderly management of migration and the recognition of rights of migrants in accordance with international legislation. - To offer expert advice, research, technical cooperation and operational assistance to States, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations and other stakeholders in order to improve capacities and facilitate international, regional and bilateral cooperation on migration issues. - To contribute to the economic and social development of states through research, organizing dialogues, development and implementation of migration programs aimed at maximizing the benefits of migration. - Support the state, migrants and communities in addressing the issues of unregulated migration, through research and analysis of the main reasons, exchange of information and dissemination of best practices, as well as assisting in the development-oriented solutions. - To be the primary source for information on migration, research, best practices, data collection, compatibility and sharing of information. |

- To promote, facilitate and support regional and global debates and dialogues on migration issues, including through the International Dialogue on Migration; enhance understanding of the opportunities and existing challenges in order to identify and develop effective policies to address these issues and to identify comprehensive approaches and measures for the development of international cooperation.
- Assist States in the integration of migrants in the new environment and to involve the diaspora, including as development partners.
- To participate in provision of coordinated humanitarian assistance in accordance with the inter-agency coordination in this field and to provide migration services in emergency or post-crisis situations in accordance with the needs and demands of the people, thus contributing to their protection.
- Implement programs that facilitate the voluntary return and reintegration of refugees, displaced persons, migrants and others in need of international migration services, as appropriate in cooperation with other international organizations, as well as taking into account the needs and interests of local communities.
- To assist States in developing and implementing programs, training and technical expertise to combat smuggling and trafficking in persons, especially women and children, in accordance with the international law.
- Support the efforts of the State in the sphere of labor migration, in particular short-term movements and other forms of circular migration.

IOM of the RT:

MOM adheres to the principle that humane and orderly migration benefits both migrants and communities.

As the leading international organization for migration, IOM and its partners are working in order to:

- assist in addressing the growing challenges in management of migration processes
- promote a better understanding of migration issues
- support social and economic development through migration
- protection of human dignity and well-being of migrants

Interstate agreements and the engagement of countries sending migrants to regional unions have a significant impact on the position of labor migrants in Yekaterinburg.

Regional cooperation in management of labor migration can be divided into formal mechanisms of regional integration, including free distribution of initiatives in the field of labor and state obligations to cooperate in the framework of regional agreements, and less formal mechanisms, such as the regional consultative processes and other informal events¹⁰⁹.

Regional integration processes, usually caused by economic factors such as the establishment of agreements on free trade between countries in the region in order to optimize market potential and economic possibilities, promote labor migration. As a rule, such agreements contain provisions on the simplification of movement of citizens of member states for the purpose of employment and residence. Such arrangements may vary from the regime with increased freedom of movement applicable to all categories of citizens, including to workers, as it is done in the EU¹¹⁰, to the more limited provisions applicable to the movement of business representatives, experts and other highly skilled specialists and service providers (example of the North American free trade agreement). The difference between the

¹⁰⁹ OSCE, IOM, ILO. (2006) Guide to the development of effective policy on labor migration in countries of destination and origin.

¹¹⁰ *ibid*

bilateral agreements, inter-country agreements of the RF – RT and RT – KR determines the strengthening of the system inequality of migrants in terms of rights depending on the country of citizenship¹¹¹.

There are no precedents of financial support by international associations of the CIS projects and programs for the protection of human rights of labor migrants, except for the project to reduce poverty in Central Asia implemented with the participation of the EurAsEc.

- **The resource base of international organizations**

On the websites of the mentioned key organizations having a mandate to work with migrants in the sphere of protection of labor migrants' rights, it is impossible to determine the volume of funds allocated for the activities of the organization in a particular country.

For example, the operating budget of the IOM in 2012 exceeded 1.2 billion dollars, which is used to finance about 2,300 projects. The total number of employees of IOM programs is more than 7,800 people who work in more than 470 offices of the IOM in more than a hundred countries around the world. There is no information on the share of the volume of projects and programs in the three countries.

Regarding the resources spent in the current and previous years by international organizations on issues of migration in the RF, KR and RT, the data can be obtained only at the regional IOM in Kyrgyzstan website (see Table).

Below is the table showing information on completed and ongoing projects in the three countries with the budgets available only for Kyrgyzstan.

| Table 9. Project of labor migration in the RF, RT and KR | | | |
|--|--|---|---------------|
| RF¹¹² | | | |
| Name of the project | Goal | Donors/Partners | Budget |
| Central Asia Regional Migration Program (CARMP) | Reduction of poverty in Central Asia | International organization on migration, UN-Women, World Bank, EuroAsian Economic Community (EurAsEc) | - |
| Labor migration in Central Asia and Russian Federation and studies conducted by the IOM in the sphere of labor | Assisting the government of the Russian Federation in development of migration policy and legislation, establishment of administrative and operating | The European Commission, the International Organization for Migration | - |

¹¹¹ For more on this, see Section about the state as an actor, it also presents comparative schemes of the process of legalization of Tajik and Kyrgyz citizens.

¹¹² <http://moscow.iom.int/>

| | | | |
|---|--|--|---------------|
| migration | systems, and the foundations for capacity development of administrative resources that are required to solve problems in the sphere of labor migration. | | |
| Combating human trafficking in the Russian Federation | Combating human trafficking in Russia, increasing the activity of the Russian government bodies and civil society, primarily by strengthening the prosecution and criminal liability. | The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) | - |
| Prevention of Human Trafficking in the Russian Federation | Combating human trafficking in the Russian Federation as the country of origin, transit and destination. | The European Commission; additional funding provided by the US State Department and the Government of Switzerland. | - |
| KR¹¹³ | | | |
| Central Asia Regional Migration Program | Contributing to the reduction of poverty in Central Asia by improving the socio-economic situation of migrants and their families | DFID, Great Britain, IOM, UN-Women, World Bank | 440,000 USD |
| Regional Program to Combat Trafficking in Persons in Central Asia | Main activities within the frameworks of the projects includes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • assistance to victims of trafficking in persons in the return, rehabilitation and reintegration; • raising public awareness about human trafficking • increase the capacity of the network of partner NGO | USAID | 350,000 USD |
| Improving the system of vocational technical education in the Kyrgyz Republic | Assistance to the Kyrgyz Republic in the improvement of the system of vocational technical education (VTE) through advanced methods of strategic development, strengthening partnerships | EC, MOM IDF | 1,500,000 USD |

¹¹³ <http://iom.kg/>

| | | | |
|--|--|---------------------------|---|
| | and increasing the interest of the population to the VTE system that is able to prepare professionals demanded on domestic and foreign labor markets | | |
| PT¹¹⁴ | | | |
| Central Asia Regional Migration Program | Contributing to the reduction of poverty in Central Asia by improving the socio-economic situation of migrants and their families | | |
| Mobilization of local resources for the development of communities in Sughd province | - | UNDP program, GTZ | - |
| Legal Empowerment for working families headed by women | 1) express assessment; 2) training and capacity building for community leaders, village councils, local authorities, 3) information campaign to raise awareness of the recipients and providers, and 4) counseling and legal assistance. | IOM | - |
| Migration resource centers | raising awareness of labor migrants. | OSCE Center in Tajikistan | - |

- **Discourses of migration of international organizations**

Discourses of international organizations in general construct the idea that informing migrants of their rights increases the proportion of those who have a legal status of living and working in the host countries, as well as increases the ability of migrants to protect their rights. Also, they consider canonical the idea about a positive contribution of migration to the economy of the sending and receiving sides and the focus on the volume of migrants' remittances, fluctuations of which are seen as a kind of an indicator not only of the condition of the labor market in the host country, but also of the level of discrimination in the labor market for migrants.

Despite the mostly positive assessment in economic terms, in general, migration is perceived in terms of the dangers, risks, especially risks of sexual, labor slavery and human trafficking.

¹¹⁴ <http://www.iom.tj/>

Chapter four.

Migration costs and benefits balance

Discussions about the economic effect of labor migration in the CIS region in general and in the world are traditionally led in terms of volumes of transfers and their relation to the GDP of sending countries. Countries sending their citizens to migration try to talk about the migrants' contribution to the economy of receiving countries, stating one or another number from uncertain sources. Such mutual claims have a manipulative nature and are aggravated during certain moments of political crisis. However, there are still no reliable calculations of the costs and benefits of labor migration done by different actors of migration policy. In this study, it was attempted to make such a calculation of the costs and benefits on the basis of publicly available government information sources, it also presents the imputation of costs and benefits done by labor migrants on the basis of various studies conducted in Russia in the past five years.

4.1. Costs and benefits balance for the Russian Federation

Due to the lack of disaggregated data by country, this subsection provides information on the benefits and costs of labor migration in Russia in general. The calculation of benefits and costs was based on official data published by public authorities or statements by representatives of the Federal Migration Service and other government agencies.

✓ Benefits for the RF GDP

In an interview by Interfax News Agency, dated August 15, 2007, Director of the Federal Migration Service (FMS) of Russia Konstantin Romodanovskiy said that "the contribution of migrants to Russia's GDP is at least 50 billion dollars"¹¹⁵, which according to estimates is more than 3.8% of Russia's GDP in 2007. During the "government hour" in the Federation Council session on May 13, 2009, Konstantin Romodanovskiy reported that the contribution of labor migrants to Russia's GDP came to almost 8%. Thus, contribution to the Russian economy from labor migration has doubled during the biennium.

FMS's estimation of the contribution of migrants to Russia's GDP for 2013 is missing. The official website of the FMS indicated that the very agency in 2013 directed 36,929,954,700 rubles to the budgets of the country. This amount also includes income from patents that amount to 8,395,775,500 rubles¹¹⁶.

If we assume that the proportion of the contribution to GDP from labor migrants in 2013 remained at the same level as in 2009 (8%), in total GDP of the RF received from labor migrants 5.340 trillion rubles¹¹⁷ in 2013.

Expert evaluation of labor migrants' contribution to the Russian economy are very contradictory. According to some data, migrants' contribution to Russia's GDP is from 6 to 10 billion dollars - less than

¹¹⁵Демоскоп Weekly [Demoscope Weekly]. (August 20 – September 2, 2007). № 297, p. 298. Available at: <http://demoscope.ru/weekly/2007/0297/rossia01.php#13>

¹¹⁶ Website of the Federal Migration Service of the RF. Available at: <http://www.fms.gov.ru/about/statistics/data/>

¹¹⁷ RIA Novosti. GDP volume of Russia for 2013 came to 66,755 trillion rubles based on current prices. Available at: <http://ria.ru/economy/20140401/1002109404.html#ixzz39REAMbJc>

0.5% of the GDP¹¹⁸. According to other estimates on the MiRPAL system created by the World Bank and taking into account the remittances, the contribution to the country's GDP accounts for 15 to 20 percent¹¹⁹.

It should be noted that the official and expert calculations take into account the contribution not only of registered migrants but also those who are staying in Russia illegally. According to the estimates of independent experts for 1 USD sent by gastarbeiters abroad he/she leaves 4-5 rubles in Russia. It turns out that even an illegal immigrant who does not have a work permit makes a contribution to the Russian GDP¹²⁰.

✓ **Costs**

Due to the difficulty of assessing the scale of the phenomenon, the statistical data on the RF budget losses due to labor migration (both legal and illegal) are not available. In this section we made an attempt to calculate four main categories of costs to the budget of the Russian Federation, such as government spending on the maintenance of the FMS, health treatment and education of migrant workers from the state budget, as well as costs related to the prevention, investigation and punishment for crimes committed by labor migrants that are borne by the state budget.

Costs of operation of the Federal Migration Service of the RF

According to information on the use of budget funds allocated for the operation of the FMS of Russia **39,250 581.5** thousand rubles were spent in 2013¹²¹. Along with the administrative costs associated with the work of the agency, this amount also includes the cost of measures for the deportation of migrants (in 2013 82,413 people¹²² were expelled and deported and 13,412.3 thousand rubles were spent¹²³)¹²⁴.

The cost of treatment of migrants

One of the frequently discussed and acutely perceived by Russian everyman topics is the volume of budget resources that is spent on health care and education of labor migrants and members of their families. On April 24, 2014, the State Duma deputy Mikhail Starshinov has filed requests to the Minister

¹¹⁸ Russian service of BBC. Проживет ли Россия без дешевого труда мигрантов. [Would Russia survive without cheap labor of migrants]. October 17, 2013. Available at:

http://www.bbc.co.uk/russian/business/2013/10/131016_russia_migrants_economis.shtml

¹¹⁹DW. Трудовые мигранты в России: обуза или подспорье в экономике? [Labor migrants in Russia: burden or support of the economy?] November 21, 2013. Available at:

<http://www.dw.de/%D1%82%D1%80%D1%83%D0%B4%D0%BE%D0%B2%D1%8B%D0%B5-%D0%BC%D0%B8%D0%B3%D1%80%D0%B0%D0%BD%D1%82%D1%8B-%D0%B2-%D1%80%D0%BE%D1%81%D1%81%D0%B8%D0%B8-%D0%BE%D0%B1%D1%83%D0%B7%D0%B0-%D0%B8%D0%BB%D0%B8-%D0%BF%D0%BE%D0%B4%D1%81%D0%BF%D0%BE%D1%80%D1%8C%D0%B5-%D0%B2-%D1%8D%D0%BA%D0%BE%D0%BD%D0%BE%D0%BC%D0%B8%D0%BA%D0%B5/a-17243735>

¹²⁰ Nezavisimaya Gazeta. Охота на мигрантов навредит экономическим показателям. [Migrant hunt will harm the economic indicators]. August 15, 2013. Available at: http://www.ng.ru/economics/2013-08-15/4_migranty.html

¹²¹ Federal Migration Service of the RF. Available at: http://www.fms.gov.ru/upload/iblock/ff7/rasxodi_01012014.pdf

¹²² Federal Migration Service of the RF. Available at: <http://www.fms.gov.ru/about/statistics/data/>

¹²³ Federal Migration Service of the RF. Available at: http://www.fms.gov.ru/upload/iblock/ff7/rasxodi_01012014.pdf

¹²⁴ On August 6, 2014, deputy of the "Spravedlivaya Rossia" faction Mikhail Serdiuk introduced a bill in State duma, which requires employers to completely cover expenses on deportation of illegal workers. Referring to FMS data in a concept note the deputy relays: "based on the fact that in 2013 250 thousand migrants were deported from the territory of Russia the budget of the Russian Federation bore expenses in the amount exceeding 1.5 billion rubles." (RBC. В Госдуме предложили обязать работодателя платить за депортацию нелегалов. [In State duma they suggested to oblige employers to pay for deportation of illegals]. August 6, 2014. Available at: <http://www.rbc.ru/rbcfreenews/20140806184119.shtml>). In other words the amount stated in the concept note to the bill is more than 100 times higher than the data on usage of allotted budget resources presented on the official FMS website, and the number of the deported in the concept note is 3 times higher than the number posted on the official FMS website.

of Health Veronika Skvortsova and Education Minister Dmitry Livanov in order to obtain information on how much treatment and education of labor migrants on the territory of the RF costs the Russian budget at all levels. However, according to the deputy, the Ministry of Health officials and the Ministry of education and science of the RF could not even provide approximate figures, since count is not kept¹²⁵.

Despite this, the amount of money that is spent on medical care of migrants was calculated at least in two regions of the country: in the city of Moscow and the Tyumen region. Thus, on August 3, 2012, Deputy Mayor of Moscow Valery Pechatnikov at the board meeting of Moscow prosecutor's office said that the costs of providing medical services for migrants in the capital are 4.5-5 billion rubles per year¹²⁶. In the Tyumen oblast according to the Director of Territorial Health Insurance Fund of the Tyumen oblast Tatiana Chiryateva about 5 million rubles is spent on migrants¹²⁷. That statement was made by Ms. Chiryateva during a meeting of the Committee on Budget, Taxes and Finance on October 16, 2013. However, in May 2014 the head of the Fund reported that in 2014 the budget allocated 100 million rubles for migrants' medical services¹²⁸.

According to the data of the FMS, about 800 thousand migrants¹²⁹ lived in Moscow in 2012, and in the Tyumen oblast in 2013 there were 145.4 thousand foreign citizens and persons without citizenship¹³⁰. Thus, one migrant in Moscow in 2012 was provided medical services from the budget for the amount of 6,250 rubles a year maximum¹³¹, and in the Tyumen oblast in 2013 from 34 rubles (if 5 million rubles were allocated) to 688 rubles (if 100 million rubles were allocated) per year for 1 migrant.

According to the FMS 10,847,352 foreign citizens and persons without citizenship are found on the Russian Federation. If we assume that 6,250 rubles a year are allocated from the Russian budget for all migrants (all non-Russians staying on the territory of the RF for at least 1 day with be considered migrants) according to the most overstated estimates around **67.8 billion rubles** in 2012 (6250 rubles * 10,847,352 people) is spent on the health treatment of migrants from the RF budget. According to the data on the execution of the federal budget, the consolidated budget of the RF on healthcare decreased in 2013 compared with 2012¹³². For the calculation of the balance of costs and benefits of migration in the RF, we will assume that the cost of health treatment of migrants in 2013 remained at the same level as in 2012.

¹²⁵ PolitRidus. Старшинов: трудовые мигранты должны сами оплачивать свое лечение. [Starshinov: labor migrants must pay for their health treatment themselves]. June 2, 2014. Available at: <http://www.ridus.ru/news/161288>

¹²⁶ RBC. Расходы на медицинские услуги для мигрантов в Москве составляют 4,5-5 млрд руб. в год. [Expenses on medical services for migration in Moscow amount to 4.5-5 billion rubles a year]. August 3, 2012. Available at: <http://www.rbc.ru/rbcfreeneews/20120803111600.shtml>

¹²⁷ Regional Internet portal NashGorod.ru. Почему и сколько Тюмень тратит на лечение мигрантов. [Why and how much does Tyumen spend on health treatment of migrants]. October 16, 2013. Available at: <http://www.nashgorod.ru/news/news60992.html>

¹²⁸ Регионы России [Regions of Russia]. Тюмень: областные депутаты недовольны работой фонда медицинского страхования. [Tyumen: oblast deputies are unsatisfied with the work of the medical insurance fund]. May 15, 2014. Available at: <http://www.gosrf.ru/news/14577/>

¹²⁹ RBC. В Мосгордуме выяснили, сколько мигрантов живет в столице. [In Moscow city дума they found out how many migrants live in Moscow]. February 17, 2012. Available at: <http://top.rbc.ru/society/17/02/2012/638217.shtml>

¹³⁰ Directorate of FMS for Tyumen oblast. Available at:

<http://www.ufms72.ru/index.php?catalog=239&ctl=239&sub=240&lb=1&id=141>

¹³¹ This is an overstated value because when calculating the indicator total expenses of 5 billion rubles a year was divided by 800 thousand migrants. However, on October 23, 2013, the head of the FMS declared that more than 3.5 million migrants live in Moscow. Utro.ru. В Москве насчитали 3,5 миллиона мигрантов. [In Moscow they counted 3.5 million migrants]. Available at: <http://www.utro.ru/articles/2013/10/23/1152019.shtml> This means that the indicator of per capita financing of medical services for migrants is overstated

¹³² Single portal of the RF budget system. Available at: <http://budget.gov.ru/>

Expenditure on education of migrant

With regard to educational services, on September 20, 2011, the Head of the Department of integration promotion of the Federal Migration Service (FMS) of Russia Tatiana Bajan reported that about 70 thousand of 760 thousand schoolchildren of Moscow city come from migrant families. Thus, it appears that in Moscow about 9.2% of all school children are the children of migrants. However, according to the Deputy Mayor for Education and Healthcare Olga Golodets, in 2011 about 28,000 foreigners' children studied in Moscow kindergartens and schools, and according to the Department of Education of Moscow for the year 2012, the proportion of migrant children in schools was 3% (approximately 21,000 people)¹³³. Such a big difference in the assessment is not surprising, since officials do not have any means of accounting and control of the student structure.

It should be noted that Moscow is one of the most preferred destinations for labor migrants, and the share of migrants' children in educational institutions of the capital is one of the highest in the country. For the calculation of budget expenditures on education we will assume that the share of migrant children in all levels of preschool and school education is 10% throughout the RF territory. According to the results of the calculation (see Table below) it appears that in 2011 the Russian Federation allocated about 149 billion rubles for the education of children in pre-school and school levels of education. According to data on the execution of the federal budget, the consolidated budget of the RF on pre-school and general education increased by 39% in 2013 compared to 2011 (from 1,385 billion rubles in 2011 to 1,927 billion rubles in 2013)¹³⁴. For the calculation of the balance of costs and benefits of migration in Russia, we will assume that the cost of education of migrants in pre-school and general educational institutions have also increased by 39% and accounted for about **207 billion rubles** in 2013.

Table 9. Calculation of expenses on education of migrants' children in 2011

| | Preschool education institutions | general institutions | General institutions | education |
|--|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-----------|
| Total number of students in 2011 (thousands people) ¹³⁵ | 5661.1 | | 13737.8 | |
| Share of migrants in 2011 (%) | 10% | | 10% | |
| Number of migrants' children in 2011 (thousand people) | 566 | | 1,374 | |
| Budget funds spent on one student in 2011 (thousand rubles) ¹³⁶ | 72.6 | | 78.5 | |
| Total budget expenditures on education of migrants' children in 2011 (thousand rubles) | 41,091,600 | | 107,859,000 | |
| | 148,950,600 | | | |

Expenditures on prevention, investigation and punishment for crimes committed by migrants

Another topic that is causing heated debates is the crime rate among migrants. Despite the fact that many articles and analytical reports have been written on this subject the consensus on the extent of the problem has not yet been reached.

¹³³ Lenta.ru. Мы нелегалы, дети рабочих. Как в московских школах учатся дети мигрантов: репортаж «Ленты.ру». [We are illegals, children of workers. How migrants' children study at Moscow schools: "Lenta.ru" reportage]. October 28, 2013. Available at: <http://lenta.ru/articles/2013/10/28/children/>

¹³⁴ Ministry of finances of the RF. Available at: http://info.minfin.ru/kons_rash_dyn.php

¹³⁵ Statistical digest of the Higher School of Economics. Образование в цифрах. [Education in numbers]. Available at: <http://www.hse.ru/primarydata/oc2013>

¹³⁶ Website of the Ministry of education and science of the Russian Federation. Available at: <http://mon-ru.livejournal.com/21227.html>

Often, statements by officials are at odds with the official statistics published on the website of government agencies¹³⁷. On December 16, 2013, at a meeting of the Federation Council the head of the FMS Konstantin Romodanovskiy said: "Both visitors from other cities and foreigners commit crimes. Their share in Russia on average is 4% of solved crimes. In Moscow - up to 20%." A month later, the head of the Main Investigation Department of the Investigation Committee of Russia for Moscow, Vadim Yakovenko, speaking at the college of the DIC on the results of work in 2013, said that the real level of crime among migrants in Moscow is much higher and may reach 60-70%. "This fact is confirmed by the analysis storylines of unsolved crimes, such as rape, robbery and assaults on minors. Victims in more than 70% of cases indicate people of Caucasian or Asian appearance as criminals. Thus, according to our estimates, the actual level of crimes committed by migrants may reach 60-70%," - said the head of the DIC¹³⁸.

In relation to the RF Ministry of Internal Affairs data, the official website of the department published that in January-December 2013 on the territory of the Russian Federation 2,206.2 thousand crimes were registered, out of which 47 thousand were committed by foreign citizens and persons without citizenship¹³⁹. That is, in 2013 to the share of foreign citizens in Russia fell 2.1% of the total number of crimes committed on the territory of the Russian Federation.

According to the RF Ministry of Finance data, in 2013 the consolidated budget expenditures on the judiciary system amounted 150.64 billion rubles, and on national security and law enforcement activities 21,593.2 billion rubles¹⁴⁰. During calculation of the budget expenditures, which are used for the prevention, investigation it is punishment for crimes committed by foreigners, of the total expenditure on national security and public order the following expenses have been deducted:

- maintenance of the internal troops (128.54 billion rubles)
- the border service (132.91 billion rubles)
- protection of the population and territories from emergency situations of natural and man-made character (134.8 billion rubles)
- fire safety (160.56 billion rubles)
- migration policy (39,66), which was singled out in a separate category of expenditure

Thus, the scope of the consolidated budget for the judicial system and the relevant groups of expenses on national security and public order amounted to 1,714 billion rubles. Given the fact that 4% of all crimes are committed by foreigners (according to the head of the FMS of the RF), we can assume that the share of budget funds allocated to the prevention, investigation and punishment of these crimes also accounts for 4% of the total expenditure. Thus, in 2013 about **68.6 billion rubles** were used for these purposes from the budget of the RF.

✓ **Costs and benefits balance**

The table below shows the result of the calculations. So, in general, the contribution of migrants to Russia's GDP is about 5.34 trillion rubles, and the sum of 4 major costs associated with the stay of

¹³⁷ Fergana.news. Преступников среди мигрантов - в четыре раза меньше, чем среди россиян. [There are 4 times fewer criminals among migrants than among Russians]. February 14, 2013. Available at: <http://www.fergananews.com/article.php?id=7625>

¹³⁸ Деловая газета Взгляд. [Delovaya gazeta Vzglyad]. В СК назвали реальный уровень преступности среди мигрантов в Москве. [In the Investigative Committee they stated a real crime rate among migrants in Moscow]. January 29, 2014. Available at: <http://vz.ru/news/2014/1/29/670160.html>

¹³⁹ Website of the Ministry of internal affairs of the RF. Состояние преступности - январь-декабрь 2013 года. [State of crime – January-December 2013]. January 9, 2014. Available at: <http://mvd.ru/Deljatelnost/statistics/reports/item/1609734/>

¹⁴⁰ Website of the Ministry of finances of the RF. Available at: http://info.minfin.ru/kons_rash_dyn.php

migrants in Russia is 382.7 billion rubles. Thus, **the benefits of migration to the RF are approximately 14 times higher than its costs.**

Table 10. Summary table of the balance of costs and benefits

| | | Thousand rubles |
|-----------------------|---|----------------------|
| Benefits | | |
| 1 | Contribution of labor migrants to the RF GDP | 5,340,000,000 |
| Total benefits | | 5,340,000,000 |
| Costs | | |
| 1 | RF FMS budget | 39,250,581.5 |
| 2 | Medical services for migrants | 67,800,000 |
| 3 | Educational services for migrants' children | 207,041,334 |
| 4 | Prevention, investigation and punishment for crimes committed by migrants | 68,560,000 |
| Total costs | | 382,651,915,5 |

4.2. The balance of costs and benefits for the Republic of Tajikistan and the Kyrgyz Republic

✓ Kyrgyzstan

Centrobank of Russia reports that in 2013 the volume of funds transferred via money transfer systems¹⁴¹ from Russia to Kyrgyzstan was more than about 1.864 billion dollars, and a net inflow of remittances exceed 1.7 billion dollars. This amount may be considered as income of the state from the migration of citizens of the Kyrgyz Republic in the RF. It should be noted that the Centrobank calculations are based on the data taking into account the transfer of financial transfers through official banking channels and funds sent in cash through "gray channels" are not accounted. On the other hand, remittances may be overstated, since this figure includes cash transactions for the purchase of goods from KR (in particular, light industry goods) or Russian citizens' help to their relatives in the Kyrgyz Republic.

Table 11. Trans-border transfers done through systems of money transfers by main counterpart countries for 2013¹⁴²

| | Transfers to Russia | | Transfers from Russia | | Turnover | Balance |
|-------------------|------------------------------|--|------------------------------|--|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| | Sum of transactions, mln USD | Average amount of one transaction, USD | Sum of transactions, mln USD | Average amount of one transaction, USD | Sum of transactions, mln USD | Sum of transactions, mln USD |
| KYRGYZSTAN | 366 | 1,864 | 2,080 | 324 | 2,446 | -1,715 |

One of the costs of labor migration for Kyrgyzstan is the amount of pension and social security allocations, which loses the country's budget due to the migration of the workforce. According to the

¹⁴¹ Systems of money transfers include: Anelik, BLIZKO, CoinstarMoneyTransfer, Contact, InterExpress, Migom, MoneyGram, PrivatMoney, UNISream, WesternUnion, АзияЭкспресс [AziaEkspress], Аллюр [Alliur], Блиц [Blits], Быстрая Почта [Bystraya Pochta], Золотая Корона [Zolotaya Korona], Лидер [Lider], Почта России [Pochta Rossii], Faster, CaspianMoneyTransfer

¹⁴² Centrobank of the RF. Available at:

http://www.cbr.ru/statistics/print.aspx?file=crossborder/rem_countries_13.htm&pid=svs&sid=tgo_sp_post

official data, the average monthly salary in the republic in 2013 amounted to 11,426¹⁴³ soms, or on the basis of the official exchange rate of the National Bank of the KR, about 236 dollars¹⁴⁴. According to information from the RF FMS, at the beginning of 2014 in Russia there were 525,804 citizens of the Kyrgyz Republic¹⁴⁵. Data on the number of working-age migrants are not available, but according to the information of the FMS about 15% of the citizens of the KR in the RF are under the age of 17 years. If we assume that at the beginning of 2014 there were 446,933 working-age migrants on the territory of RF, it would be possible to calculate the amount of taxes that the budget of the Kyrgyz Republic does not receive. According to the calculations below, on average the budget of the Kyrgyz Republic was missing more than 37.6 million dollars a month as transfers to the Social Fund. In one year this would amount to 451.7 million dollars, of which 291.1 million dollars were to be sent to the Pension Fund, 25.4 million dollars to the Mandatory Health Insurance Fund, 3.2 million dollars to the fund on workers' health improvement.

Table 12. The calculation of the losses of contributions to the KR Social Insurance Fund in relation to labor migration in 2013

| | Contributions per 1 person | | Number of working-age citizens of the KR in the RF | Total contributions a month (USD) | Total contributions in 2013 (USD) |
|---|----------------------------|--------|--|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| | In soms | In USD | | | |
| Average monthly salary | 11,426 | 236 | 446,933 | 105,476,188 | |
| Employer's contribution | | | | | |
| Pension fund (15%) | 1,714 | 35.4 | 446,933 | 15,821,428.2 | 189,857,138.4 |
| Educational and medical insurance fund (2%) | 229 | 4.73 | 446,933 | 2,113,993.09 | 25,367,917.08 |
| Workers' health improvement fund (0.25%) | 29 | 0.6 | 446,933 | 268,159.8 | 3,217,917.6 |
| Employee's contribution | | | | | |
| Pension fund for payment of current pensions (8%) | 914 | 18.88 | 446,933 | 8,438,095.04 | 101,257,140.5 |
| National pension savings fund (2%) | 229 | 4.73 | 446,933 | 2,113,993.09 | 25,367,917.08 |
| Income tax (10% of taxable income) | 963 | 19.89 | 446,933 | 8,889,497.37 | 106,673,968.4 |
| Total contributions | | | 446,933 | 37,645,166.59 | 451,741,999.1 |

According to Radio Azattyk, more than 200 bodies of dead or deceased citizens of the Kyrgyz Republic have been redirected from Russia to Kyrgyzstan in 2013. Annually authorities allocate about 2 million soms¹⁴⁶ for transportation of human remains.

According to the analysis of the NGO "Institute for Development Policy" economic losses from premature death in Kyrgyzstan amounts to 3.3 million soms¹⁴⁷. Thus, the death of 200 citizens of the Kyrgyz Republic in the RF "costs" the state more than 660 million soms.

From the above calculations of costs and benefits it is possible to conclude that the **benefits of labor migration in the RF for the KR exceed its costs by approximately 3.7 times.**

¹⁴³ Azattyk radio. Средняя зарплата в Кыргызстане составляет 211 долларов. [Average salary in Kyrgyzstan amounts to 211 dollars]. March 26, 2014 года. Available at:

http://rus.azattyk.org/archive/ky_News_in_Russian_ru/20140326/4795/4795.html?id=25309702

¹⁴⁴ Mean rate of som to dollar in 2013 amounted to 48.47 soms for 1 dollar. <http://www.nbkr.kg/index1.jsp>

¹⁴⁵ Federal Migration Service of the RF. Available at: <http://www.fms.gov.ru/about/statistics/data/>

¹⁴⁶ Azattyk Radio. Сколько стоит возвращение домой для груза 200? [How much does returning human remains cost?] January 13, 2014. Available at: <http://rus.azattyk.org/content/article/25228307.html>

¹⁴⁷ N. Pavlova (Zhilkina). (2013) "Оценка экономического ущерба от преждевременной смертности ВИЧ инфицированных в КР" [Evaluation of economic damage from premature death of HIV positive people in the KR]

Table 13: Summary of costs and benefits of labor migration for the Kyrgyz Republic for 2013

| | Amount in mln USD |
|---|-------------------|
| Benefits for the KR | |
| Volume of money transfers from RF to KR | 1,715 |
| Costs | |
| Loss of social contributions | 451.74 |
| Transportation of human remains from RF to KR | 0.04 |
| Economic damage from death in migration | 13.63 |
| Total costs | 465.41 |

✓ **Tajikistan**

According to the Centrobank of Russia statement, in 2013 over 4.155 billion dollars were transferred from Russia to Tajikistan via money transfer systems, and the balance of cash transactions came to 3.618 billion dollars. It should be noted that according to expert estimates money transfers weakly contribute to the development of the Tajik economy. The results of the survey of 1.5 thousand migrant families revealed that a significant portion of money sent by migrants from Russia to Tajikistan are leaving the republic to Russia and China, from where food, clothing, petroleum products and construction materials are exported¹⁴⁸.

Table 14. Trans-border remittances via money transfer system by main counterpart countries in 2013¹⁴⁹

| | Transfers to Russia | | Transfers from Russia | | Turnover | Balance |
|-------------------|------------------------------|--|------------------------------|--|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| | Sum of transactions, mln USD | Average amount of one transaction, USD | Sum of transactions, mln USD | Average amount of one transaction, USD | Sum of transactions, mln USD | сумма операций, млн. долларов США |
| TAJIKISTAN | 537 | 3,117 | 4,155 | 337 | 4,692 | -3,618 |

In January 2014, the average monthly salary in Tajikistan was 806.9 Somoni¹⁵⁰ or 169 dollars¹⁵¹. According to information from the RF FMS, at the beginning of 2014 in Russia there were 1,033,914 citizens of Tajikistan¹⁵², among them about 12% - under 17 years of age. If we assume that in Russia at the beginning of 2014 there were 909,844 working-age migrants, it will be possible to calculate the amount of tax that the budget of RT does not receive. Our calculations show that the RT budget does not receive 57.9 million dollars a month, and a year this amount comes to 694.5 million dollars of contributions to the budget of the country.

¹⁴⁸ Galim Faskhutdinov. DeutscheWelle. Деньги мигрантов из Таджикистана распределяются не в пользу их владельцев. [Money of migrants from Tajikistan are distributed not to the benefit of its owners]. March 1, 2013. Available at: <http://inozpress.kg/news/view/id/38870>

¹⁴⁹ Centrobank of the RF. Available at:

http://www.cbr.ru/statistics/print.aspx?file=crossborder/rem_countries_13.htm&pid=svs&sid=tgo_sp_post

¹⁵⁰ Tajik Telegraph Agency. April 8, 2014. Available at: <http://tajikta.tj/news/detail.php?ID=262134>

¹⁵¹ According to the data of Tajikistan National Bank, official rate of the national currency during 2013 had a stable tendency and insignificantly changed in relation to US dollar – from 4.7644 somoni to 4.7741 somoni for 1 US dollar. Radio Asia-Plus. Курс доллара США в Таджикистане повышается. [The US dollar rate is rising in Tajikistan]. February 10, 2014. Available at: <http://news.tj/ru/news/kurs-dollar-ssha-v-tadzhikistane-povyshaetsya>

¹⁵² Website of the Federal Migration Service of the RF. Available at: <http://www.fms.gov.ru/about/statistics/data/>

Table 15. The calculation of the losses of contributions to the RT Social Insurance Fund in relation to labor migration

| | Contributions per 1 | | Number of citizens of RT in RF | Total contributions a month (USD) | Total contributions a year (USD) |
|------------------------------------|---------------------|--------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| | In somoni | In USD | | | |
| Average monthly salary | 806,9 | 169,16 | 909 844 | 153 909 211 | 1 846 910 532 |
| Employer's contribution (25%) | | | | | |
| Social tax (25%) | 201,73 | 42,29 | 909 844 | 38 477 303 | 461 727 636 |
| Employee's contribution | | | | | |
| Pension fund(1%) | 8,07 | 1,69 | 909 844 | 1 537 636 | 18 451 632 |
| Income tax (13% of taxable income) | 93,65 | 19,63 | 909 844 | 17 860 238 | 214 322 856 |
| Total contributions | | | | 57 875 177 | 694 502 124 |

In 2013, the airline "Tajik Air" (the national carrier of the RT) spent over 350 thousand dollars from their own funds for the transportation of more than 1 thousand deported citizens¹⁵³.

In 2013, the airline transported 622 bodies of citizens of Tajikistan (human remains) from the Russian Federation for free. In total, according to the official statistics of RT Ministry of Internal Affairs, in 2013 942 human remains were delivered to Tajikistan from Russia¹⁵⁴. Data on financial costs of transportation of such goods are not available. Assuming that the transportation of human remains from Russia to Tajikistan costs the same as to Kyrgyzstan¹⁵⁵, the expenses on 622 human remains costed "Tajik Air" 465 thousand dollars.

Thus, it appears that the **money transfers from the RF to RT are approximately 5.2 times larger than the loss in the social contributions to the budget of the country.**

Table 16. Summary of costs and benefits of labor migration for the RT for 2013

| | Amount in mln USD |
|---|-------------------|
| Benefits for the RT | |
| Volume of money transfers from RF to RT | 3,618 |
| Costs | |
| Loss of social contributions | 694.5 |
| Transportation of deported migrants | 0.35 |
| Transportation of human remains | 0.48 |
| Total costs | 695.33 |

4.3. Balance of costs and benefits for migrants

¹⁵³ Asia-Plus.Каждый российский рейс «Таджик Эйр» сопровождается грузом-200. [Every Russian flight of "Tajik Air" contains human remains]. January 28, 2014. Available at: <http://news.tj/ru/news/kazhdyi-rossiiskii-reis-tadzhik-eir-soprovozhaetsya-gruzom-200>

¹⁵⁴ibid

¹⁵⁵ According to the data of the lawyer of the Kyrgyzstan Embassy in Moscow, Murzapayas Karagulov, transfer of human remains from Russia to Kyrgyzstan costs from 25 to 250 thousand rubles. Radio Azattyk. Сколько стоит возвращение домой для груза 200? [How much does returning human remains home costs?]. January 13, 2014. Available at: <http://rus.azattyk.org/content/article/25228307.html>

This subsection provides income and expenses of an average migrant from the KR or RT in Moscow, calculated on the basis of four studies:

- Study by S. Shohzoda, results of which were published in an analytical digest "Protection of social and labor rights of migrants on the territory of the CIS" in April 2012¹⁵⁶
- Report by T. Kalandarov. "Myth and realities of a migrant's wallet (a study of budgets of Tajik migrants)" published in the digest "Annual report of the Network of ethnological monitoring and early prevention of conflicts" edited by V. Tishkova and V. Stepanova in 2012¹⁵⁷. The study was conducted in Moscow.
- Study "Migration and demographic crisis in Russia" by the Center of migration studies and Institute of national economic forecasting RAN conducted in 2009 and published in 2010¹⁵⁸. The study was conducted in the following regions of Russia: Moscow city and Moscow oblast, Saint-Petersburg and Leningrad oblast, Astrahan oblast, Tatarstan and Krasnodar Krai.
- Study "Female migrants from the CIS countries in Russia" conducted by the supervision of E. Tiuriukanova¹⁵⁹. The study was conducted in four regions of Russia: Moscow city and Moscow oblast, Sasmara oblast, Saint-Petersburg and Leningrad oblast, Krasnodar Krai.

Collection of data in all mentioned studies was conducted in 2009 and 2010.

Revenues and expenses of migrant workers are organized by stages of migration.

Stage 1. Preparatory

The costs of the preparatory stage of migration include the cost of travel from their country of residence to the Russian Federation, the filling out of the migration card, formalization of registration notice of the migration registration of migrants.

On average tickets from Dushanbe and Bishkek to Moscow cost approximately 6,000 rubles.

Note: Purchasing a ticket and leaving the country does not always guarantee arrival to Moscow. Thus, for example, in the study by Shohzoda the following case was reported:

"Introduction on May 24, 2005, of the new regime of crossing the borders of the Eurasian Economic Community (EurAsEC) turned into a drama for the 200 citizens of Tajikistan, who flew in Russian using internal passports on the night from 23rd to 24th of May and were deported back. Returning home, the citizens held a rally in front of the airport building and demanded the authorities to return the money spent on tickets. According to preliminary estimates, the total amount to be reimbursed came to 45 thousand USD."

¹⁵⁶ Analytical digest "Защита социальных и трудовых прав мигрантов на пространстве СНГ". [Protection of social and labor rights of migrants on the territory of the CIS]. April 2012. Available at: www.mirpal.org/files/files/sbornik_blok_print.pdf

¹⁵⁷ T. Kalandarov. Мифы и реалии мигрантского кошелька (изучение бюджетов таджикских мигрантов). [Myth and realities of a migrant's wallet (a study of budgets of Tajik migrants)].

V. Tishkova & V. Stepanova (eds.) (2012). Этнополитическая ситуация в России и сопредельных государствах в 2011 году. [Ethnopolitical situation in Russia and neighboring countries in 2011]. Ежегодный доклад Сети этнологического мониторинга и раннего предупреждения конфликтов. [Annual report of the Network of ethnological monitoring and early prevention of conflicts]. Moscow, ИЭА РАН [IEA RAN]

¹⁵⁸ Zh. Zayonchkovskaya, E. Tiuriukanova, Yu. Florinskaya, N. Mkrтчan, L. Karachurina, T. Ivanova. (2010). Миграция и демографический кризис в России. [Migration and demographic crisis in Russia]. Center of migration studies and Institute of national economic forecasting RAN. Available at: <http://www.ecfor.ru/pdf.php?id=books/za01/za01>

¹⁵⁹ Tiuriukanova, E., (ed). (2011). Женщины-мигранты из стран СНГ в России. [Female migrants from the CIS countries in Russia]. Серия: Миграционный барометр в Российской Федерации Москва. [Series: Migration barometer in Russian Federation]. Moscow, Maks-Press. Available at: <http://migrocenter.ru/gender/pdf/doklad.pdf>

Officially, the filling of the migration card and formalization of a notification of migration registration is free. In reality, many of the migrants had to pay for **these documents**. By law, the duration of stay of migrants without registration in the Russian Federation shall not exceed 90 days. Most migrants did not have the opportunity to extend the length of stay due to lack of registration, work permit.

In 2009, according to a study by J. Zayonchkovskaya, about a third of migrants crossed the RF borders with neighboring countries and entered the territory of the RF with new migration cards, not to be violators of the migration policy. Data on migrants' expenditures on such "transactions" are not available. Another common practice noted in the study by S. Shohzoda, is buying fake migration cards, which were mainly sold by train conductors at terminal stations. The cost of these cards ranged from 100 to 1500 rubles.

In the study by S. Shohzoda it said that formalization of many of permissive documents is impossible without intermediary structures. In particular, the cost of intermediary company services formalization of the notification of migration registration of a migrant is from 800 to 1,500 rubles.

Thus, the cost of the preparatory phase of the migration amounts to 12,000 to 14,000 rubles (including transport costs to Moscow).

Stage 2. Job placement.

Costs associated with the second stage of migration include the cost of a work permit formalization and a medical examination.

Officially, the amount of state duty to Moscow for formalization of a work permit is 2,000 rubles. However, the vast majority of migrants turn to mediation structures that help them prepare all the necessary documents to obtain a permit. The cost of these services varies, according to the study, from 12,000 to 20,000 rubles and, according to research by T. Kalandarova, it does not matter whether the documents for migrants are forged or legal.

After obtaining a work permit, within a month migrants without fail must provide the FMS with medical certificates stating that they do not have socially dangerous diseases. For an HIV test migrants paid between 800 to 1,000 rubles and 500 rubles for fluorography. Purchase of forged medical certificates results in the amount of 3000-5000 rubles.

Thus, the expenses in second stage of the migration cost a migrant 3,300 to 26,500 rubles.

Stage 3. Daily living activities

According to a study by J. Zayonchkovskaya in June 2009, the average salary of migrants was 15,129 rubles (488 USD) with an average salary in Russia being 620 USD (without consideration of working hours). The study by of E. Tiuriukanova in 2010 found that the average salary of migrant women was 14,638 rubles, i.e., women's earnings are significantly lower than the average earnings of migrants of both sexes.

J. Zayonchkovskaya and E. Tiuriukanova in their studies claim that there are only two most important items of migrants' expenditures – they are cash transfers and payments for housing. Following the

results of the 2009 study it was found that the pre-crisis average monthly transfer per person was 7,750 rubles (250 USD), and during the crisis it fell to 6,789 rubles (219 USD). The 2010 study obtained data that women send transfers that on average amount to 7,874 rubles (254 USD).

On average, the payment for accommodation ranges from 1,000 to 4,000 rubles a month for 1 person. Furthermore, S. Shohzoda indicates that migrants often have to pay the district police officers for "protection" of apartments where migrants live. The cost of these services comes to 1,000 rubles per apartment.

Officially the cost of prolongation of stay for labor migrants in the RF costs 1,000 rubles a month; however, when intermediary structures are involved the amount reaches 2,500-5,000 rubles.

The cost of a monthly subway pass in Moscow costs 1,230 rubles. On mobile connection migrants spend approximately 15 USD or 465 rubles.

According the estimation of T. Kalandarova, a migrant spends at least 1,000 rubles on food. Celebrations cost approximately 30-50 USD a year¹⁶⁰.

One visit to a doctor for a migrant costs 300-1,200 rubles. Although the vast majority of male migrants tend not to see a doctor, and women mostly visit only in case of reproductive matters, but the calculations were taken into account in this estimation.

Table 17. Summary table of costs and benefits of labor migration for an average migrant from Tajikistan and the Kyrgyz Republic in the Russian Federation

| Incomes | |
|---|-----------------------|
| Salary | 15,129 rubles |
| Costs by states of migration | |
| Stage 1. Preparation | 6,000-8,000 rubles |
| Stage 2. Job placement | 3,300-26,500 rubles |
| Stage 3. Daily living activities | 10 550 – 19415 рублей |

Thus, it appears that the income of migrants do not allow for the abovementioned expenses, even given at a minimum. Therefore, the issues of obtaining a legal status, access to medical care, transportation costs, etc, for migrants are reduced to zero. This means that such an expenditure policy is not a rational choice but a strategy without an alternative. Migrants in actual fact survive in extreme conditions of reduced consumption, including basic needs.

According to the newspaper Vechernii Bishkek [Evening Bishkek], citing the press service of "Zamandash" association from November 27, 2013, "In recent years, in Russia there has been an increasing demand for credits of microfinance institutions on the part of Kyrgyzstani migrants." Perhaps it is the plight that forced migrants seek the services of finance and credit institutions.

¹⁶⁰ These expenses were not taken into consideration during calculation here because calculations were done for a month of migrant's living in the RF

Conclusions

This study allowed to make a number of conclusions and findings of general and individual character. The newest conclusions of general character are presented below.

1) Conclusions about actors of migration policy

1. Key barriers for effective regulation of migration flows by actors on the basis of respect for labor migrant's human rights are of methodological, conceptual nature, including:
 - “Discordance of borders on a national state and borders of citizenship” in transborder migration for civil society causes problems of choice between the value of citizenship and the value of universal human rights, and for the state – also widening of the existing state infrastructures, increase of the budget burden and challenges in regulating large masses of people, who may have problems in cultural interaction.
 - Destabilization of national labor markets due to changes in the nature of labor and appearance of distanced, part-time employment erases borders between a local worker and labor migrant in certain niches of qualified, based on the internet, labor. Uncertainty of citizenship of the subject of wage labor poses a challenge that is still to be understood at the level of practical politics.
2. In the RF migration policy there is no clarity and consistency in general, and also there are no standardized and universal procedures and mechanisms. On the contrary, with each country sending labor migrants they build a certain regime of relations based on bilateral state agreements (that gain priority over international documents). Various “rules of the game” strengthen the system of legal inequality of migrants and increase the corruption risks.
3. Inconsistency of the RF migration policy is reflected in the orientation on integration of migrants. Rhetorically representatives of the authorities declare the importance of migrants' integration, demand legalization of their status; however, the latest changes in migration policy affected groups of migrants with families, in which parents as a rule get legalized for the sake of their children.
4. Discourses of migration mainly reinforce a negative image of migration and migrants (from the model of migration crisis to the model of pragmatically limited tolerance) and support the necessity of repressive models in regulation.
5. Ethnicization of migration discourse limits the opportunities of civil society institutions, first and foremost, women's and youth organizations, to get actively engaged in protection of labor migrants' rights.
6. Without paternalistic expectations, in general, migrant respondents are inclined to send requests to the state regarding observance of rights understood as social benefits and repletion of basic social needs.
7. Absence or utmost underdevelopment in the system of collection of gender disaggregated statistics on labor migration and migrants creates myths, manipulation

and contributes to labor migrants being used as instruments of pressure of one state on the other.

2) Conclusions regarding daily life and discrimination of labor migrants from RT and KR in the RF

1. Having a legal status is not to the benefit of a migrant since everyday practices of interaction with the police, FMS, etc., leads to the same, and sometimes even higher, costs (material, psychological, and even physical) for a migrant.
2. Under the regime of institutional cultural, political and civil discrimination of labor migrants in the receiving country, in their daily life they normalize their inferiority and internalize discrimination and violation of migrants' human rights as a norm of relations.
3. The study has disproved the following myths:
 - That mainly young people participate in migration. In the current and other studies, women under 20 and over 55 constitute a significant share (up to one fifth of all migrants).
 - That having a family and children becomes a barrier for a woman's leaving for migration: in the sample there is a significant share of women with families who come for earnings for prolonged periods without their spouses and children, and unmarried women.
 - About a high degree of solidarity and effectiveness of mutual support of traditional relative and clan networks that objectively cannot function in a traditional order under new economic, political and cultural conditions, but being unable to refuse traditional daily relations and values they reproduce surrogate (dysfunctional) relations and values – pseudo-help and mutual help, and pseudo-trust. In the course of the study a correlation was revealed: the higher the number of migrants working for their compatriots the higher the level of those working without a legal status. There is also a large share of those who experience exploitation and other violations of migrants' rights among those who work for compatriots.
4. Labor migrants' new daily life radically differs from the previous one, in the homeland. While earlier daily life was mainly built with an emphasis on space (as a rule, around the home as the basis for patriarchal daily life), in migration a change in attitude towards home, towards space takes place across the board – a certain displacement while keeping fragmented spots of traditional daily life in the space (segregated structures of leisure in a "traditional" cultural environment). Thus, in large cities a new category of people appears – modern urban nomads.
5. Women's daily life is controlled by communities of compatriots, relatives. Women are forced to constantly prove their right of being a migrant to a traditional community of compatriots, family: that is why they send more money than men even though they earn less, they experience violence from compatriot men, are accused of worsening moral image, etc. However, at the same time, the experience of migration offers them invaluable opportunities of emancipation, of gaining subjectivity in their life.

6. Segregation structures of leisure/medical services/care and nursing for children actively developed by migrant communities represent a reaction to ethnicization of migration discourse and strategy of migrants' isolation from the local culture. But at the same time such structures become instruments of strengthening the control and pressure over women and girls, limiting their spatial and other choices.
7. The difference in concepts, understanding of human rights and their priority among various groups of migrants conditions the necessity to develop different strategies and content of information about human rights – rights of a labor migrant.
8. Representatives of various structures/actors of the migration process have a different understanding of a labor migrant's success story. Study of all success stories available for research revealed that none of the cases was related to protection of migrants' rights, struggle for equality, despite the fact that migration experience is very much connected with violation of rights and discrimination.

3) Conclusions regarding costs and benefits of migration for various actors of the migration process

- 1) Economy of both sending and receiving states receives substantive benefits from migration, especially in the receiving country (the RF), where benefits surpass the costs by more than 14 times, and in sending countries – from 3.7 to 5.2 times (KR and RT, respectively).
- 2) Absence of reliable information and calculations of costs and benefits has a manipulation potential in the interstate political dialogue and interaction, and is beneficial for state actors.
- 3) Increase in the transfers from migrants of both countries does not lead to investments into development.
- 4) The highest risks and costs of migrations fall on migrants themselves and their families. Among costs of migrant's personality the most significant is disruption of human capital displayed in worsening of health (even death) and deprofessionalization. Another high social price of migration is breakup of families and higher proneness to conflict due to migrant's emotional alienation from family.

Recommendations

1. For “Central Asia in motion” (Центральная Азия в движении) and other civil society institutions:

- To assist in unification of labor migrants into membership organizations such as labor unions, which could reasonably, timely and adequately respond to specific requests of labor migrants; in the process of forming such associations it is important to encourage active engagement of women through women’s branches with their needs and interests.
- Establish interaction with labor unions, stimulate the engagement of women’s and young organizations in work on protection of labor migrants’ rights.
- Develop a concept of labor migrants’ success stories that are clear for the platform and other civil society organizations while critically reevaluating the importance of a position in determining success trajectories.
- It is important to help document and spread success stories of female migrants, as well as use other means to help form positive female images in migration from CA countries.
- Define the following activity directions as prioritized:
 - Monitoring the violation of rights, make it obligatory to include a gender sensitive dimension in it;
 - Conduct and spread the expertise (including gender expertise) of migration policies in order to help in development and state implementation of a migration policy based on respect for a migrant’s human rights
 - Development of systems of advocacy and interstate hot line, available to migrants from RT and KR, based on standardization of provided services, with mandatory inclusion of gender aspect
- It is necessary to stop replicating traditional approaches to informing labor migrations about their rights: the form, content and channels have to be critically reconsidered. In regard to channels it is important to use the mobile networks resource because all migrants have telephones, including those just leaving.
- Lobby the government of the RF to include in the draft of the law on domestic violence a provision on guarantees of access of migrant women and girls to structures and mechanisms of protection (crisis centers, shelters, etc.).

2. For international organizations

- Critically reevaluate old approaches to understanding of human rights in the frame of a nation state and help develop new concepts of human rights in the context of transnational migration.

- Develop experiences of transnational association of civil organizations aiming at protection of rights of migrants as workers (along with strengthening of practical activity at places of violation of migrants' labor rights).
- Help include voices and experiences of regional civil society organizations representatives in the work on protection of migrants' labor rights on a global level.

3. For the state:

- Develop and pass on an interstate and regional levels gender sensitive indicators of evaluation of the situation in the sphere of migrants' labor rights observance.
- Determine the structures that inspire trust and could be responsible for collection of data on migration issues and observance of migrants' rights, disaggregated by gender on a regional level.
- State consular agencies should make it obligatory to protect labor migrants' rights from violence.
- Develop and implement special programs on investment in human capital of migrants and their families (guaranteed access to medical services, broadening the practices of organizational recruitment of migrants based on professional characteristics and access to psychological, rehabilitation assistance for migrants and their families).