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Socio-political effects of labour migration on countries of origin: Comparative analysis of CARIM-East socio-political module papers

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CARIM-East
Creating an Observatory of Migration East of Europe

Research Report
CARIM-East RR 2012/19

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labour migration on countries of origin: Comparative analysis of
CARIM-East socio-political module papers**

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CARIM-East – Creating an Observatory East of Europe

This project which is co-financed by the European Union is the first migration observatory focused on the Eastern Neighbourhood of the European Union and covers all countries of the Eastern Partnership initiative (Belarus, Ukraine, the Republic of Moldova, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan) and Russian Federation.

The project's two main themes are:

- (1) migration from the region to the European Union (EU) focusing in particular on countries of emigration and transit on the EU's eastern border; and
- (2) intraregional migration in the post-Soviet space.

The project started on 1 April 2011 as a joint initiative of the European University Institute (EUI), Florence, Italy (the lead institution), and the Centre of Migration Research (CMR) at the University of Warsaw, Poland (the partner institution).

CARIM researchers undertake comprehensive and policy-oriented analyses of very diverse aspects of human mobility and related labour market developments east of the EU and discuss their likely impacts on the fast evolving socio-economic fabric of the six Eastern Partners and Russia, as well as that of the European Union.

In particular, CARIM-East:

- builds a broad network of national experts from the region representing all principal disciplines focused on human migration, labour mobility and national development issues (e.g. demography, law, economics, sociology, political science).
- develops a comprehensive database to monitor migration stocks and flows in the region, relevant legislative developments and national policy initiatives;
- undertakes, jointly with researchers from the region, systematic and *ad hoc* studies of emerging migration issues at regional and national levels.
- provides opportunities for scholars from the region to participate in workshops organized by the EUI and CMR, including academic exchange opportunities for PhD candidates;
- provides forums for national and international experts to interact with policymakers and other stakeholders in the countries concerned.

Results of the above activities are made available for public consultation through the website of the project: <http://www.carim-east.eu/>

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The last decade saw an unprecedented increase of labour migration on the territories of post-Soviet countries. Socio-economic and political impact of migration over various spheres of social life remains great, despite the fact that transformation shock caused by the collapse of the common state has been overcome. *'Labour migrations replaced forced migrations, and their flows within CIS involve over 10 million people and are still growing.'*¹ The state and society are thus confronted with newly developed problems.

Estimates of the scale of labour migration vary in countries studied – Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Moldova, Russia, Ukraine. Thus, more than 700 thousand citizens of Moldova, from 400 thousand to one million citizens of Azerbaijan, 150 thousand citizens of Belarus and 10-13,5% of all Ukrainian households are involved into outbound labour migration. Russia is the principal migration partner for all the countries in the region. For migrants from Moldova and Ukraine the EU is the second important destination.

Situation in the countries considered in the paper is quite different and conditioned mostly by the state of national economies and level of household income. On the one hand, migration allows for the smoothening of socio-economic contrasts, promoting development of the countries and regions involved. On the other, it engenders social problems, particularly acute for socially disadvantaged strata of population. Migration exercises ambivalent impact on labour markets, investment climate, state of the most important social institutions, as well as on external and internal political circumstances.

For donor countries, which category with certain reservations includes all of the countries of the region save only Russia and Belarus, particularly poignant are the problems of the drain of skilled professionals, deepening disproportions of national labour markets (coupled with diminishing investment attractiveness of national economies, as noted by Moldova experts), circumstances of migrant households and necessity to create conditions favorable to attracting resources earned abroad to domestic socio-economic development. Here pertain also the issues of legal protection of the citizens temporarily working abroad, adjustment of education and health care systems and socially providing for the challenges created by mass migration.

Likewise, temporary labour migrations have considerable influence on economic development and labour markets of receiving countries, represented among the countries considered here by Russia. On the one hand, national economy demands migrant labour. Yet, as V. Mukomel put it, *'functioning of the Russian labour market, its institutional framework and the rules of the game, limiting migrants' access to decent work, aggravate social inequality and promote marginalization of labour migrants.'* According to the estimates of Russian experts, no less than 60% of foreign workers employed within Russian economy are illegal migrants,² which further conditions their social exclusion and vulnerability. A problem is also the interaction of migrant groups-- representing foreign ethnic groups and cultures--with the receiving social environment.

One should note that seven countries considered here do not represent a closed migration system (despite the fact that there exists and is being developed the notion of Eurasian Migration System³). However important bilateral relations may be, migration to EU countries for donor countries and migration from Central Asia for Russia pose the issues growing in importance. Both integration (Russia-Belarus, Moldova-Romania) and disintegration (Russia-Georgia) processes are building up, which is reflected by the nature of socio-economic problems of cross-border labour migrants.

¹ Постсоветские трансформации: отражение в миграциях / Под ред. Ж.А. Зайончковской и Г.С. Витковской –М.: «АдамантЪ», 2009. с. 5 [Zh. A. Zaiionchkovskaia, G. S. Vitkovskaiia (eds). Post-Soviet Transformations as Reflected by Migrations. Moscow, Adamant, 2009]

² In Russia this means that they have no official permit to work.

³ Ивахнюк И.В. Евразийская миграционная система: теория и политика. –М.: МАКС Пресс, 2008. 192 с. [I.Ivakhniuk. Eurasian Migration System: Theory and Politics. Moscow, MAX-Press, 2008].

Particular solutions adopted by migration policy in one country (for example, actual prohibition to employ foreign citizens in small scale retail trade in Russia) give birth to painful problems in others, for instance, in Azerbaijan.

Research into the nature of socio-political effects of temporary labour migration on post-Soviet countries is seriously impeded by the acute deficit of comparable statistical data, as well as insufficiency and/or absence of the system of representative selective surveys of migrants and migrant households. Thus, since the demise of the Soviet Union, Russia has not held a single nation-wide survey related to the problems of migration. Available sociological research is done mostly on the basis of purposive sampling and covers only one or several cities or regions. Situation is similar in Belarus. Little attention to studying migration is paid in Azerbaijan, the country, which, despite certain economic growth in 2000s, is still producing flows of labour migrants, directed mostly to Russia. As I. Rumyantsev put it, *'predominant interest of Azerbaijan scholars to issues of labour immigration to Azerbaijan and politics of building the Diaspora can not be regarded as accidental. Both issues assume particular importance in the context of state policy and ideology. Principal features of the latter are exactly the statement of Azerbaijan's immigration attractiveness and predominant attention paid to the issues of Diaspora building, with the problems of labour migrating out of the country left mostly neglected'*. Moreover, migration issues, differentiated according to various socio-economic groups, are not necessarily reflected in the household surveys held periodically in the countries here considered.

In case of certain countries there exist no reliable data even on the total number of population, with official statistics inadequately counting the number of people leaving the country in order to find work abroad. In some countries (Armenia, Azerbaijan) this turns into a sensitive political issue.

In 2008 State Statistics Service of Ukraine held a sampling-based survey of labour migration problems⁴ and a few other selective inquiries aiming at comprehensive representation of country's adult population.⁵ A lot of surveys, organised by government institutions and international organisations were held in 2000s in Armenia, Georgia and Moldova.⁶ These also included monitoring research. The countries receiving most benefits from migrant remittances are also primarily interested in obtaining trustworthy data on labour migration. In Moldova the volume of remittances from emigrants amounted up to 23,3% of GDP in 2009⁷ and to 30,3% of GDP in 2011;⁸ these figures place Moldova second only to Tajikistan, the leading country in the world on this indicator. In the above mentioned countries labour migration is the principal tool of struggle against poverty and unemployment, means for a great many households to survive, principal channel of currency influx and driver of national banking systems. Therefore, the demand for serious research of the problem originates exactly in these countries, whereas the countries less dependant on migrants' remittances or donor countries do not regard such research as their priority.

⁴ Позняк А.В. Трудовая эмиграция в Украине как фактор развития рынка труда / Демоскоп Weekly № 405-406, 1 - 24 января 2010 г [A.V. Pozniak. *Labour Migration in Ukraine as a Factor of Labour Market Development*. Demoskop Weekly, No. 405-406, 1-24 January 2010. Downloaded from: . <http://demoscope.ru/weekly/2010/0405/analit05.php>].

⁵ Прибыткова И. Миграции и время: украинский вариант развития / Постсоветские трансформации: отражение в миграциях / Под ред. Ж.А. Зайончковской и Г.С. Витковской –М.: «АдамантЪ», 2009. с. 100-114.[I. Pribytkova. *Migration and Time: Ukrainian Case*. In: Zh. A. Zaiionchkovskaia, G. S. Vitkovskaiia (eds). *Post-Soviet Transformations as Reflected by Migrations*. Moscow, Adamant, 2009]

⁶ Surveys are listed in papers devoted to each respective country.

⁷ Щербакова Е.М. Таджикистан, Киргизия и Молдавия входят в четверку стран мира, в которых денежные переводы мигрантов составляют наибольшую величину по сравнению с ВВП / Демоскоп Weekly № 445-446, 29 ноября – 12 декабря 2010 г. [E.M. Shcherbakova. *Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Moldova are among the Four Countries with Largest Share of Migrant Transfers in GDP*. Demoskop Weekly, No. 445-446, 29 November 2010. Downloaded from:<http://demoscope.ru/weekly/2010/0445/barom05.php>]

⁸ National Bank of Moldova www.bnm.md

In Russia objective study is still impeded by extremely high share of illegal labour migration. Government statistics collects data only on those migrants, who received official working permit or on country's citizens who left to work abroad with the help of official employment agencies.⁹ Data published are fragmentary. Until fairly recently Federal Migration Service of Russia registered not persons, but working permits issued.

Principal socio-economic problems in the countries of origin

Effects of migration on national labour markets

It is not always possible to keep track of the interrelation of temporary labour migration with formal indicators of national markets. Low indices of registered unemployment can often be accounted for by the fact that people looking for work prefer not to apply to employment services due to either low quality of jobs offered or insignificant amount of unemployment allowance. Availability of working places as such is not a guarantee against desire to search for work abroad. Similarly, low wages can not provide an insurance against poverty. Labour migration can not be reduced only to migration of the unemployed. In case of Moldova, for instance, labour migrants are also those who have their jobs at home. Considerable number of vacant working places available at national labour market does not necessarily decrease the number of people seeking work abroad. A focus-group of young people held in Lviv (Ukraine) betrayed the following sentiment: *'Will one work for 800 hryvnias? Well, yes, there is a vacant job offer, but with a salary of 800 hryvnias... No one will work there. One will better go abroad and work there for 800 dollars.'*

On the other hand, departure of certain number of citizens to work abroad frees the niches at national labour markets, which in turn promotes wider employment of the remaining population. *'A certain part of capable of work migrants, who have returned to Ukraine, do not claim for themselves job positions at domestic labour market thanks to their savings accrued by applying their work force abroad.'*

As of now, inflow of migrants developing their own business (business-immigration) little affects the situation on labour markets of receiving countries. *'Labour immigrants to Azerbaijan, as a rule, do not start any large scale production or company, which could create somewhat significant number of new working places, nor in themselves exercise any significant influence over the local labour market.'* The situation is similar in Russia and is conditioned by country's low attractiveness to business-immigration. Nonetheless, what concerns Moldova, *'one can legitimately claim, that among almost 50 thousand of micro-, small- and medium-size business enterprises majority relies on money, earned abroad.'*

Remittances received do not necessarily improve the situation on labour markets either. Thus, V. Gevorgyan noted that in Armenia *'considerable volumes of remittances put certain pressure upon labour market, which results in lower economic activity and higher price of labour.'* Gevorgyan further stresses that *'frequent remittances affect negatively labour force supply on the market: within the group receiving such remittances the share of economically inactive people or people partially employed within informal economy sector is growing.'* On the other hand, *'these sums [remittances – N.M.] in rural areas can be employed to organization of agricultural production. There exist villages, where, thanks to a great number of emigrants, large share of agricultural development is based on the resources, received from the migrants.'*

Concerning Ukraine E. Ivashchenko remarks: *'Financial resources sent back home often not only allow the solution of immediate problems, which are the primary causes of labour migration, - that is to considerably improve material circumstances of the family members, their living conditions, pay for*

⁹ The situation is similar in Belarus.

children's education, - but also indirectly breed the germs of social dependency, slackening the motivation of the household members to seek for additional sources of income and look for a job at domestic labour market. Local working conditions look unfavorable when compared to the level of income of the labour migrants.' Similar situation is also observed in certain Russian regions (North Caucasus), where the fact that the head of the household has a job or business outside the region of residence discourages the youth to search for jobs and leads to neglect of unattractive (in terms of salary) job offers even in the regions of high youth unemployment.

As research concerning Moldova observes, positive influence of temporary labour migration over national labour markets relates also to the following: *'People, who have experienced labour migration become more 'capricious' in respect to the domestic labour market. They are not satisfied with any work. Unlike their fellow citizens, who have not been employed abroad, they tend to compare domestic situation with the situation in those countries they went to work in. They are now looking for work which gives some social prestige and is priced decently.'* Such a situation can affect both employees and employers and the general condition of the labour market. Similar processes have been noticed in other European countries, for example, in Poland.

In countries receiving migrants competition for working places between foreign labour migrants and local workers is the subject of heated professional and social debate. Thus, rather stable 'niches' of migrant labour have been formed in Russia, with most of the migrants employed at jobs not requiring any significant qualification and, therefore, not prestigious to local workers. According to data collected by V. Mukomel *'labour migrants rarely compete with local population; competition with internal migrants occurs more often. First, similar to labour migrants, Russian citizens are searching for work in the regions where they are better paid and where living conditions are better. Second, labour migrants compete with internal migrants within certain employment spheres massively attracting migrant labour.'* Competitive advantage of migrants – foreign citizens, as compared to local workers is not so much the low cost of their labour, as much as their readiness to work longer, their timidity and obedience.¹⁰

Important result of labour migration for Russian labour market is that *'demand for unskilled labour is supplied mostly by skilled workers. Inefficient employment of investments into human capital is turning into a serious challenge both for Russia and donor countries.'* V. Mukomel figuratively describes such a situation as *'status in exchange for income.'* There exist also examples of upward social mobility, but they are scarce.

Situation with socially vulnerable groups

As has already been mentioned we have reliable information on labour migration and its social impact not for all the countries. Attempts to link the statistics on household income, poverty distribution, situations with children, older people or incomplete families gathered in these countries with migration situation have yielded little result. It is certainly true that remittances regularly sent by the migrants support their relatives left home and lower household poverty risks. According to household surveys in Moldova *'...among the families where both parents stay, 27% are considered poor. Among the families with father-migrant, 14,7% are poor, among the families with mother-migrant, 9,4% are poor and among the families with both parents-migrants, only 3,7% are poor.'* Situation is similar in other migrant producing countries. As V. Mosneaga notes, *'international labour migration and remittances not only assist the growth of labour migrants' welfare and welfare of their families, but also increase social disparity between the migrants and their families on the one hand and non-migrants and their*

¹⁰ Миграция и демографический кризис в России / Под ред. Ж.А. Зайончковской и Е.В. Тюрюкановой. –М.: 2010. с. 37; Женщины-мигранты из стран СНГ в России / Под ред. Е.В. Тюрюкановой. -М.: МАКС Пресс, 2011. [Zh.A. Zaionchkovskaiia, E.V. Tiuriukanova (eds). Migration and Demographic Crisis in Russia. Moscow, MAX-Press, 2010; Zh.A. Zaionchkovskaiia, E.V. Tiuriukanova (eds). Female Migrants from CIS Countries in Russia. Moscow, MAX-Press, 2011].

families, on the other.' Similar effects were recorded also in Russia in the regions producing internal labour migrants, where their earnings allowed for considerable improvement of their families' welfare as compared to other households.¹¹

Yet, on the other hand, departure of a considerable part of working population leads to lower tax collection, as well as to '...curtailing of financial flows enabling normal functioning of social insurance system, which is the principal component of social protection for older people.' The number of older people left without care of their family is growing. They often have to take care also of their grandchildren, since the parents are absent working in other countries or other regions or cities: '...in migrant households [in Moldova – N.M.] with several generations cohabitating child care has become the responsibility of grandmothers and/or grandfathers. Out of the total household number surveyed in 45,5% of cases children were left for the care of one of the parents and in 51,3% cases for the care of a grandmother and/or grandfather.'¹² Situation is similar in Tajikistan and other post-soviet countries.

The problem of pension provision for the people working abroad has not been solved yet, which is likely to engender serious social problems in the future. From the materials of focus-groups held in Russia: '...I have not earned a pension here. Even though I have been working with a work record card [trudovaia knizhka] there have been no pension payments. I have not earned a pension, I am not going to receive it. I do not want to get [Russian] citizenship, I am going to rent my flat here¹³ and go back to Ukraine.' In the situation of universal crisis of pension systems this problem is far from being resolved. '...Staying abroad searching for earnings, seeking to earn as much as possible and send to their relatives in Moldova, labour migrants cut down expenses related to their health, nutrition, living conditions and safety techniques. Thus the instances of death, working injuries, seriously neglected diseases are abundant. On the whole, 'health barrier' of the labour migrants is lowering down.'

An equally acute problem is the condition of migrants' children left at home. In 2005 in Moldova there were around 200 thousand under aged children, who were either left alone or raised by one of the parents because of the migration of the other. In case of many countries such statistics are unavailable or at least unreliable. As the result of labour migration abroad, financial situation of the household members improves, yet the number of social deviations among the children left without parental supervision also grows. Thus, according to the police statistics,¹⁴ more than a quarter of juvenile delinquents are the children left unattended due to their parents' migration.

Problems of socially vulnerable migrant groups are also obvious to receiving countries. According to a sample-based survey held in Russia in 2011 one of the serious problems of labour migrants is remote parenting, which considerably impedes proper upbringing of children. 'Remote parenting is particularly widespread among male migrants: 81% of male and 69% of female migrants having children have at least one child left home.' The conditions of labour migrants' families in receiving countries represent a particular problem. According to an estimate by Russian researchers, 'every sixth

¹¹ Миграция населения. Вып. 2. Трудовая миграция в России. Приложение к журналу «Миграция в России. –М.: 2001. 191 с.[Migrations of Population. Vol. 2. Labour Migration in Russia. Supplement to 'Migration in Russia' Journal. Moscow, 2001].

¹² Staying behind: the effects of migration on older people and children in Moldova. National study produced by HelpAge International and UNICEF. Chisinau, 2010. Цит. по: Бучучану-Врабие М. Трудовые мигранты из Молдавии и их дети / Демоскоп Weekly №515-516, 18 июня – 31 июля 2012 г.[Quoted from: M. Buchuchanu-Vrabie. *Labour Migrants from Moldova and their Children*. Demoskop-Weekly. 18 June – 31 July 2012. Downloaded from: http://demoscope.ru/weekly/2012/0515/tema03.php#_FNR_23]

¹³ A Ukrainian citizen who bought a flat in Moscow.

¹⁴ Рапорт о подростковой преступности и деятельности служб по оказанию услуг подросткам за 2010 и 2011 г. Министерства Внутренних Дел Молдовы // www.mai.md/content/8656. Цит. по: Бучучану-Врабие М. Трудовые мигранты из Молдавии и их дети / Демоскоп Weekly №515-516, 18 июня – 31 июля 2012 г. [Report on juvenile delinquency and activities of the services provided to teenagers in 2010 and 2011. Moldova Ministry of Interior. Quoted from: M. Buchuchanu-Vrabie. *Labour Migrants from Moldova and their Children*. Demoskop-Weekly. 18 June – 31 July 2012. Downloaded from: http://demoscope.ru/weekly/2012/0515/tema03.php#_FNR_23].

female migrant – divorced, widowed or with children, but not married – can legitimately be considered belonging to a socially vulnerable group; these women form a rather considerable category with low social status in the countries of origin and vaguely defined prospects in Russia.’ For migrant families it is often very difficult to get an access to health care services and preschool education. Formally, school education in Russia is open non-discriminately to all children irrespective of their parents’ legal status. Nonetheless, according to the data of Russian sociological studies, it is quite a problem for migrants to put a child to school.¹⁵ Moreover, unresolved housing problems of the most of labour migrants in Russia are particularly tough for the families with under aged children, since ‘living with strangers, in dormitories, at parents’ place of work or in a basement is not only inadmissible for a child, but potentially also leads to these children turning into ‘street children.’ Particular apprehension is aroused by the so called ‘one and a half generation’ of children brought into the receiving country at school age, that is quite grown up.

Life patterns provided by parents’ orientation towards working abroad are transmitted to the next generation: ‘... many parents-migrants transmit to their children migration patterns of constructing their biographies and having within several years settled in Europe encourage their children to leave Ukraine.’ Parents are capable of supporting their children’s migration. This concerns both finding a job and socio-cultural adaptation.

The experts are not extremely optimistic about positive trends related to opening of new opportunities on labour markets or ‘social lifts’ for vulnerable groups of population. For example, I. Rumyantsev (Azerbaijan) supposes that ‘there are no serious reasons to think that massive population drain or labour immigration into a country lead to considerable increase of importance or employment of women or older people in national economy or bureaucratic institutions ... Despite the fact that a significant proportion of men of working age permanently or temporarily are living abroad, the role of women in institutional administration (politics, bureaucratic apparatus, education, culture, economy, etc.) remains extremely small.’ Labour migration of the heads of the households can significantly complicate the circumstances of their wives remaining at home. According to the data provided by V. Gevorgyan, ‘despite the fact that families receive money from abroad, they are still considered incomplete and deficient, because women have to assume many everyday duties traditionally proper to men, thus objectively depriving themselves of the opportunities to live to the full.’ According to S. Rumyantsev (Azerbaijan), ‘very often women stay alone for long period of time (sometimes for years), often with a little child or several children to rise. In rural areas such women very often turn into a maidservant in their husband’s families, with their husband possibly having another family in the country of emigration and thus experiencing little desire to frequent homeland.’ Undoubtedly, social and cultural patterns, especially prevalent in Muslim countries, contribute to this situation greatly.

It sometimes happens that the state too contributes to the problematic condition of the remaining members of migrants’ households. A. Bobrova (Belarus) writes: ‘in case one of the family members leaves to work abroad, all the housing and utilities expenses are paid by the family in full and not according to current 30%; moreover, health care services are also to be paid for by the migrant.’ ‘As of now, people in Belarus who receive remittances not from their immediate relations are obliged to register with the Department for Humanitarian Activities. In case the marriage is not registered, the people are not considered immediate relations and thus have to pay a tax amounting to 12% of the sum received. Therefore, to decrease the cost of remittances is important and many people, not wishing to lose money, prefer to bring it in person.’ Such a policy is at least open to discussion and one can not but agree with E. Ivashchenko: ‘Labour migration from Ukraine is in reality a highly efficient ‘self-launched’ social

¹⁵ Флоринская Ю. Дети мигрантов в России: доступ к образованию и медицине/ Демоскоп Weekly №515-516, 18 июня – 31 июля 2012 [Ju. Florinskaiia. *Children if Migrants in Russia: Access to Education and Public Health Care Systems*. Demoskop-Weekly. 18 June – 31 July 2012. Downloaded from: <http://demoscope.ru/weekly/2012/0515/analit02.php>].

program, one of the few instrumental ways to improve financial situation of the tens of thousands of Ukrainian families in shortest time without any considerable effort from their own state.’

It is well-known that migration puts to additional tests the strength of family ties. ‘Labour migration transforms patriarchal model of family leadership. It strengthens family financially, yet ruins morally. People, the members of the family, grow strangers to each other.’ According to the data of sociological research on labour migration in Russia, ‘second family’ phenomenon is quite widespread: judging from poll results, second families are formed by 5 to 9 % of migrants in Russia.’ Therefore, a wife going after her husband to prevent family breakup is quite a frequent phenomenon even in Central Asian countries. Last years saw feminization of migration, with women more often going to work abroad. This is testified by research in both sending and receiving countries.¹⁶

Among the terrible outcomes of female labour migration one must mention trafficking and ‘sexual migration,’ which still represent unresolved issue. ‘Victims of trafficking are most often women and girls from socially vulnerable groups of population. As a rule, they are single, widows, divorced or left by their husbands women, deprived of any means of livelihood. They often have children and elderly people to look after. Due to poor education and absence of legal opportunities to find a job they are unable to earn means to cover their living expenses.’

Regional migration features, internal migration

During 1990s migration involved residents primarily of large cities. Nowadays, labour migration abroad in case of most countries originates in rural areas, where offer of work places is extremely limited. Enhanced rural ‘character’ of labour migrants is noted by research on Russia.¹⁷ Migration also occurs from country’s periphery to central cities, with national capitals becoming the transit point for labour migration. Thus, in Armenia ‘most of the people coming to Erevan from Armenia’s remote locations soon leave abroad not having found suitable work.’ The situation is similar in other post-Soviet countries, for example, in Kyrgyzstan.¹⁸ Contrary to this, in Azerbaijan ‘a considerable number of country’s residents of the regions beyond Absheron agglomeration [the region of ‘Greater Baku – N.M.] having failed to settle abroad remain in the capital or its suburbs upon their return. Most of the people with the experience of labour migration, when returning try to find work in Baku and not to get back to native villages.’

Labour migration leads to transformations in age and sex structure of the population of the regions it originates in. In Moldova ‘labour migration promotes changes in socio-demographic situation within country’s populated locations, especially in rural areas. It is not a secret, that communities totally lacking adult male population, as if in time of war, are a widespread phenomenon now. Yet, in some villages, especially in country’s South, no less dangerous situation is formed – practically total absence of adult females. Women go to work abroad and at village weddings men have to dance with other men.’ Population in those locations, which for decades are being drained by labour migration, is aging rapidly, with depopulation processes getting momentum.

¹⁶ Женщины-мигранты из стран СНГ в России / Под ред. Е.В. Тюрюкановой. -М.: МАКС Пресс, 2011 [Zh.A. Zaionchkovskaiia, E.V. Tiuriukanova (eds). Female Migrants from CIS Countries in Russia. Moscow, MAX-Press, 2011].

¹⁷ Миграция и демографический кризис в России / Под ред. Ж.А. Зайончковской и Е.В. Тюрюкановой. –М.: 2010; Население России 2008. Шестнадцатый ежегодный демографический доклад / отв. ред. А.Г. Вишнеvский. –М.: Изд-во ГУ ВШЭ, 2010. с. 268.[Zh.A. Zaionchkovskaiia, E.V. Tiuriukanova (eds). Migration and Demographic Crisis in Russia. Moscow, MAX-Press, 2010; A.G. Vishnevskii (ed). Population of Russia,2008. Sixteenth Annual Demographic Report. Moscow, NRU HSE Press, 2010].

¹⁸ Мкртчян Н., Сарыгулов Б. Миграция в современном Кыргызстане / Демоскоп Weekly №481-482, 10-23 октября 2011 г. [N. Mkrtrchian, B. Sarygulov. Migration in Present-Day Kyrgyzstan. Demoskop-Weekly. 10-23 October 2011. Downloaded from:<http://demoscope.ru/weekly/2011/0481/tema05.php>].

The process whereby population leaves rural areas, especially in countries with unfinished urbanization, is impossible to reverse. Nonetheless, there have been some attempts to halt it. For instance, *'In Belarus additional financial stimuli for the unemployed of working age to move from cities to rural areas have been introduced.'* Migration behavior of international and internal labour migrants is conditioned by the same rules: people go to those regions, where there are free places on labour markets and opportunity to earn more than in their native location and places where their families live.

Political consequences

Massive labour migration of the citizens gives rise to negative political consequences for sending countries. A large socially active share of population is de-facto deprived of the possibility to participate in political life of their countries. E. Ivashchenko (Ukraine) mentions that *'labour migrants traditionally act as 'dead souls' in political life of their countries, since at all the election on the course of many years participation of registered abroad electors does not exceed 10% of their total number, with illegal migrants, who have to get back to Ukraine to take part in elections, simply ignoring their right to vote. Thus a precedent of excluding a considerable amount of conscientious citizens with active standing in life from decision making process is set, which significantly limits the prospects of democratic reforms in Ukraine.'* The same point of view is shared by the experts from Armenia: *'... intensive labour emigration from Armenia affects Armenian politics negatively. On the whole, I have the following image of a migrant: discontent with life around him/her, enterprising, striving for better life, young and successful. Devoid of a considerable number of such people our political field becomes quite feeble.'*

Diaspora's political resource is obviously underused or is put at stake in international relations (for instance, during anti-Georgian campaigns in Russia in 2006 or during demonstrative deportations Tajik migrants from Russia in 2001).¹⁹

In Russia inflow of labour migrants is accompanied by the growth of xenophobia and active political discourse concerning challenges and risks created by letting in the migrants of foreign nationality and culture. This adds tensions to internal political situation and nourishes revival of traditionalism and various, sometimes rather extreme, forms of populism. Anti-migrant rhetoric sharpens during electoral campaigns.

The issue of socio-political effects of labour migration on Eastern European and South Caucasian countries neighboring European Union requires further research. In my opinion, it is mostly related to the necessity to get reliable information on migration scale, structure of migration flows, effects of migration upon migrants' households and situation with certain social groups in sending countries, including children and older people. There is a need to organize and regularly hold representative sociological surveys. Issues to be resolved are the problems of access to health care and education systems of receiving countries by migrants and members of their families, pension insurance, as well as more efficient employment of financial resources earned and sent back home and the development of necessary institutional framework. Migrant remittances should not be simply 'eaten off' and an effort should be made to employ them for the sake of country's development and development of human capital. Migration donor countries should make greater effort to adapt labour migrants to living conditions in a foreign country (mainly in the field of professional education and language training), as well as to better secure the rights of their citizens while they are staying abroad.

¹⁹ Никольский А. Таджиким не место / «Ведомости», 15 ноября 2011 года [A. Nikolskii. *There is no Place for Tajiks*. Vedomosti. 15 November 2011].

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