

Ikromov Jovid

International Migration from Central Asia to Russia

Measuring an Impact on the Socio-Economic Development



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Abstract. The monograph attempted to assess the contribution of international labor migration from Central Asia in solving the socio-economic problems facing Russia. It assesses the methods and sources of migration counting in Russia, which allows determining the degree of reliability of information on migration flows. Based on the study of migration policy and the main milestones of its formation, the main system-forming factors of migration policy are put forward.

Undoubtedly interesting for the reader identified by the author the scales of regular and irregular migration; the impact of labor migration on unemployment and the level of wages of the local population, as well as their contribution to the GDP and the budget of Russia.

The book is recommended to researchers and practitioners in the field of international migration.

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Foreword

While Russia is discussing whether migrants are needed or not, a significant amount of researches has been published abroad over the past decade on international migration and its consequences for origins and destination countries. The nature of these researches suggests that the discourse has moved from a simple description of this phenomenon to embedding migration into the national strategy for the sustainable economic development¹.

Notwithstanding the serious importance of international labor migration for Russia, there is a lack of desire of the authorities to order empirical researches that would give an objective picture for making important decisions in migration policy.

Given this circumstance, this paper attempts to assess the contribution of labor migrants from Central Asia countries in solving the socio-economic problems facing Russia.

The present study consists of an introduction, three parts, including 6 sections, a key findings, a list of references and Appendix.

The first section provides an assessment of the methods and sources of accounting for international labor migration in Russia, determining reliability of information on migration flows.

The second section examines issues of migration policy, the main milestones of its formation and its system-forming factors.

Summarizing the results of the study, **at the end of the first part**, the main system-forming factors of migration policy formation are put forward and the main indicators of the Russia's socio-economic development are presented, which were further studied taking into account the impact of labor migration on these indicators.

¹King R., A. Lulle. 2016. Research on Migration: Facing Realities and Maximizing Opportunities: A Policy Review. Brussels: European Commission.

The second part analyzes how these changes affect the migration situation and the impact on Russia's labor market.

In particular, **the third section** examines the essence and main trends of labor migration and migration for permanent residence from Central Asia countries to Russia; revealed the scale of legal and illegal migration; as well as the alternative international migration.

The impact of labor migration on labor market tension and unemployment; the level of local population wages; and their impact on inflation is calculated and analyzed **in the fourth section**.

The fifth section of the third part calculates the contribution of international labor migrants to GDP; as well as tax and other revenues to the federal and regional budgets.

The last section examines the migration trends of skilled and highly skilled specialists, as well as scientists and researchers from the CIS and Central Asia countries to Russia.

The key finding part summarizes the main results of the research, which revealing the periodization Russia's migration policy, determining the reasons that influenced its formation, as well as assess the socio-economic consequences of the Central Asian international migrants to Russia.

The author believes that the study of such a complex phenomenon as migration requires an integrated approach and a combination of both quantitative and qualitative research methods. In this connection, the present study relies on both general scientific and special research methods. On the basis of the **historical approach**, the Russian migration policy was studied throughout its entirety since the USSR collapse, which made it possible to identify the main stages of its formation and its relationship with the formation of labor migration flows from Central Asia to Russia.

The synthesis and analysis methods made it possible to study socio-economic phenomena both by migration processes from individual

countries (analysis), and in general, by a group of Central Asian countries (synthesis).

The quantitative method made it possible to conduct a comprehensive and comparative analysis of a large amount of data from Russian and foreign statistics, while **the qualitative method** made it possible to assess the scale of labor migration and determine the socio-economic consequences for the Russian economy.

The use of such special research methods as a **graphical method** allowed the author to display the labor migration processes in the form of tables, graphs, diagrams and thereby ensure clarity and compactness in the presentation of theoretical material.

Acknowledgments

A monograph that you hold in your hands is the result of a dissertation research for the degree of Candidate of Economic Sciences (PhD), defended at St. Petersburg State University.

This research required me eight years of hard work, and allowed me to visit Moscow, New York, Washington and New Delhi, where I was able to meet wonderful people. Each of them made a contribution to the completion of this paper, to which I would like to express my gratitude.

First of all, I would like to thank Dr. Nikita Lomagin, a professor at the European University at St. Petersburg, who agreed to be my supervisor. His professionalism and valuable advice that had enormous scientific weight made it possible to complete this research and defend it at St. Petersburg State University.

Cannot express in words the role of Dr. Ryazantsev Sergey, Corresponding Member of Russian Academy of Sciences, who agreed to accept me in Moscow and spend many hours listening to the main ideas of my research; the entire staff of the Department of World Economy at St. Petersburg State University, headed by Dr. Sergey Sutyurin and especially to Dr. Vladimir Sherov-Ignatiev, Associate Professor of this Department; and Professor Russian – Tajik (Slavonic) University; Dr. Ulmasov Rahmon. Their valuable scientific comments inspired me to search for new ideas, methods of analysis, and also ways to convey them in research. Any failure in this case, of course, admitted, through my fault.

Significant contribution also made Aslov Sirojiddin, which in 2011 gave his consent to my internship in the Permanent Mission of Tajikistan to the United Nations (UN), where he was at that time Permanent Representative, Ambassador of Tajikistan to the UN. The working atmosphere created by Aslov S. allowed working on the research without worrying about everyday problems.

I would especially note Dr.Kurbonov Adburahmon, who headed the department at the Center for Strategic Studies under the President, where I worked under his direct supervision from 2014 to 2017. The scientific atmosphere created by him, allowed refining some ideas and approaches to the study.

Part one

Regulation of Migration Processes in Russia

Statistics on International Labour Migration

The realities of Russia are such that the phenomenon of international migration appeared only in the 90s after the collapse of the USSR and, accordingly, Russia had no experience in regulating this phenomenon. This circumstance seriously affected the state of international labor migrants, without which it would be impossible to speak about the assessment of its impact on socio-economic development. As further sections show, such assessment in former-Soviet Russia and until today was extremely difficult.

Current and future socio-economic and demographic crises, the growing wage gap, global cataclysms indicate that in the future we can see the movements of the global population on a scale never seen before and in forms unknown to us before. In these changes, international migration will play an integral and important role in the global economy².

One of the largest gaps in the modern picture of the world economy, among other things, is the highly distorted statistics on international labor movements. The current state of affairs in the statistics of international migration does not allow to derive fully the maximum benefit from these migration processes for the countries of origin and destination. It is the lack of reliable data that prevents global understanding and effectiveness of the national strategy with regard to this important issue in the field of global development.

Thus, the reliability of statistical sources on international labor migration, which is referred to in the formation of migration policy, comes to the fore.

Recommendations for the improvement of international migration

²Clemens M.A., M. Claudio, L.Pritchett. 2008. The Place Premium: Wage Differences for Identical Workers across the U.S. Border, Center for Global Development. CGD Working Paper.

statistics has become a tradition for international organizations, which dates back to 1948³. However, despite all the attempts to improve these statistics, international organizations and independent researchers concluded ⁴ that the XX century was remembered as ‘a century of unrecorded recommendations’⁵.

Former-Soviet countries are not an exception. Notwithstanding that there were no international migration statistics at all in Soviet times, or it was closed from prying eyes. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, a number of serious studies appeared, including among post-Soviet researchers. However, there is still a lot of uncertainty, especially in the CIS region, which later entered the world migration processes.

As the main reason for the lack of a unified and consistent approach to the method of accounting for this type of movement, it is worth noting the goals and objectives of countries in collecting statistics on cross borders. If countries of origin place emphasis on those who are departing, then host countries, as a rule, pay attention to those who are entering.

Another problem is the legislative determination of the status of “migrant”, “purpose of arrival” and “time of stay”. Such a disposition makes it difficult for countries to exchange statistics on foreigners and stateless persons crossing the border.

For harmonization of existing sources, UN experts in international

³Рекомендации по статистике международной миграции [Recommendations on international migration statistics (in Russ)]. Retrieved from: http://unstats.un.org/unsd/publication/SeriesM/SeriesM_58rev1R.pdf.

⁴Bilsborrow, Richard E. 1997. International Migration Statistics: Guidelines for Improving Data Collection Systems. Geneva: International Labour Office;
Kraly, Ellen Percy, and K. S. Gnanasekaran. 1987. Efforts to Improve International Migration Statistics: A Historical Perspective. International Migration Review 21(4): 967–995;
Levine, Daniel B., Kenneth Hill, and Robert Warren, eds. 1985. Immigration Statistics: A Story of Neglect. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press.

⁵Патрисия А., Санто Т., Лоуренс Г. Саммерс, Клеменс М. Учет мигрантов. Пять шагов на пути к совершенствованию миграционной статистики. Washington DC: Центр глобального развития, - 2009. - С. 40 [Patrisiya A., Santo T., Lourens G. Sammers, Klemens M. Accounting for Migrants. Five steps towards improving migration statistics. Washington DC: Center for Global Development, - 2009. - p. 40. (in Russ)].

statistics identify four main sources of such data available in any country⁶.

However, in this study, the types of accounting of international migration and their sources that exist in Russia were grouped (see. Tab.1).

Table 1 - Types of registration and a list of sources of data on international labor migration in Russia

Types of registration	Data Sources
Issued permits for temporary and permanent residence	
Issued work permits	Head Department of Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation
Notifications of employers about hiring foreign citizens (from visa-free countries)	
Migration registration	
Entry of foreign citizens by destination and countries of origin	Border Service of the Russian Federal Security Service
Population census	Federal State Statistics Service (Rosstat)

Source: compiled by the author

The specific of labor migration and migration in general is that in the host country a migrant worker becomes an object of registration of several agencies⁷. In other words, for the assessment of labor migration in Russia the statistical sources of the Russian Interior Ministry, the Federal Security Service and the Federal State Statistics Service could be used. However, the methods and types of collection from these sources differ from each

⁶Рекомендации по статистике международной миграции [Recommendations on international migration statistics (in Russ)]. Retrieved from: http://unstats.un.org/unsd/publication/SeriesM/SeriesM_58rev1R.pdf.

⁷Воробьева О.Д., Гребенюк А.А., Топилин А.А. Проблемы информационного обеспечения прогнозирования трудовой миграции в России // Проблемы прогнозирования. 2014. №4. С.48. [Vorobieva O. D, Grebenyuk A.A., Topilin A.A. Problems of information support for the prediction of labor migration in Russia // Problems of forecasting. 2014. №4. p.48. (in Russ)]

other. The role of each source in the statistical accounting of migrant workers, methods and items of their collection, existing problems, as well as recommendations for their improvement will be analyzed further.

The Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs is the main source for recording administrative data on labor migration to Russia. This department collects data on foreign citizens in general through migration cards that they complete while entering Russia, registers them, issues permits for work, a temporary residence and residence permits.

The Federal Law “On the Legal Status of Foreign Citizens in the Russian Federation”, adopted in 2002, introduced a new concept, as a “migration card”. The presence of a migration card is the basis for the migration registration of foreign citizens and getting work permits. Information on completed migration cards is an important source of information about arriving foreign citizens and the purpose of their arrival, where, among other things, the option “work” is present.

The second step on the way to the labor market is the migration registration of foreign citizens and, according to leading experts⁸ is an important step towards the legalization of a labor migrant in Russia. After the adoption of the aforementioned law, the statistical accounting of arriving foreign citizens in Russia ‘began to look more believable’⁹. While prior to 2002, migration statistics took into account the arrivals of citizens of the CIS and Baltic countries as Russian citizens, after the adoption of the new Law, these citizens were divided into four main categories: temporarily staying; temporarily living; permanently residing and illegally staying.

However, the form in which the Law was adopted, temporarily

⁸Воробьева О. Д., Топилин А.В. Современная миграционная политика России: иллюзии и реальность // Социологические исследования. 2016. №7. С. 137. [Vorobieva O., D., Topilin A.V. Modern migration policy of Russia: illusions and reality // Sociological studies. 2016. №7. p.137 (in Russ)]

⁹Чудиновских О.С. Учет миграции в России: причины и последствия кризиса // Демоскоп Weekly. 2005. №185-186. [Chudinovskikh O.S. Accounting for migration in Russia: causes and consequences of the crisis // Demoscope Weekly. 2005. №185-186.]

staying foreign nationals fell from a view of the statistical accounting. Russian statistical yearbook of Rosstat shows that in 2002, 166 out of 184 thousand foreign citizens who arrived in Russia from the CIS and Baltic countries, i.e. over 90% were Russian citizens. In 2003, 108 of the 129 thousand people arrived (84%) were citizens of Russia¹⁰. The picture after the adoption of the aforementioned Law has changed slightly.

This was partly due to the fact that, in accordance with this Law, sheets of statistical records of arrival were compiled only for those foreign citizens who registered at the place of residence, i.e. after they receive a permanent residence permit. Considering the difficult procedure for obtaining such permit, as well as the fact that only those foreign citizens who had the nearest relatives in Russia could receive it, a huge number of immigrants stay below the radar in statistical records.

The final end of the Chechen war and the complete stabilization of the political situation in Russia put forward a completely different agenda and new approaches to resolving domestic issues and its gradual inclusion in solving international problems.

The growth of mutual trips between the Russian Federation and the European Union (EU), as well as the expansion of the EU in 2004 at the expense of the Baltic countries further increased the intensity of mutual trips between the Russian Federation and the EU. As a result, the need to ease the visa issue arose between countries. In this regard, Russia and the EU launched negotiations on the issue of visa liberalization, and in 2006 the parties entered into an Agreement on the facilitation of visa issuance.

Along with this, on May 16, 2007, the Council of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) decided to start a negotiation process on Russia's accession to this Organization, thereby

¹⁰Численность и миграция населения Российской Федерации [Population size and migration in the Russian Federation (in Russ)]. Retrieved from: http://www.gks.ru/wps/wcm/connect/rosstat_main/rosstat/ru/statistics/publications/catalog/doc_1140096034906

laying the foundation for the start of a new and important phase of cooperation between Russia and the OECD, the result of which was to become the entry of Russia into this organization.

Notwithstanding that Russian statistics generally met the requirements of international organizations of the UN system the process of joining the OECD raised a number of other issues for Russia related to providing this organization with timely and harmonized data. By launching the negotiation procedures, Russia assumed a number of obligations to harmonize its statistics with the data of this organization.

However, Europeans were seriously worried about the existing free movement regime between Russia and the CIS countries and, in particular, the lack of clear and adequate information about the number of CIS countries citizens in Russia. In 2007 under the influence of these factors and on the basis of the Federal Migration Service (it was called the Federal Migration Service of Russia until 2016, while now it is the Head Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia on migration issues), the State Information System for Migration Accounting is created, which includes Central data bank of registration of foreign citizens and stateless people, “Compatriots”, “Russian Passport”, “Address and Help Desk work”, etc¹¹.

Looking ahead, it is worth noting that in 2014 the FMS of Russia merged all existing electronic databases into one system called the Unified Information System of the FMS of Russia. The integration of these components into a single information system reduced the cost of their maintenance and raised an efficient usage of equipment and communication channels.

¹¹Чудиновских О., Манке М. На пути к миграционной политике, основанной на фактах. Рекомендации по улучшению доступности, качества и сопоставимости данных по миграции в Республике Казахстан, Кыргызской Республике, Российской Федерации и Республике Таджикистан. Vienna: Проект ОБСЕ-MOT, 2014. С. 152 . [Chudinovskikh O., Manke M. On the way to a migration policy based on facts. Recommendations for improving the availability, quality and comparability of migration data in the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Kyrgyz Republic, the Russian Federation and the Republic of Tajikistan. Vienna: OSCE-ILO Project, 2014. p.152. (in Russ)]

Starting from January 1, 2007, a completely new Law “On Migration Registration of Foreign Citizens and Stateless People” comes into force. Previously, all issues of registration of foreign citizens were regulated by the Federal Law “On the Legal Status of Foreign Citizens in the Russian Federation” dated 2002. The temporary registration from the licensing system turned into a notification one, and the term ‘registered at the place of stay’ appeared. The results were justified: if in 2006, 1 014 thousand foreign citizens officially worked in Russia, the data of 2007 shows that this figure increased by 69% or to 1 717 thousand people and the number of registered foreign citizens amounted to a total of more than 7.8 million people¹².

Even though the number of foreign citizens arriving in Russia has increased significantly, a large number of foreign citizens did not fall under the migration statistics. This was partly due to statistical documents now compiled not only for foreign citizens who received a permanent residence permit but also for those who received a temporary residence permit. Foreign citizens who are registered at the place of stay are now behind the migration statistics.

In 2011, new amendments came into force, according to which statistical records should also be drawn up for foreign citizens who registered at the place of stay for a period of 9 months or more but did not receive temporary and permanent residence permits. While maintaining the previous criteria for determining foreign migrants, i.e. registered at the place of permanent residence, the total net migration rate would be 3 times less.

It should be noticed that up to 2014, the procedure for migration registration was confusing due to the gaps in migration legislation. In accordance with the law, after the expiration of 90 days from the date of

¹²Мониторинг легальной (законной) внешней трудовой миграции за 2006-2007 годы. М.: ФМС, 2008. С. 116. [Monitoring of legal (legal) external labor migration for 2006-2007. М.: FMS, 2008. p. 116. (in Russ)]

their stay, foreign citizens were obliged to cross the border. Due to the fact that the Law did not require the period of time staying outside of Russia and then return, foreigners left Russia after 90 days and entered on the same day. Thus, the statistics took them into account twice.

After migration registration, a labor migrant was required to obtain a work permit for an official employment. On January 15, 2007, with additions and changes, enters another amendment, in which there are two fundamental points. Firstly, a migrant worker is from now on 'cut off' from their employer, i.e. in order to obtain a work permit, they do not need to contact the employer, they can get it themselves. The FMS can no longer refuse the issuance of such a document to a migrant worker. Secondly, the employer has the right to hire a migrant worker without justification. If before that the employer had to first announce the available vacancies, wait a couple of months, and only then hire a labor migrant, now the employer needs only to notify the authorities about the recruitment and use of foreign labor.

The results of these innovations did not wait long for themselves: if in 2006 600 thousand work permits were issued to CIS citizens, this figure in 2008 amounted to 1.8 million units¹³.

In migration statistics, the number of work permits issued raises particular attention among experts, as it indicates the number of foreign citizens officially employed on the labor market. But it should be said that in this case there may be double counting. The same foreigner may receive several work permits due to legislation.

Starting from 2016, the authority of the FMS of Russia is transferred to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia, as part of which a new structural subdivision called the Main Department of the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs on migration issues begins.

¹³На конец 2012 года разрешение на работу в России имели 1149 тысяч иностранных граждан [At the end of 2012, 1149 thousand foreign citizens had permission to work in Russia (in Russ)]: Retrieved from: <http://demoscope.ru/weekly/2013/0545/barom05.php>

The statistics of this department contain data on the foreign citizens who entered and the purpose of their visit to Russia. Note that previously such statistics were only available at Rosstat. Starting from this period, statistics on migration issues in Russia are more reliable than in previous years.

Another agency that generates statistics on international migration is the Border Guard of the Federal Security Service of Russia, which functions on the basis of its passport control of entering and leaving people. The analysis of labor migration statistics passport control is interesting in that it is possible to find data on the countries of arrival and purpose of travel of foreign citizens.

In the statistics of this department, a number of important and interesting points are curious. First of all, these are the “arrivals” and “departures” columns. Appendix 1 provides data of the Federal Security Service of Russia on the number of arrivals and departures of foreign citizens. Judging by this graph, it turns out that from 2007 to 2017, Russia's total net migration rate (arrivals-departures) together amounted to 12.5 million people, of which about 5 million people are from Central Asia.

This suggests the re-registration of the same persons in the statistics of international migration of Russia. It is common for a migrant worker to make several moves, several “entry” and “registration” events during the year. In this regard, the “entry” column in international migration statistics should not be interpreted as the number of “entered” foreign citizens, but the number of “events” committed by foreign citizens during a certain period of time. In other words, the fact of the border crossing should be considered separately from the person who committed the border crossing.

However, as evidenced by the data given in Appendix 1, there is no “work” in the columns on the purpose of travel. It is assumed that migrant workers can refer to the terms ‘service’, ‘private’ and technical staff’, since they reflect large inflows from Uzbekistan, Ukraine and Tajikistan. But, we

the trips from these countries connected with these goals cannot be excluded completely.

While working with the international migration statistics, it is considered appropriate to operate with data from a variety of sources. When crossing a border, the migrant falls into the statistical field of several departments. Since the data on international labor migration, developed in Russia's departments, leaves much to be desired¹⁴, it is considered expedient to conduct a comparative analysis of the data obtained from different sources¹⁵, including between the data of the receiving and sending countries for a more complete description of the picture.

However, in our case, the data collection in Central Asia countries of origin does not allow such an analysis. The researchers from the countries of the region also agree with this.¹⁶

If we take Tajikistan as an example of one of the countries of origin, data on external labor migration are compiled on the basis of completed migration cards at departure stage. But, since the filling of these cards is done by hand, not automatically and moreover, according to the law, filling out these documents is not a mandatory procedure¹⁷, ultimately statistics show a significant difference in the number of people between the countries of departure and destination.

For example, in 2017, according to the authorized migration agency of Tajikistan, 664 thousand citizens left the country for the purpose of labor

¹⁴Воробьева О.Д., Гребенюк А.А., Топилин А.А. Проблемы информационного обеспечения прогнозирования трудовой миграции в России // Проблемы прогнозирования. 2014. №4. С.51. [Vorobieva O.D., Grebenyuk A.A., Topilin A.A. Problems of information support for the prediction of labor migration in Russia // Problems of forecasting. 2014. №4. p.51. (in Russ)]

¹⁵Note: It is possible to compare data on the number of arrived and departures, obtained from the Federal Migration Service and the FSB, by taking into account the persons crossing the borders.

¹⁶Бабаджанов Р.М. Совершенствование статистического учета миграционных процессов в Республике Таджикистан. // Конференция европейских статистиков. Рабочая сессия по статистике миграции населения. Кишинев: 2014 [Babadzhanov R.M. Improving statistical records of migration processes in the Republic of Tajikistan. // Conference of European Statisticians. Work session on population migration statistics Chisinau: 2014 (in Russ)].

¹⁷Кислицына Е.А. Статистика трудовой миграции в Таджикистане // Совершенствование статистики миграции и обмен данными. М.: МИРПАЛ, 2011.[Kislitsyna E.A. Labor migration statistics in Tajikistan // Improvement of migration statistics and data exchange. Moscow: MIRPAL, 2011]

migration. In the same period according to the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs, about 1.2 million citizens of Tajikistan have arrived in Russia, of which 937 thousand came with the purpose of labor migration. Each country relies only on its own statistics, considering the more reliable one. But the international comparison of Russia's data with other national migration authorities of CIS member states shows that such a discrepancy occurs not only with Tajikistan¹⁸.

Based on the above arguments, it is not considered appropriate to rely on statistical data from origin countries of labor migrants.

The issue of statistical discrepancies in data on labor migration in the CIS was first considered at a meeting of the Council of CIS Heads of Migration Authorities (SRMO) at the end of 2013. Following the discussion, it was decided to create a working group of CIS competent bodies¹⁹.

Based on the results of monitoring CIS national legislation in migrants counting of the working group²⁰, an Action Plan was developed to improve migration statistics in the CIS²¹. The main areas of work of the national statistical services and the CIS Statistical Committee under this Plan are the following:

- Preparations for the 2020 round of population census;
- The assessment of possible method application of ‘mirror statistics’ to clarify volumes of data migration and current population estimations;
- Harmonization of the term “labor migrant” for statistical purposes;

¹⁸ Миграция населения государств-участников СНГ [Migration of the population of CIS countries (in Russ)]. Retrieved from: <http://www.cisstat.com/migration/index.htm>

¹⁹ Решения заседаний Совета руководителей статистических служб государств-участников Содружества Независимых Государств по вопросам статистического учета миграции [Decisions of the CIS Council of Statistical Services leaders meeting on statistical migration (in Russ)]// Retrieved from: <http://www.cisstat.com/migration/r-srmo-15nov2013.pdf>

²⁰ Итоги мониторинга национального законодательства государств-участников СНГ в области учета мигрантов [Results of monitoring the national legislation of the CIS member states in the field of accounting for migrants] // Retrieved from: <http://www.cisstat.com/migration/itogi-zakon.pdf>

²¹ План мероприятий по совершенствованию миграционной статистики в государствах-участниках СНГ на 2014-2016 гг. [Plan of measures to improve migration statistics in the CIS member states for 2014-2016 (in Russ)]// Retrieved from: <http://www.cisstat.com/migration/plan-mig.htm>

- Improvement of statistical records of the foreign labor force in the national economy.

Another agency developing data on international labor migrants is Rosstat, through which a population census is carried out. For users, the population census is important because it contains data on permanently and temporarily residing, temporarily staying foreign citizens and stateless persons, the country and purpose of arrival, their age and gender composition, etc. In general, the population census gives an idea of two categories of migrants: permanently and temporarily residing (that is, for the purpose of work).

The data of two population censuses conducted in Russia in 2002 and 2010 shows that if there are relatively more complete representations regarding permanently residing foreign citizens, then the second category of foreigners, i.e. temporarily residing, information is significantly distorted²².

If, according to the 2010 census, for 8 years between the censuses, the Russian net migration due to an inflow of Central Asia population increased by 413 thousand people, the same figure according to the FMS data only in 2007-2010 amounted to 312 thousand people. This circumstance indicates that the largest share of immigrants is not in the census field of view.

Another disadvantage of this source when accounting for international migrants, including labor migrants, is the large interval between censuses, which in Russia is as much as 10 years. According to the fair approval of experts²³, for such a long period of time, the data on the categories of persons collected can be significantly outdated.

²²Перепись 2010: этнический срез [Population survey 2010: ethnic slice (in Russ)]: Retrieved from: <http://demoscope.ru/weekly/2012/0531/tema04.php>

²³²³Воробьева О.Д., Гребенюк А.А., Топилин А.А. Проблемы информационного обеспечения прогнозирования трудовой миграции в России // Problems of forecasting. 2014. №4. С.53. [Vorobieva O.D, Grebenyuk A.A., Topilin A.A. Problems of information support for the prediction of labor migration in Russia // Problems of forecasting. 2014. №4. P.53. (in Russ)]

Conclusions

Based on the above arguments, it is worth noting that, until today, “departmental” statistics in Russia was difficult to interpret and required a careful approach. After 2013, the analyzed sources of statistics on international labor migration in Russia have become more reliable than in previous years. The website of the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs is represented by a wide variety of statistical and analytical data on international labor migration.²⁴

According to the experts, the openness of the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs to users of statistical products has expanded the opportunity for researchers to study the issue of international labor migration.²⁵

It is worth noting the improvement of statistical indicators on labor migration, produced by Rosstat. ‘The number and migration of the population of the Russian Federation’ Yearbook²⁶, produced by Rosstat in recent years represented a lot more tables on labor migration, in comparison with the one that was marked by Ryazantsev S.V. in 2011²⁷. The same applies to other statistical compilations of Rosstat²⁸.

There are at least a number of circumstances that have forced Russia to radically change the situation not only in international migration, but also in the matter of statistical accounting of this phenomenon.

²⁴ Информационные системы [Information sources (in Russ)] Retrieved from: <https://xn--b1ab2a0a.xn--b1aew.xn--p1ai/about/is>

²⁵ Чудиновских О.С. Административная статистика международной миграции: источники, проблемы и ситуация в России // Вопросы статистики. 2016. №2. С. 32-46. [Chudinovskikh O.S. Administrative statistics of international migration: sources, problems and situation in Russia // The questions of statistics. 2016. №2. pp. 32-46. (in Russ)]

²⁶ Численность и миграция населения Российской Федерации за 2014 г. [Population size and migration of the Russian Federation in 2014 (in Russ)] Retrieved from: http://www.gks.ru/wps/wcm/connect/rosstat_main/rosstat/ru/statistics/publications/catalog/doc_1140096034906

²⁷ Миграция и миграционная политика Российской Федерации: Научный доклад. – Под ред. д.э.н., проф. С.В. Рязанцева. – М., 2011. – 167 с. [Migration and migration policy of the Russian Federation: Scientific report. - Ed. Doctor of Economics, prof. S.V. Ryazantsev. - M., 2011. - 167 p. (in Russ)]

²⁸ **Примечание:** Российский статистический ежегодник; Россия и страны СНГ; Труд и Занятость; и пр. [Note: Russian statistical yearbook; Russia and CIS countries; Labor and Employment; etc. (in Russ)]

Firstly, Russia is gaining more and more experience in regulating international labor migration, which it did not have during the Soviet years. When generating relatively reliable labor migration statistics, Russia follows the same path as other countries.

Secondly, toward abolishment of the visa regime with the EU and the negotiations on joining the OECD, Russia has assumed a number of obligations to harmonize its legislation.

The EU was seriously worried about the absence of at least approximate data on Central Asia citizens in Russia with which it intends to conduct a visa-free regime. Such conditions of European countries towards Russia with regard to the settlement of migration processes are connected with the fact that Russia has a visa-free regime with the countries that border with Afghanistan, and the citizens of which are perceived by Europeans as carriers of certain extremist religious ideologies.

The factor of international socialization forced Russia to improve the regulation of international labor migration, which begins with the presence of relatively accurate information about their presence in Russia.

Notwithstanding that as of 2018, negotiations on Russia's accession to the OECD were temporarily suspended, the migration legislation of Russia, and the approaches to the formation of statistical indicators on labor migration ²⁹ after 2010 have become much closer to the OECD requirements, and such statistics allow us to explore relatively wider the issue of international labor migration in Russia.

However, the complexity of this study lies in the fact that it covers the labor migration process from the moment Russia has acquired sovereignty, while the statistics on labor migration only became more reliable and adequate after 2013.

²⁹ Доклад о результатах деятельности федеральной службы государственной статистики в 2014 году и основных направлениях на 2015 год и на плановый период 2016 и 2017 годов. Федеральная служба государственной статистики (Росстат). М.:2015. 119 с. [Report on the results of the activities of the Federal State Statistics Service in 2014 and the main directions for 2015 and for the planning period of 2016 and 2017. Federal State Statistics Service (Rosstat). Moscow: 2015. 119 p. (in Russ)]

Another problem is that, despite the experience of international comparison of statistical data between countries of origin and destination, we cannot use this practice, because in Central Asian countries, which in this study are considered as an object of study, the problem of producing statistical data on labor migration is even more serious.

In this regard, it would be more correct to rely on statistics from other international organizations, and such methods are often practiced among researchers in other countries. However, in this case, an attempt to address this data rests on a number of serious problems.

First, despite the significant convergence of legislation and methodological approaches in the formation of Russian statistics with OECD countries, in the official statistical publications on Russia published by the OECD, sections related to international labor migration are either empty³⁰, or the tables do not allow to fully analyze this phenomenon³¹.

Secondly, the data published in various international statistical yearbooks are based on data from Russia provided by Rosstat, except for statistical data on remittances issued by the World Bank³².

Taking in account this state, it is difficult to use the statistics of these organizations. Therefore, this study only used analytical papers of these organizations, which are a very valuable product.

³⁰Country statistical profile: Russian Federation 2016. Retrieved from: http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/sites/csp-rus-table-2016-1-en/index.html?contentType=&itemId=%2Fcontent%2Ftable%2F20752288-table-rus&mimeType=text%2Fhtml&containerItemId=%2Fcontent%2Ftable%2F20752288-table-rus&accessItemIds=&csp_75237d56d0ef175819ce162c89a36a8b.

³¹OECD (2016), International Migration Outlook 2016. Recent trends in migrants' flows and stocks: Russian Federation. Retrieved from: http://www.keepeek.com/Digital-Asset-Management/oecd/social-issues-migration-health/international-migration-outlook-2016_migr_outlook-2016-en#page4

³²Migration. Retrieved from: <http://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/migrationremittancesdiasporaissues>.

The Role of Migration Policy in the Formation of Migration Flows

The collapse of the USSR and the emergence of new independent countries led to an aggravation of the socio-economic and political situation, which affected the fate of millions of citizens of these states. The combination of the above factors provoked the chaotic and previously unprecedented (in terms of scale) resettlement of citizens from these states.

In 1992, it became clear that Russia had become a regional center of attraction for migrants from the newly independent states of the former USSR. Under these conditions, the Russian Federation takes the first attempts to define its migration policy at the state level. By the Resolution of the Russian Government on May 18, 1992, the long-term program “Migration” had been approved, in which the main directions of the Russian migration policy were first formulated.

In the difficult socio-economic and political conditions of the 1990s, the international migration from CIS countries was more humanitarian in nature than economic. People fled from armed conflict, linguistic, ethnic, religious discrimination and other social problems in the countries of origin. For this reason, the main emphasis in the “Migration Program” was placed on overcoming the negative consequences of spontaneously developing migration processes and ensuring a human attitude towards asylum seekers in Russia.

In 1992, on the basis of the Committee on Migration Affairs the Federal Migration Service (FMS) of Russia was created. Due to the large influx of refugees, all the main work of the new service was focused specifically on resolving issues related to refugees and internally displaced

persons. The issue of labor migration actually faded into the background and continued to be governed by the old laws. But, it would be wrong to say that no attempts were made in this direction either.

In December 1993, two documents immediately come into force in labor migration, in accordance with which the activities of migrant workers would henceforth be carried out in a ‘permitting manner’. In other words, a Russian employer, before recruiting migrant workers, must first obtain permission from the FMS of Russia to hire foreign workers. For the migrant workers themselves, the concept of “work permit” is introduced.

The situation had changed so quickly that literally a year later a number of other legal acts were adopted, including in labor migration. Despite attempts made, the above regulations only at a stretch can be called a fully-fledged policy in labor migration, as they are strongly affected by the absence of experience in this field.

The Russian government understands that it cannot cope with this issue alone. This understanding is also reflected in the “Federal Migration Program”, which also focused on closer cooperation on migration issues with the CIS countries, the conclusion of bilateral and multilateral interstate and intergovernmental Agreements, and multilateral conventions.

From this moment, the practice of signing bilateral and multilateral agreements with the CIS member states begins to spread. In particular, on April 15, 1994, 10 CIS member states (except Georgia and Turkmenistan) sign an Agreement on cooperation in labor migration and social protection of migrant workers. Under this Agreement, the basic rights of labor migrants, the areas of cooperation of the CIS member states, including the recognition by each party of the documents confirming the education, qualifications and work experience of migrant workers, are fixed. In the former Soviet republics, from where the main migration flow comes, 15 offices of the FMS are opened at the Russian embassies.

The migration situation of any host country depends on the

geopolitical and socio-economic situation of the neighboring countries. It cannot be considered outside the contexts of both global and regional cataclysms. By the beginning of 1998, the migration situation in Russia had somewhat alleviated. This was due to several parallel factors.

First, the main factors pushing the international migration from CIS countries armed conflicts - are frozen. Secondly, the migration potential of the CIS countries over the years has been seriously exhausted. The bulk of those who wanted to leave, left. Third, in Russia, as a main destination country of the CIS region, new centers of armed conflict arise, such as the Chechen war (the end of the first and the beginning of the second campaign). Fourth, in Asia there is a financial crisis and a further Russian default of 1998.

Taken together, all these factors have seriously affected the migration attractiveness of Russia as a regional center for migration, but not enough to completely stop the flow of those wishing to work in Russia³³.

Since then, the Russian migration policy has shifted its focus from accepting internally displaced persons and refugees to combating illegal migration. The international migration from CIS countries for socio-economic reasons gradually begins to predominate, which by the end of the 2000s will lead to a surprising interconnection of Central Asia and Russia³⁴.

In this context, on March 6, 1998, the Agreement on Cooperation of the CIS Member States (except Georgia, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan) in the fight against illegal migration was signed. The focus is on strengthening regional cooperation with the CIS countries in the fight against

³³Лебедева А.И. Государственное регулирование привлечения иностранной рабочей силы в Российской Федерации: дис. ... канд. экон. наук: 08.00.05. М., 2007. [Lebedeva A.I. State regulation of foreign labor in the Russian Federation: dissertation thesis for Cand. Econ Sciences: 08.00.05. Moscow. 2007 (in Russ)]

³⁴Винокуров Е.Ю., Либман А.М. Евразийская континентальная интеграция. СПб: Евразийский банк развития, 2012. С. 154. [Vinokurov E.Y., Libman A.M. Eurasian Continental Integration. St.Petersburg: Eurasian Development Bank, 2012. p. 154 (in Russ)]

transnational crime, terrorism and illegal population movements, which raise doubts about the illegal activities of foreign citizens in Russia.

Council of CIS Heads of Government's decision of 25 January 2000 adopted the Regulation "On a common base, data on illegal migrants and persons whose entry into the member states of the Agreement on Cooperation of the CIS States in Combating Illegal Migration is closed in accordance with their current national legislation information exchange on illegal migration".

The focus on combating illegal migration in the mid-1990s did not appear from scratch. Apart other aspects, the flow of internally displaced persons and refugees, on the one hand, and Russia's weak state institutions on migration issues and the ensuing consequences in the form of entangled or excessively hard legislative acts, on the other, have also contributed to this.

One such law casus in migration is the new instruction of the Ministry of Interior, which obliged the USSR citizens who reside permanently in Russia and who are not given the nationality of their former country of residence, to obtain a permanent residence permit.

It would seem a quite constructive requirement of the Law in any state. However, the problem was that by that time, millions of people in Russia and other newly independent states lived according to the old laws. New rules and instructions were not explained in advance to the public, and even worse, they did not pass public debate. As a result, millions of people overnight remained in the shadow of the law. This is evidenced by the repeated decrease in the volume of registered immigration to Russia by 2000³⁵.

In general, according to experts³⁶, by the beginning of the 2000s, the

³⁵Мкртчян Н. Возможные причины снижения иммиграции в Россию в 2000-2001 годах // Вопросы статистики, 2003, №5, С. 47-50 [Mkrtychyan N. Possible reasons for the decline in immigration to Russia in 2000-2001 // Voprosy statistiki, 2003, №5, p. 47-50 (in Russ)]

³⁶Мукомель В.И. Миграционная политика России: Постсоветские контексты / Институт

CIS countries had a very good legislative base in international migration. However, the law enforcement practice of these legislation acts, both then and now remains unstable and incomplete, and there are still many problems in coordinating the work of the CIS migration authorized.

By the beginning of 2000, Russia's migration policy has entered a new stage of transformation. Since the beginning of the new millennium, the geopolitical situation in the world has changed dramatically. The event happened in September in 2011 in the United States and the further entry of the Alliance's forces into the southern borders of Russia's interests (Afghanistan) had a dramatic effect on the migration in the CIS countries. Another characteristic feature of the new stage is associated with the era of the new Russian President and revising the basics of its migration policy.

Taking into account the new realities in the world in matters of migration policy, Putin first transfers the implementation of migration policy to the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs. As part of the ministry, the FMS of Russia is being created. The transfer of the migration functions from the civil department to the military drastically affects the state of affairs and the fate of millions of labor migrants. In the same way, it has influenced the staff of the department, which was later formed from the number of people in uniform. Research support of regulatory legal acts, as well as cooperation with international organizations and NGOs was refused.

Each migrant worker began to be considered a potential offender and a criminal. The priority areas of the new department were the issues of combating illegal migration, restricting the rights of movement of foreign citizens and strengthening control over them.

A year later, a completely new Law “On the Legal Status of Foreign Citizens in the Russian Federation” comes into force. The innovation of

this Law is to separate foreign citizens into: a) temporarily staying; b) temporarily living; and c) permanently residing. Under this Act, the mechanisms of deportation and administrative expulsion of foreigners were defined. With the adoption of this Law, a quota is also established for attracting foreign labor forces to Russia.

Despite the breakthrough in terms of lawmaking on the issue of migration, it has never affected the decline in the growth of illegal labor activity of foreign citizens, the volume of which increased every year. The indicators in favor of the above will be discussed in the following sections.

Taking advantage of the gaps in the legislation, intermediaries who had close ties with people in uniform began to join the issue of labor migration. The “pseudo-struggle” against illegal migration has further aggravated the corruption and the shadow sector in Russia. Not so much illegal migration, as the growth of corruption under the guise of fighting, it seriously threatened the national security. In the highest political circles, they began to realize that restrictive measures could not overcome illegal migration.

Describing the past period, it should be noted that at that time, forced migration was replaced by migration for social and economic reasons³⁷. In this period, labour migrants were mainly looking for work in order to feed the remaining families in their countries. However, the complexity of obtaining permits, the growth of and the presence of intermediaries cast a shadow over even the most law-abiding labour migrants. These factors most favorably played into the hands of the Russian employer, who was interested in the lack of rights of migrants, cheap labor and their widespread use.

Awareness of this fact prompted Russia's top political leadership to announce the beginning the migration policy liberalization. During the

³⁷ Якушева А. Миграция как фактор экономического развития России и Украины. // Россия и новые государства Евразии. 2012. № 1. С. 41-47. [Yakusheva A. Migration as a factor in the economic development of Russia and Ukraine // Russia and new states of Eurasia. 2012. № 1. pp.41-47.]

year, after the speech of Putin³⁸, a whole series of legal acts were drafted and entered into force (since 2007), significantly simplifying labor migration in Russia. We will focus only on some of them.

So, since 2007, an annual quota has been established for attracting labour migrants from visa-free countries. The permissible share of foreign labor in retail trade is determined. At the same time, in order to eliminate the gaps in the existing legislation, amendments and additions are made.

For the first time, the demand is also determined for the annual attraction of labour migrants in priority occupations, in other words, to attract qualified labor migrants. In addition to legislative activity, there is a redistribution of functions of some agencies authorized for Migration³⁹. Migration policy liberalization is accompanied by its tightening for illegitimate labour migrants and unscrupulous employers. However, the law enforcement practice of these laws in relation to such employers is still imperceptible.

The consequences of innovations in terms of limiting the share of foreign labor in retail trade, like previous legislative acts, have changed a little bit. In essence, the same foreign workers were trading in the markets, but employers began issuing temporary or permanent residence permits for labor migrants.

As for international cooperation with the CIS countries on migration issues, at this stage this area is characterized by a transition from bilateral to multilateral cooperation. Another feature of this stage is that much of Russia signed international agreements with other countries, exclusively in labor migration.

At this stage of the Russian migration policy formation, a bilateral

³⁸Вступительное слово В.Путина на заседании Совета Безопасности по миграционной политике [Opening Remarks by Vladimir Putin at the Security Council Meeting on Migration Policy (in Russ)]. Retrieved from: <http://www.kremlin.ru/transcripts/22861>

³⁹Note: In particular, the authority on migration issues is distributed between the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Federal Migration Service and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The functions of registration of foreign citizens, control over the activities of foreign citizens and other issues related to them are fully transferred to the authority of the Russia FMS

agreement was signed only with Uzbekistan. All other agreements on labor migration have been signed within the multilateral cooperation.

As part of the “Concept for the Further Development of the CIS”, a CIS sectoral cooperation body is being created to ensure coordination of interaction and the resolution of issues in migration policy, the Council of Heads of Migration Authorities. For the first time, these documents reflect the desire of the CIS member states to harmonize the migration legislation.

Thus, at this stage fully formed national and regional migration management model, in which relatively expands the possibility of legal employment and opens the potential of labor migration for socio-economic development of host and sending CIS countries and expand the integration opportunities between them.

The end of the global financial crisis and the upcoming 2014 Olympic Winter Games, Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum and World Cup 2018 in Russia, required a large workforce. At the same time, Russia's image in the eyes of the world depended a lot on the successful completion of these infrastructure mega-projects.

In this regard, totally different issues and approaches to migration policy appear, with which begins a new period of the migration policy. A characteristic feature of this period is the awareness of the authorities in the need to attract more qualified foreign labor, improve migration accounting, further liberalize this issue for law-abiding labour migrants and toughen those who abuse it.

Such concepts as “high- skilled specialists” appear in the migration legislation, and the institute “patent” is conducted for foreign citizens who work for Russian individuals. The order of registration of different types of foreign citizens is also changing. From that time on, the selective replenishment of labor resources begins. Next, we examine some aspects of this innovation.

Until 2010, all labour migrants, regardless of the type of employer,

were required to obtain a work permit. The procedure for obtaining a work permit for all is the same. However, the majority of foreigners receiving work permits, then dropped out of sight of the relevant authorities. In the subsequent analysis, it was shown that this is part of labour migrants, which, according to various data makes up 40-50%, worked for Russian individuals as builders at summer houses or apartments, domestic servants, gardeners, nannies, etc.

Foreign citizens who had work permits or worked for Russian legal entities, receiving their wages, had a social security and paid the relevant taxes to the treasury. Those who worked for individuals did not pay any taxes, as the employer being Russian individual person could not issue them social security. Thus, a huge mass of labour migrants working for individuals has legally gotten round the law.

In light of this, in May 2010, new amendments came into force, according to which, individuals - Russian citizens - may attract labour migrants from CIS countries for doing personal, household jobs and other similar needs. An obligatory condition for labour migrants is the presence of a patent, registration of temporary residence and employment or a civil contract.

The process of obtaining a patent is simplified as much as possible. A patent is issued within 10 days from the date of documents submission, and its validity period is associated with a tax paid by a foreign citizen. To extend the term of a patent, a personal visit to FMS is not mandatory. A foreign citizen himself receives a patent, he looks for a job personally and at the same time for patent holders, the quota is canceled.

Increased competition for attracting 'brains' on a global scale, the need to reorient the Russian economy from raw materials to innovative, in the context of the demographic crisis, the authorities raise the question of the Russian migration attractiveness for the international community and those it intends to attract. With the advent of the term "highly skilled

specialist” in 2010, Russia is moving from “brain drain” to “brain gain”.

Highly-skilled professional migrant is a worker with skills, knowledge or achievements, which are confirmed by relevant documents. The criterion for a person to belong to this category is determined by the employer, which is subsequently verified by the FMS. In addition, for the assignment of a foreign citizen to such a group, annual salary of at least 2 million rubles is mandatory.

Thus, by 2010, the Russia migration policy divides labor migrants from the region we are analyzing into the following categories: 1) foreign citizens working for legal entities; 2) foreign citizens working for individuals; 3) highly skilled foreign citizens.

However, the increasing demographic burden, the increasing demand for labor, factors of international socialization and global migration trends, have forced Russia to establish a favorable migration policy regime. This was also facilitated by the taking of the Eurasian course in Russian foreign policy. As Grebenyuk A. mentioned, integration processes such as the Eurasian Economic Union (EEU), have a significant impact on these flows, especially with respect to labor migration⁴⁰.

The favored migration policy required the establishment of policies in favor of qualified migrants. Civilized migration and the socialization of migrants occur more precisely with the influx of skilled migration. Moreover, for a country like Russia, which seeks to create an ‘information society’ and a ‘knowledge society’, the growth of intellectual potential contributes to the creation of new technologies and, thus, gives a significant economic effect, which becomes essential for its subsequent development.

As Ryazantsev S.V.⁴¹ notes, migration policy liberalization also

⁴⁰Гребенюк А.А., Трунян Э.Р. Иммиграция и рынок труда в России в контексте евразийских интеграционных преобразований // Актуальные проблемы социально-экономического развития России. 2014. № 4. С 58-66. [Grebenyuk A.A., Trunyan E.R. (2014). Immigration and the Labor Market in Russia in the Context of Eurasian Integration Transformations // Latest problems of socio-economic development of Russia. № 4. pp.58-66 (in Russ)]

⁴¹Рязанцев С.В., Письменная Е.Е., Боженко В.В. Финансово-экономические аспекты временной

demanding Russia's geopolitical ambitions aimed at strengthening and expanding the military presence in the CIS countries, which demanded the establishment of preferential migration regimes for citizens of these countries.

Taking the policy of liberalizing its migration policy, Russia has made an important step in this direction, adopting the 'Concept of the state migration policy - 2025'. The Concept establishes the main objectives of the state migration policy, including: a) stabilizing and increasing the number of permanent population; b) assistance in meeting the needs of the Russian economy in labor, modernization, innovative development and improving the competitiveness of its industries.

It was on the basis of this Concept that a number of federal laws were subsequently adopted, among which, of particular interest is the provision requiring mandatory knowledge of the Russian language by labor migrants.

In accordance with this document, labour migrants employed in housing and communal services, trade and consumer services are required to pass exams in Russian language, Russian history and the basics of Russian legislation to obtain work permits. The introduction of compulsory examinations is designed to ensure more effective social adaptation and integration of migrants, and should also help to reduce tensions in society and prevent threats to interethnic harmony. Examinations will be mandatory for all migrant workers with the exception of skilled and high skilled migrants.

Host country language knowledge is a must in the process of labor migration and the introduction of this provision in Russia generally meets international standards. However, in other countries, such knowledge is mandatory only for those who apply for permanent residence. In Russia,

трудовой иммиграции в Россию // Финансовая экономика. 2014. №3. С. 90. [Ryazantsev S.V., Pismennaya E.E., Bozhenko V.V. (2014) Financial and economic aspects of temporary labor immigration to Russia // Financial economics №3. p.90 (in Russ)]

the introduced norm covers temporary labor migrants, which is a very, very controversial point. At the same time, the introduction of the norm obliging knowledge of the language and the history of Russia for temporary labor migrants, among other things, also pursues political motives, caused by an attempt to abolish the status of the Russian language in some CIS countries, including Central Asia⁴².

In subsequent years, a number of other legal acts were adopted, aimed at strengthening administrative and criminal liability, as well as for violating the requirements of the Russian migration legislation.

In particular, since 2013, a ban on entry into Russia for 3 years by foreign citizens who have not left Russia after 13 days from the end date of their temporary stay has been established, as well as the list of the grounds on which foreign citizens are not allowed or restricted to enter the country is specified and expanded.

The basis for a ban on entry into Russia can also be considered as fines and taxes that were not paid during the previous stay, until the moment of their payment. For such categories of foreign citizens, the period of closure or non-authorization of entry is from 3 to 10 years. In addition, it introduced an unequivocal ban on entry of foreign citizens into Russia who used forged documents. Moreover, the law defined reinforced sanctions against foreigners who have committed offenses in Moscow, Moscow region, St. Petersburg and Leningrad region.

In 2014, the so-called “90/180” norm came into force, which implies that a foreign citizen has the right to stay in Russia only 90 days out of every 180 days. In other words, if before a foreign citizen could stay in Russia for 90 days without a patent or work permit, and then leave and enter the country on the same day, then from 2014, such categories of

⁴²Гребенюк А.А. Русский язык и образование на русском на постсоветском пространстве. Мир образования - образование в мире. 2014. № 3. С. 72-80. [Grebennyuk A.A (2014). Russian language and education in Russian in the post-Soviet space. The world of education - education in the world. № 3. pp.72-80 (in Russ)]

foreigners are allowed to be without the above-mentioned documents only for 90 days. On the expiration of this period, the provisions of the Law require them to leave the Russia and return to enter only after 180 days.

However, the need to cross the border every 3 months is not quite clear, unless the law provides the possibility of extending the period of temporary stay without it. Other experts also agree with this⁴³.

It should be noted that these norms seriously affected the migration situation in Russia. According to the Russia Ministry of Internal Affairs, as of 2018, entry was closed for 1.6 million foreign citizens. From the economic point of view, this norm minimizes costs than the deportation procedure, which requires certain expenses from the host country to apply it.

The last change was introduced in 2015, according to which labor migrants from visa-free countries, abolished the so-called 'quota'. In other words, now this category of labour migrants under the patent can not only work for Russian individuals, but also for legal entities. Along with this, the cost of the patent has grown substantially, and the fixed monthly advance payment has grown from 1,000 rubles in 2010 to about 3,840 rubles per month in 2018.⁴⁴

However, as experts note⁴⁵, the introduction of this norm was not accompanied by innovations in statistical observation of labor migrants who worked separately for individuals and separately for legal entities. This circumstance makes it difficult to analyze comprehensively this category of labor migrants.

Thus, after 2010, a modern stage of the Russian migration policy is

⁴³Основные проблемы российской миграционной политики по развитию гражданского общества и правам человека [The main problems of the Russian migration policy on the development of civil society and human rights (in Russ)]. Retrieved from: <http://president-sovet.ru/members/blogs/post/2155/>

⁴⁴В ФМС объявили о новых правилах для рабочих мигрантов [FMS announced new rules for migrant workers (in Russ)]. Retrieved from: <http://www.tvc.ru/news/show/id/58521>

⁴⁵Воробьева О.Д., А.В. Топилин. Современная миграционная политика России: иллюзии и реальность // Социологические исследования. 2016. №7. С. 136. [Vorobeva O.D, A.V. Topilin (2016). Modern migration policy of Russia: illusions and reality // Sociological studies. №7. pp.136 (in Russ)]

formed, the essence of which is its liberalization for law-abiding foreign citizens and the selective choice of migrants on the one hand, and toughening for violators of migration legislation, and Russian employers on the other.

In attempts to assess the effectiveness of migration policy, it would be advisable to refer to the available theoretical studies. Studies conducted in 14 countries of destination from the OECD group found that tightening migration policies in general had a negative effect on the overall migration trend, and the liberalization of this policy increased the migration flow by 10%⁴⁶.

The results of other studies revealed that the influence of economic “pull” factors in the host country becomes even more significant if such a country takes into account the negative influence of “push” factors in the countries of origin when forming its migration policy⁴⁷.

In addition, factors such as distance, level of income and the proportion of the young population in the countries of origin have a big impact if migration policies of destination countries are less strict. Similar mutually influencing effects exist between economic factors and the tightening of migration policies: if migration policies become more liberal, economic growth in countries of destination begins to play a more active role in attracting international migrants.

A necessary component of the analysis of migration policy is the assessment of how various factors influence the formation of this policy and the way in which the issue of migration policy intersects with the policy of socio-economic, military, political and cultural development of the country. Formation of the migration policy of the country takes place under the influence of different configurations of interests, ideas, and

⁴⁶Ortega F., G. Peri (2009). The Causes and Effects of International Migrations: Evidence from OECD Countries 1980–2005, NBER Working Paper No. 14833.

⁴⁷Mayda A. 2010. International Migration: a Panel Data Analysis of the Determinants of Bilateral Flows. *Journal of Population Economics*. 23:1249–74.

institutions. There are many stakeholders whose interests may not coincide with each other, but they have influence in shaping the country's migration policy. For example, trade and investment policy, foreign policy and national security policy are closely intertwined with international migration.

Due to the fact that they influence the main driving forces of international migration, their influence actually goes far beyond the migration policy. The migration policy itself undoubtedly has a greater influence on specific aspects and categories of selection of migrants than on the general migration trend.

It should not be forgotten that the officially declared goals may not coincide with its real goals and intentions, which are hidden from the public, and the migration policy itself can sometimes be formed under the influence of the public. For example, under the influence of this factor, Western European governments after the 1973 oil crisis, pointedly suspended recruitment programs, but at the same time continued to issue work permits for low-skilled labor migrants and use the “family reunification” program as an alternative channel for “import” labour migrants.

Discourses regarding the tightening of migration policies often serve as a tool in the hands of politicians to meet electoral needs during election campaigns. And in this case, it does not imply the anticipated expectations (effect) from the adoption of migration policy. But the key question is whether it is possible to determine objectively the “true” intentions of the migration policy?

Like any other policy, migration policy de facto usually represents a compromise between a number of potentially competing interests. For example, while the business community is lobbying in favor of a more liberal immigration policy, the population sees it as a threat to their interests and security officials as undermining the basis of power and

national security.

Therefore, it is extremely difficult to determine the demarcation line between immigration and non-migration policies. This line is blurred even more when it comes to the “Law on Citizenship”, which has quite clearly defined migration objectives and effects from it. The combination of all these points makes it even harder to assess the effectiveness of migration policy for researchers.

In this regard, in the context of growing globalization and interdependence of the world economy, international migration has become one of the central objectives of future development policies. The world has become so interdependent that the migration policy of the host country has begun to play such a role that it has never played before. It has evolved as one of the components of sustainable development and the strategy for the modernization of both the host countries and the countries of origin of migrant workers. Given this circumstance, the necessary condition is awareness of the consequences of adopting such a policy, both at the national, and at the regional and global levels, while fully respecting the sovereign right of each state in shaping its policy.

Conclusions

1. So, on the basis Russia migration policy analysis, the periods of its formation can be divided into four conditional stages: 1) 1994-2001; 2) 2002-2006; 3) 2007-2010; and 4) 2011-2017.

In summary, it can be said that during the first two stages, Russia's migration policy was rather “reactionary” in relation to certain political events. Since 2007, the Russian government adopted a policy to liberalize it. However, as shown by the following sections of this paper, the beginning of the global financial crisis was the reason for the temporary collapse of the course with respect to migrant workers. The results of these

and recent socio-economic (2015) and political upheavals showed that labor migrants became a kind of “safety cushion”⁴⁸ and “tightening the screws” in such cases begins with them.

2. Based on the statistical data analysis sources and Russia migration policy, the main system-forming factors of its migration policy were identified, including:

- *Security factor.* The USSR collapse and the onset of political instability in the CIS countries caused huge flows of international migration from these countries to Russia, among which were people of different categories. The war in Chechnya and the appeals of international terrorist emissaries attracted a portion of these displaced persons. The situation has further aggravated with the terrorist attacks in the USA in September, 2011. Under the pressure of these factors, Russia was forced to tighten its migration regime, which worsened the position of the law-abiding part of labor migrants.

Practically everyone took advantage of this provision, from employers who exploited them to intermediaries and people in uniform. The situation has become so critical that the factor of national security in the end was not foreign labor migration, but corruption in these areas. Even now, the security factor, including that emanating from international labor migrants⁴⁹, plays a key role. The joining of Central Asian citizens to ISIL, a significant portion of which went to Syria and Iraq, as labor migrants in Russia, along with the other geopolitical factors prompted Russia to send troops to Syria.

-*International socialization.* Integration into international economic processes and organizations became Russia's unconditional choice. On the way to the abolition of the visa regime with the EU and negotiations on

⁴⁸Ульмасов Р.У. Геомиграция: мейнстрим // Горизонты экономики. 2015. №1(20). С. 11-14. [Ulmasov P.U (2015). Geomigration: mainstream // The horizons of economics. №1 (20). pp. 11-14 (in Russ)]

⁴⁹Икромов Д.З. Научились нехорошему // Миграция XXI век. 2014. № сентябрь—октябрь. С.39. [Ikromov J.Z. We learned bad things // Migration XXI century. 2014. No. September — October. P.39]

joining the OECD, Russia has undertaken to harmonize its legislation. International socialization on a par with other factors became the impetus for Russia to liberalize its migration policy.

-Socio-economic factors and Russia's ambitions. The population decline of a huge country, which every year decreased from about 800 thousand to a million people, and the economy, which grew at a rapid pace, required the availability of labor resources. For various reasons, existed labor resources cannot and do not want to work. In this situation, international labor migration from Central Asian is complementary, but by no means a mutually exclusive factor for Russia.

Availability of labor is one of the three pillars of sustainable development of any country. Naturally, the availability of labor resources presupposes its qualitative composition, however, the small and medium-sized businesses in Russia cannot offer the higher wages claimed by the local population. Another factor is working conditions, which Russians consider to be non-prestigious.

Thus, a situation has arisen in the Russian labor market in which demand and supply do not correspond to each other. In this situation, international labor migration from the Central Asian countries is an additional factor in providing the national economy with labor resources, including small and medium businesses, which in developed countries is an important sector in creating jobs.

Russia, while solving its demographic problems, makes many attempts by creating maternity capital, strengthening the family, reducing mortality and increasing the birth rate, etc. However, all these aspects are only additional factors in solving demographic problems, and not an alternative to international migration.

-Leverage pressure on the CIS countries. As history shows, the “migration card” in Russia’s hands has become “a sword” over the main countries supplying labor migration from the Central Asian countries.

Since the end of the 2000s, Russia has begun using this tool of political pressure when these countries try to deviate from the course set by Russia.

It is clear that, by establishing a regime for favoring migration policies, host countries thus contribute to the eradication of poverty and extreme forms of poverty in the countries of origin. Thanks to the existing policy of free movement between Russia and the Central Asian countries, millions of low-skilled labor migrants have the opportunity to send their families the amount of remittances that have intensified domestic and international trade⁵⁰.

3. Summarizing the first chapter at this stage and assessing the migration policy and statistics of international labor migration, we can already develop the main indicators of Russia's socio-economic development, which will be measured in future sections.

The need to delay the development of such indicators is justified at the present time by the following:

The analysis of migration statistics allows us to judge that the available statistics on the number of international migrants during the first three above-mentioned stages are only the tip of the iceberg that we cannot rely on when assessing their impact on the socio-economic development of Russia. As for the current stage of the migration policy formation, it is characterized by a relatively liberal course towards international labor migrants, in which the necessary legal conditions have been created, by virtue of which many labor migrants “came out of the shadows”.

Nevertheless, due to the above-mentioned backbone factors, it is considered expedient to rely, when assessing the socio-economic effects of international labor migration, mainly on 2013 data that are more reliable than in previous years.

Given the above, it is considered advisable and generally possible to

⁵⁰Винокуров Е.Ю. Прагматическое Евразийство. Россия в глобальной политике. 2 (11), март-апрель 2013. С.49-58 [Vinokurov E.Y. Pragmatic Eurasianism. Russia in the global politics. 2 (11), March-April 2013. P.49-58]

make an assessment of international labor migration impact on social and separately on economic indicators of Russia's development, the assessment methodology of which is located in Appendix 2.

Part two

International Migration from Central Asia Main Trends and Implications for the Russian Economy

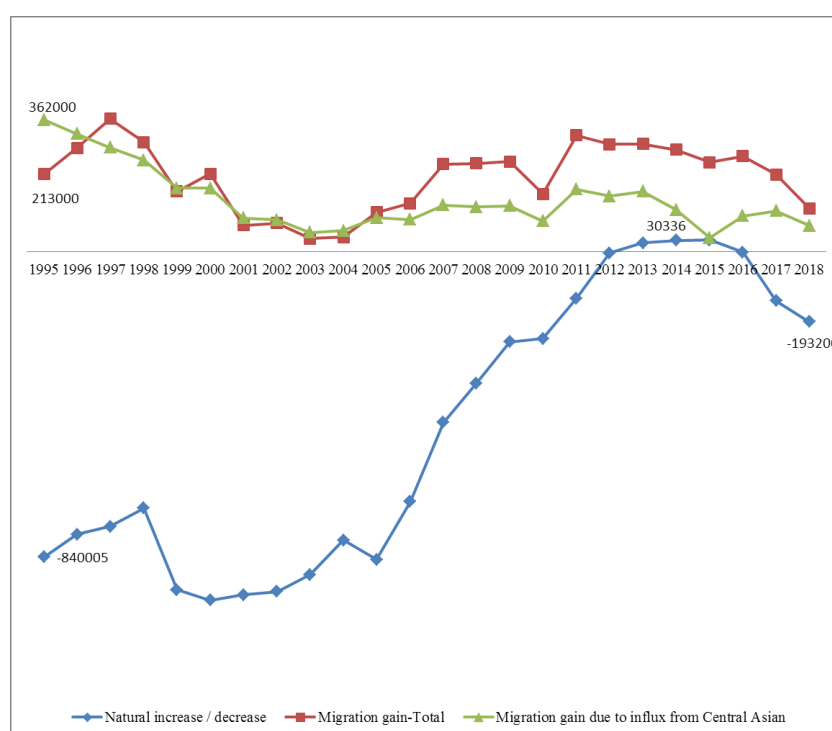
Major Trends in International Migration from Central Asia

Migration for Permanent Residence

Historically, in Russia with its vast territories and a small but dense population, international migration (i.e., migration to permanent residence) has always been the most important factor in compensating population decline.

The peak of the natural decline of the population falls in 2000 which resulted in the country's loss of over 958 thousand people, while international migration was able to compensate only 213 thousand people or 22.2% of the total decrease.

Figure 3.1 - The Russian demographic picture for 1997-2018⁵¹



Source: Compiled by the author according to Rosstat data

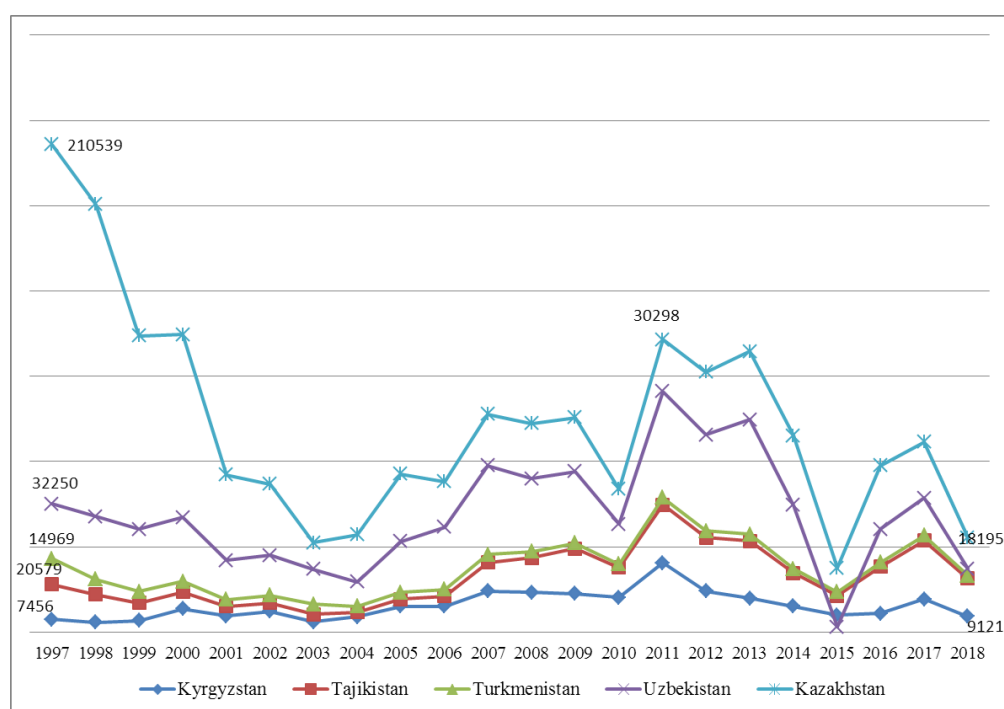
Since 2000, the trend of natural decline in the population began to depopulate and in 2012 reached about 4 thousand people. After 2012, over

⁵¹ Data for 2018 were available only for 9 months

the next 3 years there was a slight increase of population, after which the growth was replaced again by a fall.

A significant part of the migration increase was created by the flow from the Central Asian countries. Migration indicator reached its highest point in 1997, as a result of which Russia received 285 thousand people, or about 80% of the total increase. Next, a series of growth and decrease replaced each other. In 2016, the indicator was about 100 thousand people (see Figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2 - Migration exchange of Russia with the countries of Central Asia for 1995-2018⁵²



Source: Compiled by the author according to Rosstat Demographic Yearbook

It can be assumed that this trend is due to the “depletion” of the migration potential and related to the socio-economic and political stability of the region.

In general, during the post-Soviet period, as a result of natural decline, Russia lost more than 11 million of its population, while at the expense of migration growth it received about 5 million people, thereby

⁵² Data for 2018 were available only for 9 months

compensating only 36% of its population decline. The share of the population of the Central Asian countries in the total migration increase of Russia for the same period reached to about 2.5 million people or 62.4% of the total migration increase.

The demographic characteristic of foreign labor force has major socio-economic importance for the host country. There is no doubt that countries with a positive fiscal impact tend to have younger migrant groups, while countries with relatively older migrant age groups have a negative financial impact. The younger the labor migrants, the more profitable it is for their host country. This is due to the lower expenditure on medical care and late retirement.

For a more accurate analysis of their contribution, statistical data will be required regarding migrants' health services, and data on educational expenses of their children, which are not publicly available.

The data on the age structure of international migrants (see Table 3.1) shows that in 2017 out of 270 thousand people that came to live permanently to Russia, about 201 thousand people who could be active in the labor market for a long time were at working age.

Table 3.1 - Distribution of international migrants by major age groups and foreign countries in 2017

	Migration gain - Total	under working age	at working age	over working age
International migration	270036	29971	201596	38469
Migration with CIS countries	260156	28934	193803	37419
Azerbaijan	12350	826	10798	726
Armenia	23953	1902	18026	4025
Belorussia	6722	363	5886	473
Kazakhstan	40768	5962	26681	8125
Kyrgyzstan	15255	1862	11376	2017
Moldova	17498	1761	14292	1445

Tajikistan	19340	2477	15898	965
Turkmenistan	2598	150	2078	370
Uzbekistan	36733	3853	27645	5235
Ukraine	84939	9778	61123	14038
Migration from other countries	9880	1037	7793	1050

Source: Rosstat “The number and migration of the Russian Federation population in 2017” Yearbook

In accordance with demographic projections of Russian Federal State Statistics Service (see Appendix 7), despite the improvement associated with the natural decline mentioned above, the demographic projections based on the average scenario indicate that until 2050 a part of Russian population will be reduced from 83 million people to 71 million people. The share of the population older than working age in this case will be 32.7%. In general, the employable part of the population will decrease from 56.7% in 2017 to 49% in 2050, which may entail significant consequences for the country's socio-economic development.

Russia's demographic projections are similar to other major European countries. For example, in Germany, the number of working-age population from 2000 to 2010 decreased by 3 million people and is projected to decrease to 7.6 and 6.9 million people by 2030 and 2050⁵³.

The increase in the share of the population over working age from an economic point of view indicates a forthcoming increase in pressure on the country's budget due to their social security. In this situation, Russia will have to continue to raise the retirement age, which is not quite the right political move, and increase the flow of both seasonal and permanent migrants.

It is worth noting that the latter corresponds to the Russian Concept of the demographic policy - 2025, according to which for 2011–2025, there must be a rising demographic dynamic in Russia. This Concept urges to the

⁵³Groenewold G. J. Beer (2014). Economic and Demographic Change in the EU: Implications for Immigration and Integration Policies. NEUJOBS Policy Brief D18.5.

idea that in the XXI century the role of migration in the demographic development of Russia will grow even more.

Thus, the combination of the above arguments suggests that, despite such loud calls for the need to introduce a visa regime for Central Asian countries, a reduction in the number of labor migrants and stricter rules for them, Russia has fewer reasons to accept such populist measures against foreign labor from a given region.

Temporary Labor Migration

As the turn of political instability subsided, temporary labor migration became the most important characteristic of the socio-economic development of the CIS countries⁵⁴.

The causes of labor migration from the countries of this region to Russia are somewhat different from each other, but in general, they are associated with a low standard of living, lack of jobs, low wages and relatively high birth rates. The only exception is Kazakhstan, where economic success and demographic problems have led to a shortage of labor⁵⁵. As a result, Kazakhstan has become the Central Asian segment of the Eurasian migration subsystem.

By the mid-2000s, the transition to a full-scale market economy had been completed and a high degree of economy openness had been achieved in Russia. Favorable external conditions for the main export goods, namely oil and gas, forced the creation of competitive markets for goods and services, capital and labor. In the pre-crisis (2006–2008), foreign trade turnover reached 45% of GDP, which was one of the highest indicators for

⁵⁴ Аналитический доклад по итогам международной научно-практического семинара «Миграция на постсоветском пространстве: тенденции, последствия и перспективы»// Москва, 2011 г., стр. 3. [Analytical report on the results of the international scientific-practical seminar "Migration in the post-Soviet space: trends, consequences and prospects" // Moscow, 2011, p. 3. (in Russ)]

⁵⁵ Трудовая миграция и трудоемкие отрасли в Кыргызстане и Таджикистане: возможности для человеческого развития. Центр интеграционных исследований Евразийского банка развития. Спб., 2015. С-14. [Labor migration and labor-intensive industries in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan: opportunities for human development. Center for Integration Studies of the Eurasian Development Bank. St. Petersburg, 2015. p.14. (in Russ)]

countries with developed economies. In the same years, the volume of GDP had increased to the level of 1991 which was about 110%. In terms of purchasing power parity (PPP), Russia's GDP ranked sixth in the world.

The steady growth in the inflow of oil and gas dollars stimulated the government to ambitious goals and reforms in the tax and budget sectors, the implementation of national projects in education, health, housing and agriculture which were laid down in the Strategy for Social and Economic Development of the Russian Federation until 2010.

In 2010, speaking on the results of the implementation of this program, G. Gref noted that in 2000 Russia's GDP growth exceeded 6% per year (the exception were the years of crisis - 2009-2010), thereby significantly outperforming the dynamics of the world economy⁵⁶.

As a result of all these socio-economic transformations, practically all sectors of the national economy began to develop rapidly, which in their turn faced problems of labor shortage, and preferably cheap labor for their sustainable development.

The demand for cheap labor resources along with the fact that Russia entered the international market of foreign labor, while this market was fully formed and world practice gained considerable experience in regulating these processes, in fact, has determined the chaotic and unresolved nature of international labor migration into the country.

If the demand for a permanent population is due to the need to preserve the vast and sparsely populated territories of Russia, then external labor migration is associated with the provision of economic sectors with cheap labor resources, most of which are in Central Asian countries.

At the first stage (1994-2001), the cumulative number of officially issued work permits for labor migration in Russia amounted to 1,894 thousand people (Tab.3.2).

⁵⁶ Подведены итоги удвоения ВВП [The results of doubling GDP (in Russ)]. Retrieved from <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/1379378>

Table 3.2 - Structure of Foreign Labor from Central Asia in Russia

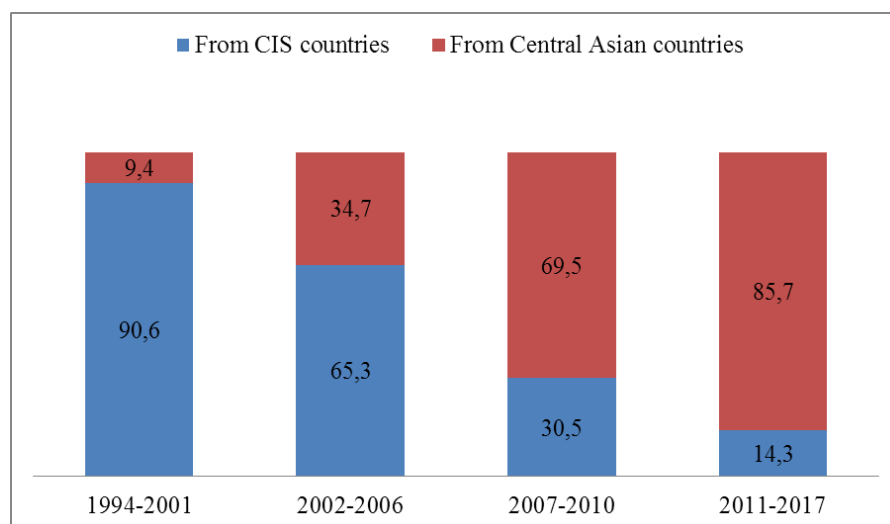
in thousand people				
Countries/Years	1994-2001	2002-2006	2007-2010	2011-2017
For the whole of Russia	1894	2731	8007	14826,2
including from the following countries:				
Central Asia-Total	91,8	517,1	4048.9	10408,7
Kazakhstan	17,1	25,7	37.5	15,1
Kyrgyzstan	7,3	68,4	568.0	652,2
Tajikistan	30,8	205,0	1269	2944,2
Turkmenistan	1,7	9,6	8.8	25,5
Uzbekistan	34,9	208,3	2 1651	6792,5

Source: compiled by the author according to Russian Federal State Statistics Service

If in the first period the share of labor migrants from Central Asian countries in the total flow of labor migration was only 4.8%, in subsequent periods this indicator reached 17.5%, 50.6% and 70.2% consequently creating a serious competition for labor migrants from other CIS countries and far abroad on the market of Russia.

At the same time, the share of labor migrants from Central Asian countries in the total number of foreign citizens from other CIS countries in Russia has significantly increased. Statistical data (Fig.3.3) indicates that if at the first stage the formation of Russian migration policy, the share of labor migrants from the Central Asian countries was only 9%, later, this indicator grew rapidly to the fourth stage (2011-2017) and reached 85.7%.

Figure 3.3 - Ratio of the share of foreign labor from the countries of the CIS and Central Asia in Russia for 1994-2017 (at %)



Source: Compiled by the author according to Rosstat

The quantitative increase in the flow of labor migration from the Central Asian countries is caused not only by the growth of the Russian economy (until 2014) and the increasing gap between the wage level in Russia and the Central Asian countries. This trend also indicates the liberalization of Russian migration policy. Among these innovations, it is worth mentioning particularly the amendments related to the introduction of the patent system for labor migrants from neighborhood countries⁵⁷.

The data given in Appendix 8 shows that in the first year after the introduction of this norm, only a small number of labor migrants benefited. This is primarily due to the fact that the vast majority by that time still had valid work permits. In the future, experience has shown that the introduction of this standard was relatively more effective than previous permits for labor activity.

The existing theoretical papers suggest that low-skilled labor migrants in the labor market of their host countries directly compete with

⁵⁷ Икромов Д.З. Влияние международной трудовой миграции из стран центральной Азии на социально-экономическое развитие России: дис. ... канд. экон. наук: 08.00.14. СПб, 2017. С.86. [Ikromov J.Z. The impact of international labor migration from the countries of Central Asia on the socio-economic development of Russia: Dissertation thesis of Candidate Econ Sciences: 08.00.14. St. Petersburg, 2017. P.86. (in Russ)]

two categories of the local population. Firstly, these are newly arrived as low-skilled labor migrants. Secondly, these are the same low-skilled workers from among the local population⁵⁸.

The structure of international labor migration from Central Asian countries shows the share of labor migrants from Uzbekistan increased from 38% to about 65.2%, thereby creating competition for labor migrants from Tajikistan, whose share decreased from 33.5% to about 28%. This trend indicates competition between labor migrants from the Central Asian countries on the Russian labor market, which is beneficial for employers.

In general, over 22 years, the proportion of labor migrants from Central Asia has increased from about 5% to about 70%, thereby occupying a significant share on the Russian labor market among labor migrants from other CIS countries.

The Scale of Attracting Legal Migration

As already mentioned, the statistics on the number of officially recruited labor migrants after 2010 are relatively reliable compared with previous years. Given this circumstance, it is considered appropriate to assess the impact of international labor migration with an assessment of the scale of its official involvement, according to the methodology described in Appendix 2.

The result of the assessment (see Table 3.3) suggests that a significant reduction in the share of foreign labor in the number of native employed in federal districts is observed in the Central Region, where this figure decreased from about 8% in 2014 to 4.1% in 2015 or about 3.9% per year, which is a significant change.

⁵⁸ Dadush U. (2014). The Effect of Low-Skilled Labor Migration on the Host Economy. KNOMAD's Thematic Working Group: Low-Skilled Labor Migration.

Table 3.3 Assessment of The Scale of Attracting Foreign Labor Forces from CIS Countries to Russia for 2014–2017

	2014			2015			
	Number of foreign citizens who had a valid work permit and patent at the end of the year	Number of native employed	The share of foreign labor in the number of native employed	Number of foreign citizens who had a valid work permit and patent at the end of the year	Number of native employed	The share of foreign labor in the number of native employed	Changes in the share of foreign labor in the number of native employed in Russian regions in 2015 compared to 2014
	Thousands of people	Thousands of people	in %	Thousands of people	Thousands of people	in %	in %
Russia - Total	2945,7	71664,8	4,1	1838,6	71539	2,6	-1,5
Central Federal District	1642,7	20557,8	8	840	20471	4,1	-3,9
- Kaluga region	49,5	515,2	9,6		515	0,0	-9,6
-Moscow region	427	3819,7	11,2	187,4	3784	5,0	-6,2
-Ryazan region	29,6	509,9	5,8		516	0,0	-5,8
-Moscow	926,4	7017,7	13,2	487,7	6983	7,0	-6,2
Northwestern Federal District	331,3	7255,9	4,6	290	7225	4,0	-0,6

- Nenets Autonomous District	1,4	21,4	6,5		21	0,0	-6,5
St. Petersburg	212,5	2862,9	7,4	200,1	2846	7,0	-0,4
Southern Federal District	197,1	6488	3	125,1	6517	1,9	-1,1
North Caucasus Federal District	37,5	4053,7	0,9	18,7	4037	0,5	-0,4
Volga Federal District	274,9	14813,1	1,9	184,4	14812	1,2	-0,7
Ural Federal District	243,8	6178,3	3,9	143,3	6133	2,3	-1,6
- Tyumen region	123	1868,7	6,6		1852	0	-6,6
-- including: Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug	66,5	874,3	7,6	45,9	877	5,2	-2,4
- Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug	27,7	321,1	8,6	15,1	318	4,7	-3,9
- Tyumen region - without autonomous district	28,7	666,5	4,3	14,4	660	2,2	-2,1

Siberian Federal District	261,3	9141,5	2,9	142,5	9150	1,6	-1,3
- Irkutsk region	59	1133	5,2	37	1130	3,3	-1,9
- Kemerovo region	21,7	1312,4	1,7	7,1	1323	0,5	-1,2
- Novosibirsk region	71,8	1353,1	5,3	42,7	1357	3,1	-2,2
Far Eastern Federal District	133,8	3176,3	4,2	83,9	3193	2,6	-1,6
-The Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)	21,9	470,2	4,7	7,4	466	1,6	-3,1

	2016			2017			
	Number of foreign citizens who had a valid work permit and patent at the end of the year	Number of native employed	The share of foreign labor in the number of native employed	Number of foreign citizens who had a valid work permit and patent at the end of the year	Number of native employed	The share of foreign labor in the number of native employed	Changes in the share of foreign labor in the number of native employed in Russian regions in 2017 compared to 2016
	Thousands of people	Thousands of people	in %	Thousands of people	Thousands of people	in %	in %

Russia - Total	1567,6	72392,6	2,2	1764,1	72315,9	2,4	0,3
Central Federal District	710	20526,6	3,5	815,4	20640,7	4,0	0,5
- Kaluga region	21,3	520,3	4,1	24,3	516,9	4,7	0,6
-Moscow region	174,8	3862,8	4,5	199,1	3966,4	5,0	0,5
-Ryazan region	18,6	514,6	3,6	20,5	518,6	4,0	0,3
-Moscow	394,6	7106,8	5,6	460,7	7095,4	6,5	0,9
Northwestern Federal District	280,4	7256,7	3,9	313,5	7254,2	4,3	0,5
- Nenets Autonomous District	0,7	21,4	3,2	0,6	20,4	2,9	-0,3
St. Petersburg	196,8	2970,5	6,6	224,1	2998,3	7,5	0,9
Southern Federal District	116,6	7645,7	1,5	113,3	7703,4	1,5	-0,1
North Caucasus Federal District	22,4	4035,4	0,6	27,5	4075,7	0,7	0,1
Volga Federal District	152,6	14710,4	1,0	22	14502,9	0,2	-0,9
Ural Federal District	113,2	6054,9	1,9	134,5	6037,3	2,2	0,4

- Tyumen region	58,0	1866,3	3,1	72,8	1871,6	3,9	0,8
-- including: Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug	32,8	876,7	3,7	39,7	891	4,5	0,7
- Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug	58,0	312,9	18,5	11,6	303,4	3,8	-14,7
- Tyumen region - without autonomous district	15,2	676,7	2,2	21,6	681,4	3,2	0,9
Siberian Federal District	105,3	9003,5	1,2	119	8939,9	1,3	0,2
- Irkutsk region	29,0	1137,3	2,5	34,3	1107,5	3,1	0,5
- Kemerovo region	5,0	1264	0,4	6,3	1244,2	0,5	0,1
- Novosibirsk region	29,0	1345,6	2,2	23,5	1347,8	1,7	-0,4
Far Eastern Federal District	43,2	3159,2	1,4	76,3	3161,8	2,4	1,0
-The Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)	6,1	454,6	1,3	6,1	463,3	1,3	0,0

Sources: Calculations are made by the author based on Rosstat data for 2014–17

Describing the methodology for estimating the calculation, it was noted that the target indicator is the change in the share of international labor migrants in the number of native employees. A decrease or increase of this indicator by no more than 2% indicates a low degree of Russian economy dependence and its entity inflow.

A significant change in the share of the international labor force in 2017 compared with 2016 is observed in Yamalo-Nenets district which amounted 14.7%.

In general, the share of officially attracted foreign labor does not reach double digits (except for Moscow and Moscow Region in 2014) of the total share of native employed and is at a reasonable level.

The Scale of Attracting Potential Migration

Being a relatively developed country in post-Soviet region, Russia attracts various categories of foreign citizens. In the migration flow from these countries, for many years the illegal component prevailed, and often in expanding ties with the Central Asian countries, it played a more important role than official investments⁵⁹.

Nevertheless, this topic has caused heated debates that have not subsided to this day. But, due to more important geopolitical factors affecting Russian society at the moment, this topic temporarily lost its relevance.

In general terms, these disputes were around the number of illegal migrants, which according to various sources were estimated from 3 to 4 million people to 5 to 6 million⁶⁰.

⁵⁹Винокуров Е.Ю., Либман А.М. Евразийская континентальная интеграция. СПб: Евразийский банк развития, 2012. С. 155. [Vinokurov E.Y., Libman A.M. Eurasian Continental Integration. St. Petersburg: Eurasian Development Bank, 2012. P. 155. (in Russ)]

⁶⁰Рязанцев С.В., Письменная Е.Е., Боженко В.В. Финансово-экономические аспекты временной трудовой иммиграции в Россию // Финансовая экономика. 2014. №3. С. 87 [Ryazantsev S.V., Pismennaya E.E., Bozhenko V.V. (2014). Financial and economic aspects of temporary labor immigration to Russia // Financial economics. №3. p.87]

The need to estimate the number of illegal labor migrants is an important indicator, since it is with the help of these figures that migration policies are built.

There are many terminologies describing this phenomenon, among which one can list “illegal”, “unregulated”, “undocumented” and so forth migration. A foreign citizen can be considered as such if he/she has violated one of the following conditions:

- 1) Illegally entered;
- 2) Entered legally, but has not registered with the authorized bodies at the place of stay or residence;
- 3) Working activities without relevant documents.

Without going into details of the description of this phenomenon, within this research, we study the “potential” migration or migrant, by which is meant the situation in which a foreign citizen, having entered to Russia legally, working without relevant documents.

At the same time, this definition also means that foreign labor, which, in accordance with international agreements, has the right to work in Russia without obtaining work permits. In other words, they are the citizens from the Eurasian Economic Union (EEU) countries.

Using the Rosstat data (see Appendix 1) on CIS, citizens who entered Russia on such purposes as ‘tourism’, ‘transit’ and ‘permanent residence’ were deducted, as they are not potential migrant workers.

In the list of purposes visit, there are three other items - ‘service’, ‘personal’ and ‘housekeeping staff’. They are marked and considered as potential labor immigrants, because in the Russian Federal Security Service data the columns for the purposes of travel of foreign citizens, the item ‘work’ is missing, therefore labor immigrants fall under these 3 remaining points.

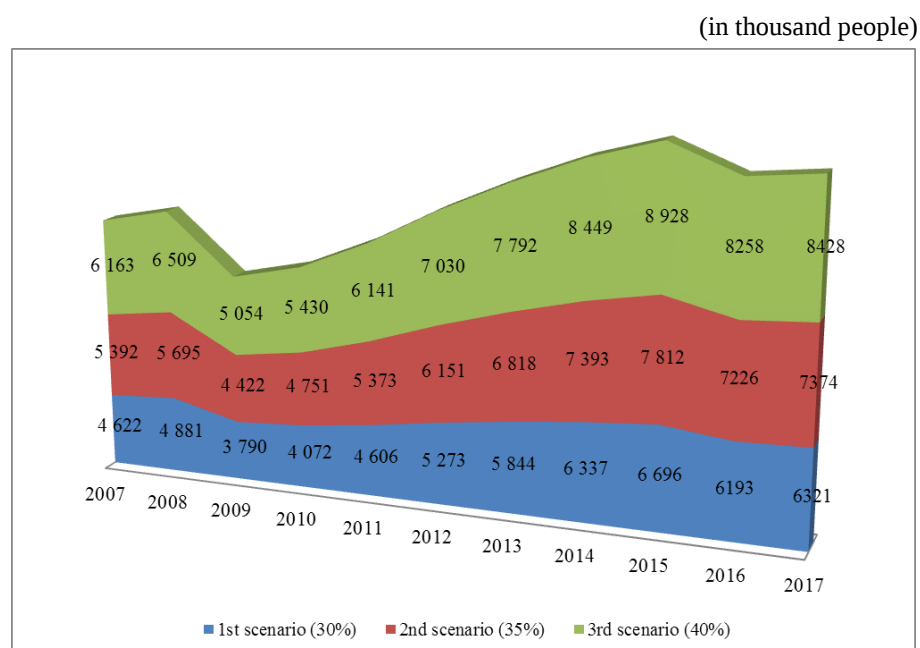
But, at the same time, it is necessary to proceed from the fact that, under these points, the goals of travel can actually be different as foreign

citizens may arrive for purposes other than labor migration. In this regard, three other remaining purposes will help us to model the number of potential immigrants under 3 scenarios.

In accordance with the first scenario, out of the total number of arrivals in these three categories, 30% really arrived in Russia without a purpose of labor migration. With the second and third options, the share increases up to 35% to 40% respectively.

Eventually, the results were obtained and are presented in figures 3.4 and 3.6.

Figure 3.4 - Estimation of the number of potential labor migrants from countries CIS in Russia for 2007–2017

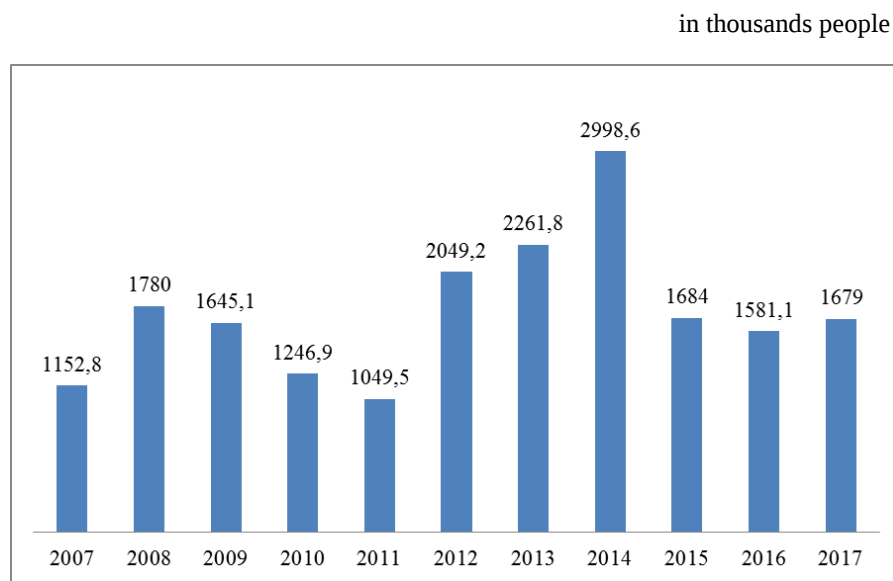


Source: Calculations of the author according to the Rosstat

The results of estimating the number of potential labor migrants from the CIS countries among the three options ranged from 1.5 million people in 2007 to 2.1 million people in 2017.

Further, the obtained results were compared with the number of obtained permits issued to CIS citizens for employment in Russia, which are presented in Figure 3.5.

Figure 3.5 - Information on the number of documents received for implementation employment in Russia by citizens of the CIS countries for 2007–2017



Source: Compiled by the author according to Russian Rosstat

If we proceed from the average version of the assessment (according to which 35% of CIS citizens actually entered with the purpose of ‘official’, ‘private’ and ‘housekeeping staff’ and correlate it with the data on the issued permits for labor activity, while in 2007 only 21.4% of potential labor migrants were able to obtain official permits for employment, this figure in 2014 reached 40.6%. In other words, only about 40% of potential labor migrants were officially employed. In 2017 their number was already about 7.4 million (see Tab.3.4).

Table 3.4 - Ratio between official and unofficial employment of labor migrants from the CIS countries in Russia for 2007–2017

in thousands people

	Number of potential labor migrants	Number of labor migrants who have work permits and patent	Differences	at %
2007	5 392	1152,8	4 239	21,4
2008	5 695	1780	3 915	31,3
2009	4 422	1645,1	2 777	37,2
2010	4 751	1246,9	3 504	26,2
2011	5 373	1049,5	4 324	19,5
2012	6 151	2049,2	4 102	33,3

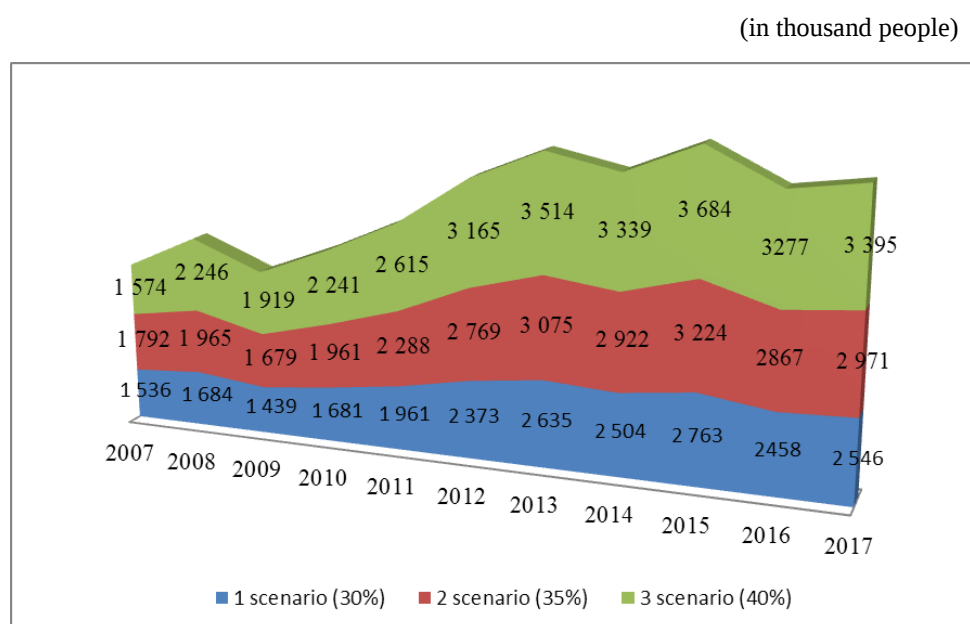
2013	6 818	2261,8	4 556	33,2
2014	7 393	2998,6	4 394	40,6
2015	7 812	1684	6 128	21,6
2016	7226	1581,1	5 645	21,9
2017	7374	1679	5 695	22,8

Source: Compiled by the author according to Russian Federal State Statistics Service

Despite all attempts by the Russian authorities to liberalize migration legislation, in 2015-2017 the number of CIS citizens who managed to obtain work permits decreased in 2017 and amounted to only 22.8% in total.

The same shows the results of the assessment of the number of potential labor migrants from Central Asia (see Fig. 3.6.)

Figure 3.6. - Estimate of the number of potential labor migrants from Central Asia in Russia for 2007–2017

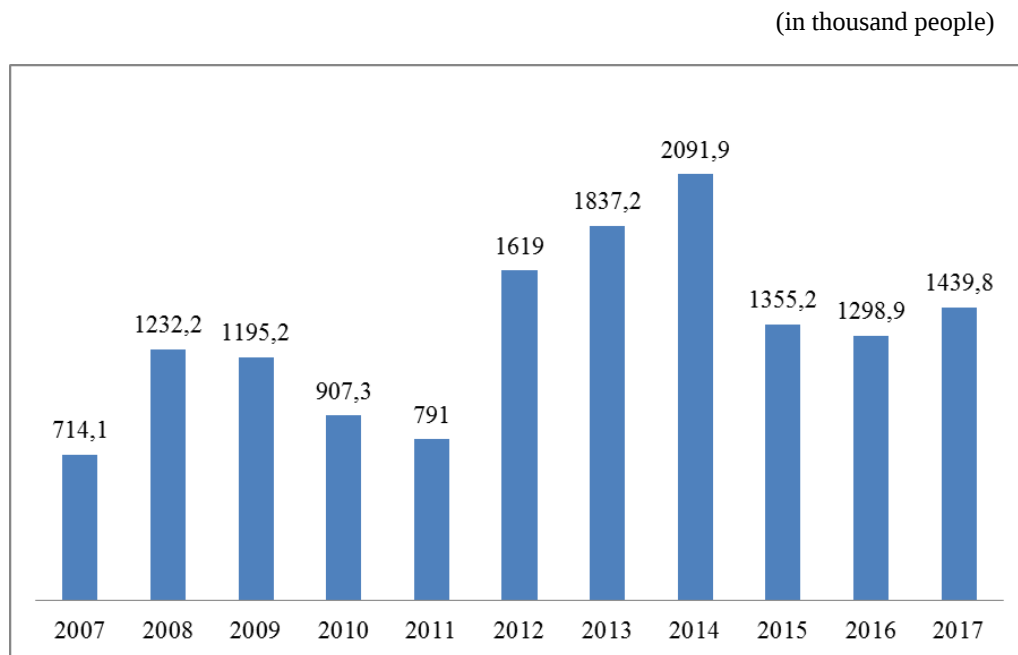


Source: Calculations of the author according to Russian Rosstat

The results of estimating the number of potential labor migrants from Central Asia between the three options ranged from 256 thousand (in 2007) to 849 thousand people in 2017.

The obtained results were compared with the number of obtained work permits issued to citizens of Central Asia.

Figure 3.7 - Number of work permits issued to Central Asia citizens in 2007-2017



Source: Compiled by the author according to Rosstat

If we proceed from the average version of the assessment (according to which 35% of Central Asian citizens actually entered for the purpose of ‘official’, ‘private’ and ‘housekeeping staff’ and correlate it with the data on the issued work permits, it turns out that if in 2007 only 39.8% of potential labor migrants were able to obtain work permits, this figure in 2014 reached 71.6%. In other words, over 70% of potential labor migrants from Central Asian were able to work on a legal basis (see Tab.3.5).

Table 3.5 - Ratio between the official and unofficial employment of labor migrants from Central Asia in 2007–2017

n thousands people

	Potential labor migrants	Number of labor migrants who has work permits and patent	Differences	In %
2007	1 792	714,1	1 078	39,8
2008	1 965	1232,2	733	62,7
2009	1 679	1195,2	484	71,2
2010	1 961	907,3	1 054	46,3

2011	2 288	791	1 497	34,6
2012	2 769	1619	1 150	58,5
2013	3 075	1837,2	1 238	59,7
2014	2 922	2091,9	830	71,6
2015	3 224	1355,2	1 869	42,0
2016	2 867	1298,9	1 568	45,3
2017	2 971	1439,8	1 531	48,5

Source: Compiled by the author according to Rosstat

In 2015-2017, the number of foreign citizens who managed to obtain work permits decreased in comparison with 2014 and accounted for 48.5%.

Thus, the calculated ratio of legally and illegally working sector is almost 1 to 1: there are 1.5 million potential labor migrants from the region per 1.4 million legally working labor migrants from Central Asia.

There is also another way to estimate the approximate number of potential labor migrants (officially and unofficially) working on the Russian labor market.

In accordance with the innovation in Russian emigration legislation dated 2014, it is prohibited to issue a work permit or patent to a foreign citizen, if he/she has not indicated in the migration card the purpose of his/her visit to Russia as a ‘labor activity’.

In addition to this, in 2015, the Agreement on the EEU entered into force, which, apart from Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan, included such migrants’ origins countries as Kyrgyzstan and Armenia, whose citizens are not required to issue work permits in the EEU member-states. In other words, starting from 2015, the Russian migration statistics ceased to follow up with the citizens of these countries, but they still stay and find employment in Russia and make a certain contribution to its development.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs data of 2016 show that about 4.3 million people entered to Russia with the purpose of work, of which 4.0 million people were from the CIS countries, and 2.7 million from Central Asian countries.

Table 3.6 - Ratio between the official and unofficial employment of labor migrants from the CIS countries in Russia for 2007–2017

in thousands people

	Potential labor migrants	Number of labor migrants who have work permits and patent	Difference	in %
2016	3 959	1581,1	2 377,9	39,9
2017	4 313	1679,0	2 634,0	38,9

Source: Compiled by the author according to the data of the Ministry of Internal

The correlation of data on potential labor migrants, based on data from the Russian State Ministry of Internal Affairs in 2016 with data on the work permits issued to CIS citizens, indicates that for every legal working migrant, there are almost 1.5 potential labor migrants: for about 1.58 million legally working labor migrants from the CIS countries, there are 2.37 million potential labor migrants.

In 2017, this figure also amounted to 1 to 1.5: there were 2.63 million potential labor migrants for about 1.67 million people.

As for citizens of Central Asian countries, the correlation of data on potential labor migrants, based on Russian State Ministry of the Interior data for 2016 with data on issued work permits, indicates that there are 1.4 million potential labor migrants for about 1.3 million legally employed people.

Table 3.7 - Ratio between official and unofficial employment of labor migrants from Central Asia in Russia for 2007–2017

in thousands people

	Number of potential labor migrants	Number of labor migrants who have work permits and patent	Difference	in %
2016	2 706	1298,9	1407,1	48
2017	3 226	1439,8	1786,2	44,6

Source: Compiled by the author according to the data of the Ministry of Internal

In 2017, this figure was almost 1 to 1.2: for 1.43 million legally employed, there were 1.78 million potential labor migrants.

Alternative to International Migration for Central Asian Countries

The international labor migration of the Central Asian countries population in 1990s and up to the end of the 2000s enabled the population of these countries to support their remaining families in the countries of origin and through remittances to significantly reduce the level of poverty in these countries⁶¹. However, the current economic situation in these countries is much different from the 90s. This raises the question of an alternative to labor migration, especially an alternative to Russian labor market.

Attempts to diversify labor markets for labor migrants in Central Asia began with the global financial crisis⁶². In particular, the Government of Tajikistan conducted negotiations with both CIS countries (Belarus and Kazakhstan) and non-CIS countries (Qatar, Kuwait, the United Arab

⁶¹ Migration and Remittances Factbook 2016. 3rd Edition. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development / The World Bank. Washington, DC 2. pp-28.

⁶² Олимова С., Олимов М. Мигранты в зоне кризиса // Дружба Народов. 2010. №7. С.141–156. [Olimova S., Olimov M. Migrants in the crisis zone // Druzhba Narodov. 2010. №7. pp.141–156.]

Emirates and South Korea)⁶³ in order to diversify these flows. However, these aspirations run into several problems.

If we talk about the alternative of Russia to other CIS countries (Belarus and Kazakhstan), the problem is that the labor markets of these countries are not able to provide jobs with large flows of labor migration from the Central Asia.

The second problem related to the labor markets of non-CIS countries is the high competition from South-East Asia countries. Each country in this region requires a better life for its labor migrants from the rich Gulf countries. As for South Korea, its labor market requires skilled workers with English or Korean knowledge. Given the educational and qualification level of Central Asian population, it is hardly possible to speak in the near future about the diversification of these flows to another region⁶⁴.

The problem of the alternative to Russian labor market is not only in the educational and qualification level of the Central Asian population. Over the 25 years of active migration processes period between Russia and Central Asia, the so-called ‘transnational communities’⁶⁵ were created. They maintain close ties with their countries of origin and are an important attractive component of the transnational movement of labor resources⁶⁶.

Another alternative to migration population is job creation. Only in Tajikistan, 150 to 180 thousand of working-age population annually enter

⁶³ Таджикистан и Южная Корея обсудили вопросы трудовой миграции [Tajikistan and South Korea discussed labor migration issues (in Russ)]. Retrieved from: <http://www.news.tj/ru/news/tadzhikistan-i-yuzhnaya-koreya-obsudili-voprosy-trudovoi-migratsii>

⁶⁴ Трудовая миграция, денежные переводы и человеческое развитие в странах Центральной Азии. / Джухраев А., Карабчук Т., Пелех М., Рязанцев С., Слей Б., Под ред. Евразийский банк развития, ПРООН. Региональный офис ПРООН для стран Европы и СНГ, 2015. С. 42. [Labor migration, remittances and human development in Central Asia. / Dzhuraev A., Karabchuk T., Pelekh M., Ryazantsev S., Sley B., Ed. Eurasian Development Bank, UNDP. UNDP Regional Office for Europe and the CIS, 2015. P. 42 (in Russ)]

⁶⁵ Engbersen, G., Bakker L., Erdal M.B. and Bilgili O. (2014). Transnationalism in a Comparative Perspective: An Introduction. *Comparative migration studies*, 2(3): 255-260.

⁶⁶ Совместная конференция Российского совета по международным делам (РСМД) и РАНХиГС: «Транснациональные миграции и современные государства в условиях экономического кризиса» [Joint Conference of the Russian Council on International Affairs and the RANEPa: “Transnational Migration and Modern States in the Conditions of the Economic Crisis” (in Russ)]. Retrieved from: http://www.imemo.ru/index.php?page_id=502&id=1876

the labor market. The same indicator for Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan is 100 and 600 thousand, respectively. At this stage of economic development, the economies of these countries are simply not able to provide such a large number of people with jobs each year.

It is particularly noteworthy regional integration processes in the CIS, called the Eurasian Economic Union, launched in 2015, which already includes Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Russia. The EEU implies a free movement of labor between its members. As Vinokurov E.Y.⁶⁷ notes, despite the lack of political will of the elites of these countries, regionalization under the influence of labor migration will play a key role between Russia and the Central Asian countries.

The above arguments remove the question of an alternative to the Russian labor market for labor migrants from Central Asia at this stage.

⁶⁷ Винокуров Е.Ю., Либман А.М. Евразийская континентальная интеграция. СПб: Евразийский банк развития, 2012. 154 с. [Vinokurov E.Y., Libman A.M. Eurasian Continental Integration. St. Petersburg: Eurasian Development Bank, 2012. 154 p.]

Implications of Attracting International Migrants

One of the key issues of international labor migration is its benefits and costs for host countries. The question of migrant workers contribution to host countries' economies is sometimes the subject of intense debate. Among the factors that impede debates are anti-immigrant slogans of politicians and established stereotypes as a result of these slogans, and what is important is the limited statistical data and indicators on external labor migration. Fears that international labor migration can, at least, in short term have an adverse impact on the labor market in terms of the capabilities of the local population, are one of the main causes of barriers to liberalizing labor migration policies. In addition, the assessment of the economic contribution raises various methodological issues, and the empirical results strongly depend on the factors taken into account.

Labor migrants affect the economies of their host countries in several ways. First, they contribute to GDP by creating value added in their employment sectors. Second, by consuming goods and services for their needs, they create demand. Third, their presence in the host labor market may affect wages and employment opportunities for local workers. Fourth, being entrepreneurs and investors, migrants create new jobs. As highly skilled and scientists, they contribute to innovations and technologies. Finally, both taxpayers and public goods consumers have a potential impact on government budgets.

The impact of international migration on host countries is complex, affecting the economic, social, cultural and other aspects of the life of these countries. There is a fair statement of the experts who say that 'until now, there is no uniformed methodology and indicators with the help of which it

would be possible to give a comprehensive assessment of migration's impact on labor market, both at national and individual levels'⁶⁸.

Indeed, the goal of our research is not to cover all aspects of such an influence. Hereinafter, some potential socio-economic impacts of foreign labor in Russian economy will be analyzed.

Considering the fact that in the previous section an assessment was made of a) the scale of attracting international labor migrants and b) the scale of potential labor migration, further, within the framework of this section, the impact of international labor migration on unemployment rate, degree of labor market tension and level of local population wages will be estimated.

Impact on Russian Labor Market

Based on the educational and qualification level of the local population and the international migrants, it can be said with confidence that labor migrants, especially from the Central Asian countries, are engaged in mostly less skilled jobs than the local population.

As Ryazantsev S.⁶⁹ notes, the reasons for such a large-scale attraction of foreign labor force is that Russian citizens do not want to engage in undervalued and low-paid works. The explanation for this, among other facts, is also the fact that in the branches of the Russian economy about 40% of the jobs are harmful or hazardous working conditions in which labor migrants are supposed to be employed, including from the countries of Central Asia.

⁶⁸ Миграция населения: теория, политика: Учебное пособие / Воробьева О.Д., Топилин А.В. Мукомель В.И. и др, Под ред. О.Д. Воробьевой, А.В. Топилина. М: Экономическое образование, 2012. С. 133. [Population Migration: Theory, Policy: Study Guide / Vorobyova, OD, Topilin, AV Mukomel V.I. et al., ed. O.D. Vorobevo, A.V. Topilina. Moscow: Economic education, 2012. p.133 (in Russ)]

⁶⁹ Рязанцев С.В. Иностранцы трудовые мигранты на российском рынке труда и новые подходы к миграционной политике // Экономическая политика. 2015. №4. С. 24. [Ryazantsev S.V. Foreign labor migrants on the Russian labor market and new approaches to migration policy // Economical politics. 2015. №4. p.24 (in Russ)]

In confirmation of the above, according to the methodology described in Appendix 2, the degree of international labor migrants' pressure on Russian labor market in 2014 and 2016 is estimated below.

Table 4.1 The industrial structure assessment of migrant's employment and of unemployed people in Russia in 2014 and 2016

		The Russian Federation	division by professional group (per person)							
			heads of agencies, organizations and enterprises and their divisions (services)	Experts in natural sciences and engineering (high level specialists)	mid-level qualifications in physical and engineering activities	Mid-level personnel in financial, economic, administrative and social activities	Service workers, housing and communal services, trade and related activities	Skilled workers of industrial enterprises, construction, transport, communications, geology and exploration of mineral resources	Operators and drivers of industrial plants	Unskilled workers with no work experience.
2014	The number of foreign workers who had work permits	1043,8	41,0	29,8	106,5	10,1	87,4	370,1	20,0	217,3
	Unemployed	3889,0	136,0	256,0	291,0	83,0	524,0	486,0	392,0	1642,0
	Demand	820,5	32,3	185,5	116,6	16,8	106,6	137,1	91,5	124,0
2016	The number of foreign workers who had work permits	143,8	20,7	10,8	2,8	3,0	2,5	48,7	9,5	41,3
	Unemployed	4243,0	115,0	365,0	284,0	114,0	661,0	534,0	430,0	574,0
	Demand	637,6	27,1	174,0	90,0	28,7	69,0	102,9	69,7	71,5

Source: Calculations made by the author based on data from the Federal State Statistics Service of Russia for 2014 and 2016

The result of the assessment in 2014 shows that, despite the number of unemployed in Russia, slightly more than 4 million people, a little more than one million foreign migrants were employed, which is not entirely logical at first glance. However, a deeper analysis shows that, despite this, about 800 thousand workers of different professions were required.

In particular, the sectoral structure of employment of migrants shows that over 370 thousand were attracted as skilled workers of industrial enterprises, construction, transport, communications, geology and exploration of the subsoil. The sectoral structure of the unemployed among the Russian local residents, according to these professions, is about 500 thousand people. But, despite this, these professions still required 137 thousand people.

Mid-level qualification specialists of the physical and engineering activities among working migrants constitutes a little more than 100 thousand people. The sectoral structure of the unemployed local citizens in these occupations is 256 thousand people, and the demand for such specialists is 185 thousand people. This situation is observed in the remaining professions.

As a result of innovations, in the Russian migration legislation in 2015, the data for 2016 on work permit shows a different picture. While in Russia the number of unemployed heads of institutions, organizations and enterprises and their structural subdivisions or services was 115 thousand people, and the number of open vacancies in such category was over 27 thousand people. However, Russia attracted more than 20 thousand foreign citizens of this category of specialists. The same situation in 2016 is observed for other specialists.

From the calculations made, on one hand, it suggests that there is a clear discrepancy between the sectoral employment structure of

international working migrants and the structure of unemployed people among the local residents, and migrants do not occupy the places claimed by natives unemployed. On the other hand, the coincidence of the sectoral structure of natives unemployed with the demand for these professions indicates: a) no demand on the labor market due to a mismatch of qualifications or level⁷⁰; b) reluctance of local residents to occupy these vacancies.

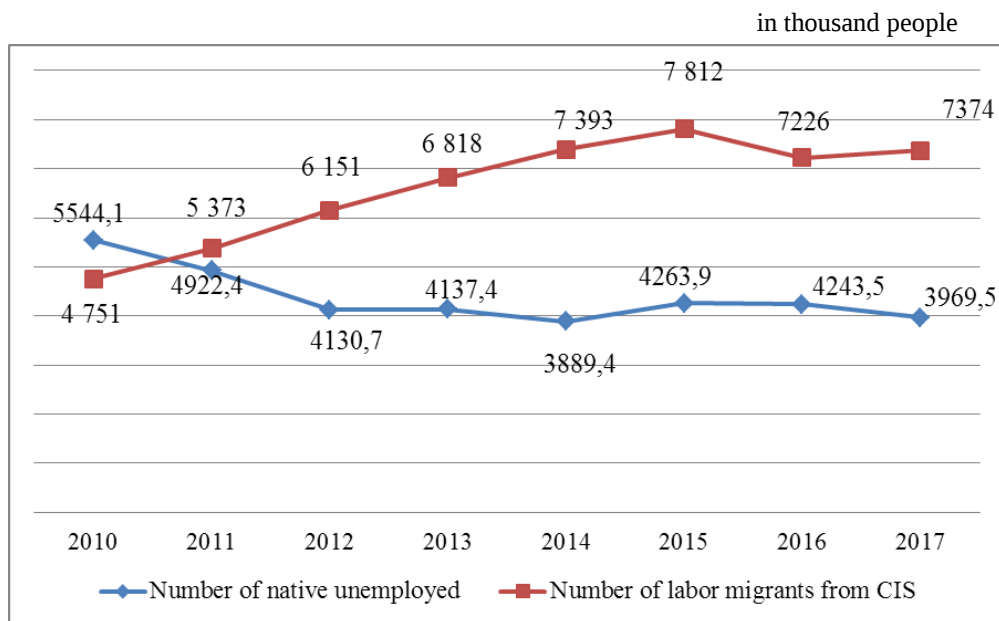
The results of the assessment are confirmed by the earlier analysis in which respondents in cities with the highest concentration of foreign labor noted the lack of competition between the migrants and local residents on labor market⁷¹.

In addition to this, the ratio of the number of attracted foreign labor (officially and unofficially) from the CIS countries to Russia and the number of unemployed local residents did not reveal any links between them (see Figure 4.1).

⁷⁰ Новая модель рынка труда России: Роль внешних факторов / С.В. Рязанцев, Гневашевой В.А. Под ред. чл.-корр. РАН С.В. Рязанцева. М.: Эконинформ, 2014. С.135. [New Model of the Russian Labor Market: The Role of External Factors / S.V. Ryazantsev, Gnevasheva V.A. Under the editorship of S.V. Ryazantsev. Moscow.: Econinform, 2014. P.135 (in Russ)]

⁷¹Center for Migration Studies. Protection of the rights of Muscovites in conditions of mass migration. - М., 2014. P.120 (in Russ)

Figure 4.1 - Ratio of foreign labors from the CIS countries (officially and unofficially) and the number of natives unemployed in 2010-2017



Source: Compiled by the author according to Rosstat

From 2010 to 2014 there was a steady increase in the flow of labor migration from the CIS countries. During the same period in Russia, the number of natives unemployed has fallen from 5.5 million in 2010 to about 3.9 million in 2014.

From 2015 to 2017 with a significant rise and fall in the number of foreign workers from the CIS countries, the number of unemployed among the local residents of Russia has not changed so much.

The largest and main lobbyist for attracting foreign labor in Russia is a business that badly needs labor resources for its sustainable development. According to available research, to maintain the sustainable development, the Russian economy requires 80-90 million labor resources⁷².

However, according to the average scenario of demographic development (see Appendix 7), Russia may lose about 3 million of its

⁷² Малый бизнес прирастет мигрантами [Small business will grow migrants (in Russ)]. Retrieved from: <https://rg.ru/2010/11/23/business.html>

working-age population by 2020, and this figure will decrease by another 9 million people by 2050, thereby the overall decreasing, according to the average scenario, will be about 12 million people by 2050. Such circumstances seriously questions the achievement of the goals indicated in Russian Strategy of Social and Economic Development until 2030.

The latest changes in migration policy in 2015, according to which legal entities were allowed to hire migrant workers under a patent, were lobbied by the business community to meet their needs for cheap labor resources.

The data in Appendix 14 shows that in 2014, out of million labor migrants officially engaged in Russian economy, about 1 million or 1/3 were officially attracted by legal entities.

However, the complicated procedure for obtaining work permits and labor shortages or the exaggerated demands of local population forced the business community to lobby for another wave of migration policies liberalization and thus, get the government to abolish the quota and the extension of the patent system not only to migrant workers employed by individuals, but also for legal entities. In other words, henceforth, legal entities are also allowed to hire labor migrants working under the patent.

As a result, in 2015 out of 1,788 thousand issued patents, 55% or 982 thousand were issued for work with legal entities⁷³.

Cheap labor from the Central Asian countries employed in large wholesale and retail distribution networks allows their employers to save on the wage fund and redistribute these funds to other expenditure items. Thanks to their work, the streets of large Russian cities are kept in constant

⁷³ Federal Migration Service of Russia. The final report on the migration situation, results and main activities of the Federal Migration Service for 2015. Page 20. Moscow: 2016 (in Russ)

purity, reducing the cost of the goods and services produced by them through the supply of cheap labor⁷⁴.

Sustainable development of entrepreneurship and its entry into a qualitatively new level depends on the labor of migrants and, therefore, on the extent to which the Russian migration policy will be precise and intelligible⁷⁵. Surveys conducted among employers revealed that about 42% of the medium and about 25% of small businesses agree to hire workers from the local population, but in practice, this is difficult to achieve due to excessively exaggerated demands of Russian citizens and limited financial capabilities of businesses, especially small ones⁷⁶.

However, this does not in any way indicate that labor migrants select jobs from the local population, since their sectoral structure of employment differs from each other⁷⁷. As mentioned above, migrant workers are mainly engaged in low-paid and non-prestigious jobs. This stimulates the local population to search for higher-paid and prestigious professions.

Tension in the Labor Market

According to the described methodology in Appendix 2, tensions on the Russian labor market were assessed, in which a value of more than zero indicates a low degree of tension in the federal and regional labor markets.

⁷⁴ Воробьева О.Д., Гребенюк А.А., Топилин А.А. Проблемы информационного обеспечения прогнозирования трудовой миграции в России // Проблемы прогнозирования. 2014. №4. С.48. [Vorobieva OD, Grebenyuk A.A., Topilin A.A. Problems of information support for the prediction of labor migration in Russia // Problems of forecasting. 2014. №4. p.48 (in Russ)]

⁷⁵ Рынок труда, профессиональное образование, миграционная политика [Labor market, vocational education, migration policy (in Russ)]. Retrieved from: <http://2020strategy.ru/data/2011/07/15/1214722009/2.pdf>

⁷⁶ Миграция как фактор развития малого и среднего бизнеса и экономики России. Дайджест исследования Опора России. М.: 2010 г. [Migration as a factor in the development of small and medium businesses and the Russian economy. Digest of studying. The prop of Russia. M.: 2010 (in Russ)]

⁷⁷ Рязанцев С.В. Иностранцы трудовые мигранты на российском рынке труда и новые подходы к миграционной политике // Экономическая политика. 2015. №4. С. 24. [Ryazantsev S.V. Foreign labor migrants on the Russian labor market and new approaches to migration policy // Economical politics. 2015. №4. p.24 (in Russ)]

Table 4.2 Assessment of the labor market tension in Russia due to attraction of foreign labor from CIS countries for 2014-2017

	Demand for employees, stated by employers				Number of unemployed according to ILO methodology				Number of officially attracted migrants				Degree of tension on the labor market			
	2014	2015	2016	2017	2014	2015	2016	2017	2014	2015	2016	2017	2014	2015	2016	2017
Russian Federation	1 396,4	1 135,1	1 175,6	1 392,1	3 889,4	4 263,9	4 243,5	3 969,5	2 945,7	1 838,6	1 567,6	1 764,1	-0,846	1,691	-1,957	-1,461
Central Federal District	363,2	338,1	319,7	377,5	655,1	744,9	755,0	692,1	1 642,7	840,0	709,7	815,4	-0,178	-0,484	-0,613	-0,386
-Moscow region	51,7	36,5	38,1	39,6	104,9	129,3	133,2	131,1	427,0	187,4	174,8	815,4	-0,125	-0,495	-0,544	-0,112
-Moscow	139,2	134,4	115,1	164,5	104,4	125,2	127,1	99,6	926,4	487,7	394,6	460,7	0,038	0,019	-0,030	0,141
Northwestern Federal District	167,1	116,8	124,6	126,7	310,2	360,0	350,8	320,0	331,3	290,0	280,4	313,5	-0,432	-0,839	-0,807	-0,617
-St. Petersburg	82,8	4,6	42,2	37,9	39,0	61,9	49,8	50,3	212,5	200,1	196,8	224,1	0,206	-0,286	-0,039	-0,055

Southern Federal District	120,0	89,6	105,8	123,9	434,2	460,2	446,9	494,6	197,1	125,1	116,6	113,3	-1,594	-2,962	-2,924	-3,272
North Caucasus Federal District	30,2	24,1	31,4	36,4	507,2	498,8	499,7	501,4	37,5	18,7	22,4	27,5	-12,72	-25,385	-20,927	-16,909
Volga Federal District	257,3	195,5	220,3	238,3	703,4	743,2	746,9	714,5	274,9	184,4	152,6	22,0	-1,623	-2,97	-3,451	-21,645
Ural Federal District	121,4	89,1	92,2	117,1	375,1	405,7	393,0	355,6	243,8	143,3	113,2	134,5	-1,041	-2,209	-2,657	-1,773
<i>Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous District</i>	<i>12,9</i>	<i>8,8</i>	<i>10,3</i>	<i>14,6</i>	<i>10,3</i>	<i>11,3</i>	<i>8,4</i>	<i>10,0</i>	<i>27,7</i>	<i>15,1</i>	<i>58,0</i>	<i>11,6</i>	<i>0,094</i>	<i>-0,166</i>	<i>0,033</i>	<i>0,397</i>
Siberian Federal District	200,9	170,8	183,0	223,6	685,2	754,0	781,3	702,8	261,3	142,5	105,3	119,0	-1,853	-4,093	-5,681	-4,027
Far Eastern Federal District	136,1	98,9	98,4	148,6	219,0	211,3	196,3	188,5	133,8	83,9	43,2	76,3	-0,62	-1,34	-2,267	-0,523

The result of the assessment shows that if in 2014 the value of the indicator was higher than zero only in two metropolitan cities and the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous District, then this indicator in 2017 was observed only in Moscow and the Yamalo-Nenets District. In general, the tension of the Russian labor market from 2014 to 2016 increased from -0.846 to -1.957 or 131%. The same indicator in 2017 compared to 2016 decreased to -1.461 or by about 25%.

This result was obtained on the basis of only those foreign citizens who were able to find job officially. Most of the labor migrants, of course, could not formally find a job, and do not come into the view of our calculations. In this case, it is more expedient to try to calculate the influence of those left behind by these statistics, including citizens of the EEU member countries.

For this purpose, in Table 4.3 calculations are made taking into account potential labor migrants in Russia. While calculating, we proceed from the data that was obtained while assessing the scale of potential labor migration.

Table 4.3 Assessment of the Russian labor market tension due to attraction
of official and unofficial foreign labor from the CIS countries in 2014–2017

	Demand for employees, stated by employers				Number of unemployed according to ILO methodology				Number of potential migrants				Degree of tension on the labor market			
	2014	2015	2016	2017	2014	2015	2016	2017	2014	2015	2016	2017	2014	2015	2016	2017
Russian Federation	1396,4	1135,1	1175,6	1392,1	3889,4	4263,9	4243,5	3969,5	7 393,0	7 812,0	7 226,0	7 374,0	-0,337	-0,401	-0,425	-0,349
Central Federal District	363,2	338,1	319,7	377,5	655,1	744,9	755	692,1	1 642,7	840,0	710,0	2 502,7	-0,178	-0,484	-0,613	-0,126
<i>-Moscow region</i>	51,7	36,5	38,1	39,6	104,9	129,3	133,2	131,1	427,0	187,4	3 862,8	398,7	-0,125	-0,495	-0,025	-0,229
<i>-Moscow</i>	139,2	134,4	115,1	164,5	104,4	125,2	127,1	99,6	926,4	487,7	394,6	1 768,7	0,038	0,019	-0,030	0,037
Northwestern Federal District	167,1	116,8	124,6	126,7	310,2	360	350,8	320,0	331,3	290,0	280,4	788,4	-0,432	-0,839	-0,807	-0,245
<i>-St. Petersburg</i>	82,8	4,6	42,2	37,9	39	61,9	49,8	50,3	212,5	200,1	196,8	715,9	0,206	-0,286	-0,039	-0,017
Southern Federal District	120	89,6	105,8	123,9	434,2	460,2	446,9	494,6	197,1	125,1	116,6	265,7	-1,594	-2,962	-2,925	-1,395

North Caucasus Federal District	30,2	24,1	31,4	36,4	507,2	498,8	499,7	501,4	37,5	18,7	22,4	58,8	-12,72	-25,385	-20,906	-7,908
Volga Federal District	257,3	195,5	220,3	238,3	703,4	743,2	746,9	714,5	274,9	184,4	152,6	404,0	-1,623	-2,97	-3,451	-1,179
Ural Federal District	121,4	89,1	92,2	117,1	375,1	405,7	393	355,6	243,8	143,3	113,2	354,3	-1,041	-2,209	-2,657	-0,673
<i>Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous District</i>	12,9	8,8	10,3	14,6	10,3	11,3	8,4	10	27,7	15,1	58,0	44,7	0,094	-0,166	0,033	0,103
Siberian Federal District	200,9	170,8	183	223,6	685,2	754	781,3	702,8	261,3	142,5	105,3	312,9	-1,853	-4,093	-5,682	-1,531
Far Eastern Federal District	136,1	98,9	98,4	148,6	219	211,3	196,3	188,5	133,8	83,9	43,2	166,7	-0,62	-1,34	-2,266	-0,239

Source: Calculations are made by the author according to the Rosstat for 2014-2017

The calculations made revealed slightly different data and a significant difference in the impact of foreign labor migration on the Russian labor market.

If calculations based on official statistics in 2017 show the degree of influence of foreign labor on the Russian labor market in 1.461, calculations based on data on the number of potential labor migrants from the CIS country illustrate this figure in 2017 is close to 0.349 values.

In fairness it should be noted that not everything is so straightforward. The specificity of our methodology to assess the tension on the labor market lies in the fact that with a decrease in the number of international migrants, it would be necessary to show a decrease in tension. Notwithstanding that in 2015, due to the deterioration of the socio-economic situation in Russia, there is an increase in unemployment and a decrease in the demand for vacancies, nevertheless, a decrease in the number of attracted international labor force by 62% led to an increase in the intensity indicator of 0.846 in 2014 to 1.702 in 2015.

On the other hand, an assessment of the degree of pressure on the Russian labor market, taking into account the number of potential labor migrants of 7,374 thousand people in 2017, should have shown an increase in such pressure, compared with an estimate of only officially attracted international labor force. However, as evidenced by calculations of the degree of pressure on the labor market, the data taking into account the number of potential labor migrants is less than those based on officially recruited foreign labor forces.

Therefore, the result of the assessment should be interpreted with a certain degree of conditionality.

Influences on the Local Population Wage

To assess such an important indicator as the impact of foreign labor force on the local people's wage, data on foreign labor wages will be required. Such data is available to Federal Migration Service which in turn receives it from employers attracting foreign labor. Unfortunately, this information is not published, but using data on remittances of labor migrants, their average wages were identified in Russia.

Using this methodology, Ryazantsev S.V.⁷⁸ modeled the incomes of the Russian economy from the current consumption of labor migrants in 3 versions. In this paper, the average wage of labor migrants from the CIS countries was modeled in 3 other scenarios. It is advisable to use the Russian Central Bank data on the average amount of labor migrant's transfers to the CIS countries⁷⁹, and not the World Bank⁸⁰, which is slightly different from the data indicated by the Central Bank.

According to the first scenario, the average wage of labor migrants from the CIS countries is half of their remittances. In accordance with the second and third scenarios, the average wage of migrant workers is 60% and 70% of the average amount of remittances, respectively. The results of the calculations are given in table 4.4.

⁷⁸ Рязанцев С.В. Регулирование трудовой миграции в России с учетом международного опыта [Ryazantsev S.V. Regulation of labor migration in Russia taking into account international experience (in Russ)]. Retrieved from: <http://www.eastrussia.ru/upload/iblock/21e/Ryazantsev.pdf>

⁷⁹ Результаты анкетирования физических лиц, осуществляющих трансграничные денежные переводы [The results of the survey of individuals engaged in cross-border remittances (in Russ)]. Retrieved from: http://www.cbr.ru/statistics/default.aspx?Prtd=svs&ch=ITM_35234#CheckedItem.

⁸⁰ Migration and Remittance: Recent Developments and Outlook. Retrieved from: <http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/pubdocs/publicdoc/2016/4/661301460400427908/MigrationandDevelopmentBrief26.pdf>

Table 4.4 Calculations of the average wage of foreign labor from the CIS countries in 2006–2017

in USD

Average wage	2017	2016	2015	2014	2013	2012	2011	2010	2009	2008	2007	2006
1 Scenario (50% from remittances)	428	384	440	642	700	846	846	1 012	1 008	1 418	1 268	1 112
2 Scenario (60% from remittances)	365	320	367	535	583	705	705	843	840	1 182	1 057	927
3 Scenario (70% from remittances)	305	274	314	459	500	604	604	723	720	1 013	906	794
Average sum of remittances from CIS	214	192	220	321	350	423	423	506	504	709	634	556

Source: Compiled by the author according to Russian Federal State Statistics Service

Based on the 3 simulated scenarios, the average salary of foreign workers from the CIS countries in different years has a multidirectional trend. However, the data before 2012 was allocated, since the statistical data on the number of foreign workers only from 2013, as well as the first and second scenarios of the average salary of foreign labor in Russia, are relatively reliable.

Further, using the methodology previously described in Appendix 2, the impact of international labor migrants on the local population wages was assessed (see Table 4.5).

Table 4.5 Assessment of the international labor migrant's impact on local population wages in Russia for 2011–2017

Average monthly nominal wages of Russian citizens (in rubles)							Salary foreign labors, modeled on the <u>first</u> option (in rubles)							The result of assessing the impact of foreign labor on the level of wages of locals (at %)						
2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
23369	26628	29792	32546	33347	36709	39167	24863	26293	22295	24569	26782	25662	24948	-6%	1%	25%	25%	20%	30%	36%

Continued Tab. 4.5

Salary foreign labors, modeled on the <u>second</u> option (in rubles)							The result of assessing the impact of foreign labor on the level of wages of locals (at %)						
2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
20719	21911	18568	22339	20474	21385	20751	11%	18%	38%	31%	39%	42%	47%

Source: Calculations made by the author

The result of the evaluation of the first option in 2011-2012 is doubtful, since in accordance with it, the average salary of the international labor force in 2011 was slightly higher, and in 2012 it was same with the local population salary. The result of the assessment on the second option is also very controversial, since in accordance with it, in 2014 there is a decrease in the salary of the international labor force to the level of 2011.

The results close to reality is the data obtained in the first option for 2013-2017. It should be noted that it is this option for the noted periods that approximately corresponds to the previously identified results in the survey carried out by the Russian Academy of Sciences⁸¹.

Thus, the results of the assessment of the international labor migrants impact on the local population wages in 2013-2017, according to the first option, it shows that the percentage ratio of the international labor migrant's average wage and the average monthly nominal wage of the local population reached 25-35%, which is quite consistent with the selected target indicator. This result indicates a low degree of international labor migrant's influence on the Russian local population wages.

The Impact of Migrant Remittances on Inflation

An important and interesting aspect of international labor migration is the effect of remittances on inflation. The labor migrants origin countries become dependent on the constant flow of remittances of their citizens. Working on the economy of another country, they send a large amount of

⁸¹Бедрина Е.Б., Вандышев М.Н., Струин Н.Л., Неклюдова Н.П., Мельникова А.С., Илинбаева Е.А., Тухтарова Е.Х. Современные подходы к оценке влияния потоков трудовых мигрантов на социально-экономическое благополучие принимающей территории: кол. моногр./ . Екатеринбург: Институт экономики УрО РАН, 2014. 115 с. [Bedrina E.B., Vandyshev M.N., Struin N.L., Neklyudova N.P., Melnikova A.S., Ilinbaeva E.A., Tukhtarova E.Kh. Modern approaches to assessing the impact of labor migrant flows on the socio-economic well-being of the receiving territory: count. monogram / . Ekaterinburg: Institute of Economics, Ural Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 2014. 115 p (in Russ)]

money to their countries, which in turn is spent on the purchase of goods and services. As a result, the balance between created goods and services and the money supply is disrupted which lead to increased inflationary pressure in the recipient country of these transfers.

However, the question of the remittances effect on inflation in the host countries of labor migrants is not relevant. For a more detailed research of this issue, empirical data is required, since it is difficult to separate this factor from many others. But, due to the limited scope of our work and statistical indicators, in our example, at the logical level, we note the following.

The overwhelming majority of sending countries are faced with the issue of the so-called Dutch disease, as a result of which labor migrants' origins country become dependent on the inflow of remittances from their labor migrants. But one thing follows another: if part of the money from country R goes to country T, then it contributes to inflation in country T and lower inflation in country R.

For example, in 2017, labor migrants sent from Russia to their countries of origin about \$12.9 billion in remittances. According to the Central Bank of Russia in 2017, the amount of monetary (consumer) expenditures of the Russia's population was 55.4 trillion rubles⁸². The ratio of the total remittances of labor migrants to the monetary (consumer) expenditures of the Russian population is only about 1.36%⁸³.

Additionally, labor migrants left in Russia for their current expenditures 1.1 billion US dollars (see Figure 3.6), which, in turn, stimulate demand in Russia.

⁸²Уровень жизни // Федеральная служба государственной статистики URL [Standard of living (in Russ)]/ Retrieved from: http://www.gks.ru/wps/wcm/connect/rosstat_main/rosstat/ru/statistics/population/level/#

⁸³Calculation method: the sum of migrants' remittances (12.9 billion USD) multiplied by the US dollar exchange rate in 2017 (58.29 rubles) multiplied by 100 and divided by the amount of monetary (consumer) expenditures of the Russian population in the same year (55.4 trillion rubles).

The revealed figures show that labour migrants' remittances cannot in any way increase the level of inflation in country in which this money was earned (Russia), since they are considered their net wages.

Based on the above, it's not considered relevant to study the effect of remittances sent on inflation in country of destination of labor migrants. Migration, anyway, contributes to increased inflationary pressure in the countries of origin of migrants and a decrease in their receiving countries.

Conclusion

Thus, mass migration from the CIS countries in the 90s and 2000th seriously compensated for this decline, although it did not prevent the depopulation in Russia. Over the entire period of natural recession, migration from these countries compensated over 41% of population losses. Central Asia countries were able to compensate a total of 17% of the total Russia population decline or 68% of the overall increase in migration, thereby significantly slowing down the process.

Due to the difficult socio-economic and political situation in post-Soviet countries, temporary labor migration is widespread, especially from Central Asia without changing their permanent place of residence. Today, even after the improvement of the situation in these countries, temporary labor migration as a whole has maintained its dynamics, but the nature of migration has changed slightly.

Nowadays, labor migration is the most dynamic migration movement in the CIS countries, which plays an increasingly important socio-economic role both in the host and Central Asia countries. The migration agenda underlies the main issues of domestic and foreign policy of these countries.

In fairness, it is worth noting that these migration flows have complex implications for society, both in Russia and in Central Asia. For

the overwhelming majority of the population in Central Asian countries, the ability to migrate and try to find job abroad is a kind of safety valve. Labor migration postpones social tensions and socio-political instability caused by the lack of jobs within the country.

In turn, the Russian economy receives tremendous benefits from these migration flows which compensate for the aging and reduction of the working-age population, as well as provide labor resources for the most important sectors of the economy. In any case, in the foreseeable future, these flows will have both positive and negative consequences for the economy and society of Central Asia and Russia. They can also have political implications.

Despite the mutual benefits, migration flows lead to the emergence of new interdependencies between Russia and Central Asia. Their consequences may include the risk of confrontation, as well as the continuation of cultural exchanges and the preservation of ethnic diversity, despite nationalism and the rupture of previous economic ties.

Part 3

The Economic Impact of International Migration

Labor Migrants and the Economic Development of Russia

The Contribution of International Labor Migrants in Russia's GDP

Given the demographic problems in most of the main receiving labor migrant countries, in recent years there have been works that study the fiscal impact of migration on public finances in destination countries⁸⁴.

Studies conducted in 27 OECD countries revealed that the contribution of labor migrants to the GDP of these countries is limited to 0.5%. Of the 27 OECD member countries, net direct financial contributions from migrants are negative only in Germany, France, Ireland, Poland and Slovakia.

In Russia, an assessment of the contribution of labor migrants was first announced not by researchers, but by politicians. In the midst of anti-immigration sentiment and the global financial crisis, the former head of the Federal Migration Service (FMS) of Russia for the first time announced the contribution of labor migrants in the amount of 6-8% of GDP⁸⁵. Later in 2013, researcher called even a higher figure of 15-20% of GDP⁸⁶. In 2015,

⁸⁴ Barrett A., B. Maitre(2011) Immigrant Welfare Receipt across Europe, IZA Discussion Paper № 5515; Defoort C., C. Drapier (2012) Immigration and its dependence on the welfare system: the case of France. Working Paper 2012-29, Université Lille Nord de France.

⁸⁵Ромодановский К.О.:Дорогу в будущее мостить делами [Romodanovsky K.O. Pave the way for the future matters (in Russ)]. Retrieved from: http://www.fms.gov.ru/press/publications/news_detail.php?ID=26698

⁸⁶Ежегодный вклад гастарбайтеров в экономику РФ составляет \$400 млрд - экс-замглавы ФМС [The annual contribution of migrant's workers to Russian economy is \$ 400 billion - former deputy head of the FMS (in Russ)]. Retrieved from: <http://www.finmarket.ru/news/3568203>

Ryazantsev S.V. revealed their contribution to Russia's GDP of about 2714.1 million rubles⁸⁷.

In terms of methodology, there are two main approaches to the economic evaluation of the contribution of foreign labor - static and dynamic. **Static approach** known as the 'accounting model' calculates the contribution of foreign labor in the creation of goods and services, GDP and public expenditure on each migrant for a certain period of time. In other words, in this model, economic evaluation of foreign labor contribution is calculated as the difference between revenues and expenses of their stay in the host countries.

Most calculations take into account annual budget revenues (direct and indirect taxes and social security contributions) paid by immigrants and government expenditures related to their consumption of various public goods and services, such as education (their children's education), health care (medical services for immigrants and their families), the police (for their deportation), etc.⁸⁸

In earlier theoretical studies, there is an alternative economic approach to estimate the contribution of foreign labor based on a **dynamic model** that considers the long-term economic effects of immigration and calculates the net present value of their hypothetical contributions throughout their residence in the destination country⁸⁹. The advantage of the dynamic model is that it allows to build a long-term scenario of net

⁸⁷Рязанцев С.В. Регулирование трудовой миграции в России с учетом международного опыта // Эволюция международной торговой системы: проблемы и перспективы. Спб.: Изд-во ЭФ СПбГУ, 2015. С.225-234 [Ryazantsev S.V. Regulation of labor migration in Russia taking into account international experience // Evolution of the international trading system: problems and prospects. St. Petersburg: Publishing House St. Petersburg State University, 2015. pp.225-234 (in Russ)]

⁸⁸Dustmann, C. and T. Frattini (2013) The Fiscal Effects of Immigration to the UK, Centre for Research and Analysis of Migration, University College London, CDP№22/13.

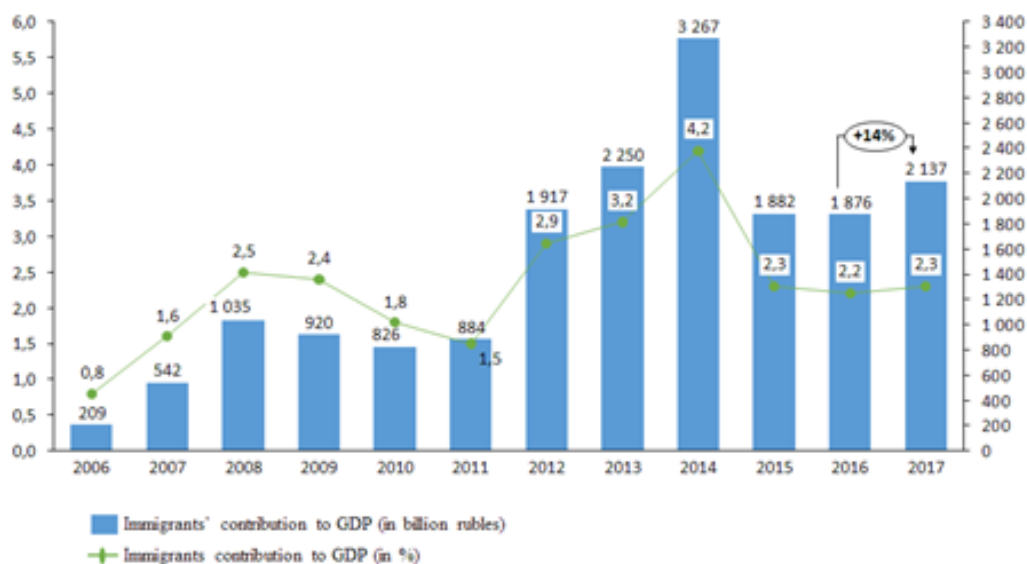
⁸⁹Collado, M.D., I. Iturbe-Ormaetxe and G. Valera (2004) Quantifying the Impact of Immigration on the Spanish Welfare State, International Tax and Public Finance.

contribution (income-expenditure) of immigrants to the state budget of the country of destination.

Below, the contribution of labor migrants to Russia's GDP is estimated on the basis of a **static approach**, since the use of a dynamic model requires the availability of large statistical data and a predictable development scenario of the migration policy of the host country. The application of this method in the Russian context is highly controversial due to its “reactionary policy” toward external labor migration.

The calculations of foreign labor contribution from the CIS countries to Russia's GDP have shown their growth from 0.8% or 209 billion rubles in 2006 to 4.2% or 3,267 billion rubles in 2014 (see figure 5.1. For more details see Appendix 3).

Figure 5.1. The contribution of officially attracted foreign labor from the CIS countries to Russia's GDP in 2006-2017



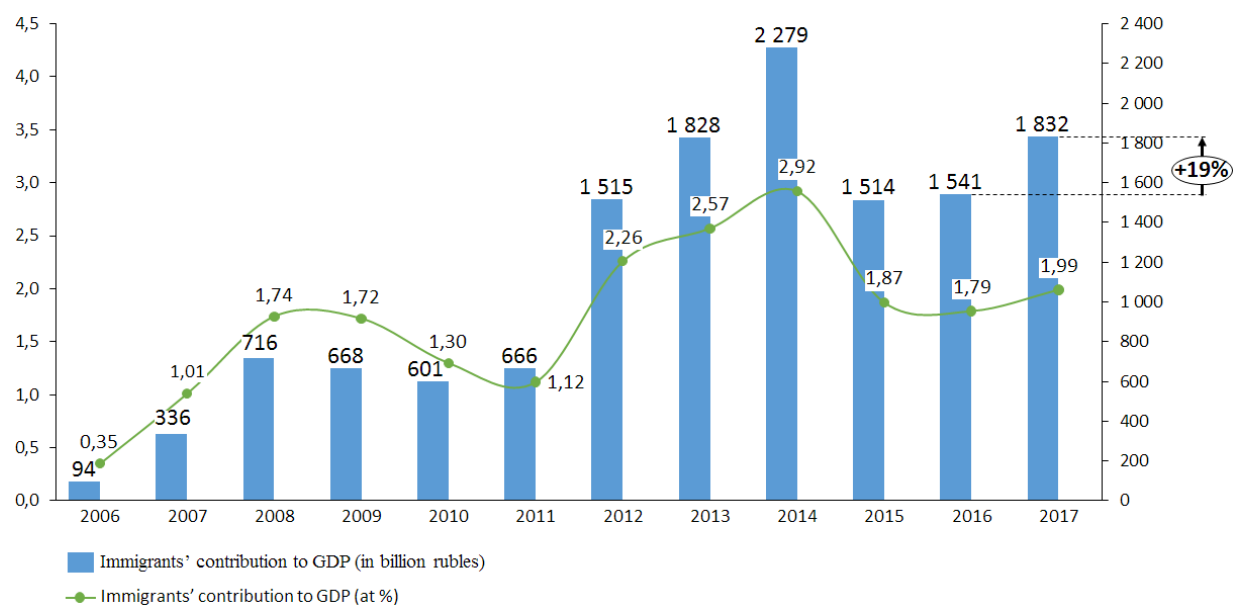
Source: Author's calculations based on data of Rosstat

In subsequent years, as a result of the deteriorating socio-economic situation of Russia, the depreciation of the ruble against the US dollar, the accession of a number of countries to the Eurasia Economic Union (EEU),

and the tightening of Russia's immigration legislation, their contribution to GDP decreased and in 2017 amounted to 2,137 billion rubles or about 2.3% of GDP.

Available data also allowed us to estimate the contribution of officially employed labor migrants from Central Asian countries to Russia's GDP, which grew from 94 billion rubles or 0.3% of GDP in 2006 to about 2,279 billion rubles or about 3% of Russia's GDP in 2014, after which there is a decline. This tendency was caused by a number of reasons, including, on the one hand, the entry of Armenia, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan into the EEU, and on the other hand, the deterioration of the socio-economic situation of the Russian economy (see fig.5.2. For more details, see Appendix 4).

Figure 5.2. The contribution of officially attracted foreign labor from the Central Asia to Russia's GDP in 2006-2017.



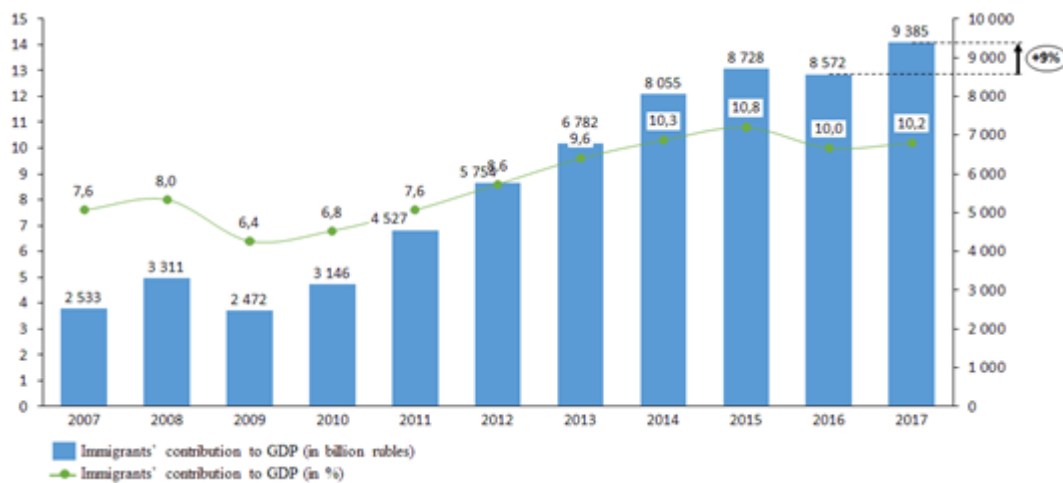
After a two-year decline, this indicator reached a growth trajectory and, according to the results of 2017, the contribution of labor migrants

from Central Asian countries amounted to 1,832 billion rubles or about 2% of Russia's GDP.

At the same time, it is also advisable to evaluate the contribution of **potential** (officially and unofficially employed) labor migrants from the CIS, including the Central Asian countries to the Russian economy, as for various reasons, the huge share of labor migrants from these countries remains overboard from the official statistics. But, like others, it continues to bring an income for its economy.

Based on this, using previously made calculations of the number of potential labor migrants from the CIS countries, their contribution to Russia's GDP was calculated (see fig.5.3. For more information, see Appendix 5).

Figure 5.3. Contribution of potential labor migrants from the CIS countries to Russia's GDP in 2006-2017.



Source: Author's calculations based on data of Rosstat

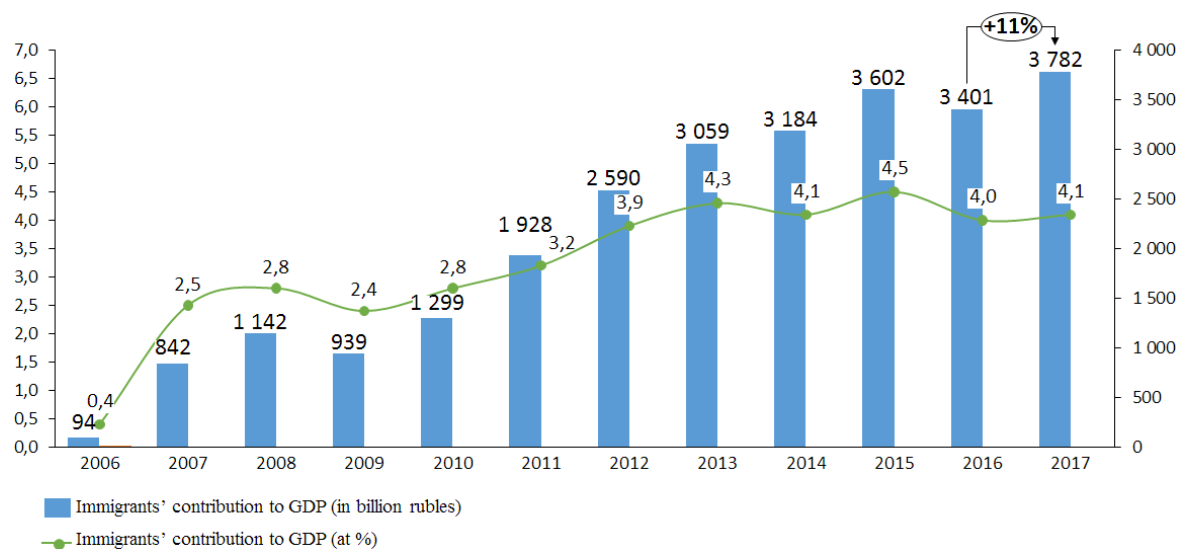
Thus, given the number of potential labor migrants from the CIS countries, their contribution to Russia's GDP increased from about 2533 billion rubles in 2007 to more than 9385 billion rubles in 2017.

As a percentage of GDP, this indicator continued to grow until 2015 and amounted to 10.8% GDP. After a short period of decline, this indicator

again entered the growth trajectory and in 2017 amounted to 10.2% of Russia's GDP.

In this context, the contribution of potential labor migrants from Central Asia to Russia's GDP, which rose from 94 billion rubles or 0.4% to 3602 billion rubles or 4.5% of Russia's GDP in 2015, is essential. After a one-year fall, this indicator began to gain momentum again and in 2017 reached 3,782 billion rubles or 4.1% of Russia's GDP (see fig. 5.4. For more information, see Appendix 6).

Figure 5.4. Contribution of potential labor migrants from Central Asia to Russia's GDP for 2006-2017.



Source: Author's calculations based on data of Rosstat

A series of liberalization measures in migration policy, which began in 2007, increased the number of officially employed foreign labor from about 1 million people in 2006 to just over 3.3 million people in 2014, after which, in 2015, there is a 50% reduction in the official employment of foreign labor force in the Russian labor market. For the considered periods, official employment of Central Asian citizens increased from 242 thousand people to just over 2 million people, and in 2015, there is a significant decrease.

Thus, the results of the calculations confirm the theses on the double-digit contribution of labor migrants in Russia's GDP. Our calculations revealed a 10.8% contribution of labor migrants from the CIS countries in creating Russia's GDP. The contribution of labor migrants from Central Asia was about 4.5% of Russia's GDP in 2015. The results of these calculations are identical to those figures, which were announced in the Council of the Russian Federation⁹⁰.

In 2015, as a result of the devaluation of the Russian ruble, as well as the tightening of immigration laws, which were discussed earlier, the number of labor migrants decreased. As a result, the contribution of foreign labor force from the CIS countries to Russia's GDP dropped to 10%. The share of foreign labor from Central Asian countries to the Russia's GDP in 2017 decreased to 4.1%.

It is also relevant to examine the questions: how much money do labor migrants leave in the Russian economy and how much do they send to their countries?

Former director of the Russia's Federal Migration Service has been repeatedly announced that for every ruble sent from Russia, migrant workers bring to the Russia's economy 4-6 ruble⁹¹. Analysis of the dynamics of remittances from Russia to the CIS countries in the table below shows that in 2017 they sent about 13 billion US dollars.

⁹⁰Трудовая миграция может стать мощным фактором экономического развития [Labor migration can be a powerful factor in economic development (in Russ)]. Retrieved from: <http://www.council.gov.ru/events/news/16040/>

⁹¹Россия собирает прибыль с мигрантов [Russia collects profits from migrants (in Russ)]. Retrieved from: <http://www.interfax.ru/business/97467>

Table 5.1. Cross-border transfers of individuals (residents and non-residents) in 2006-2017

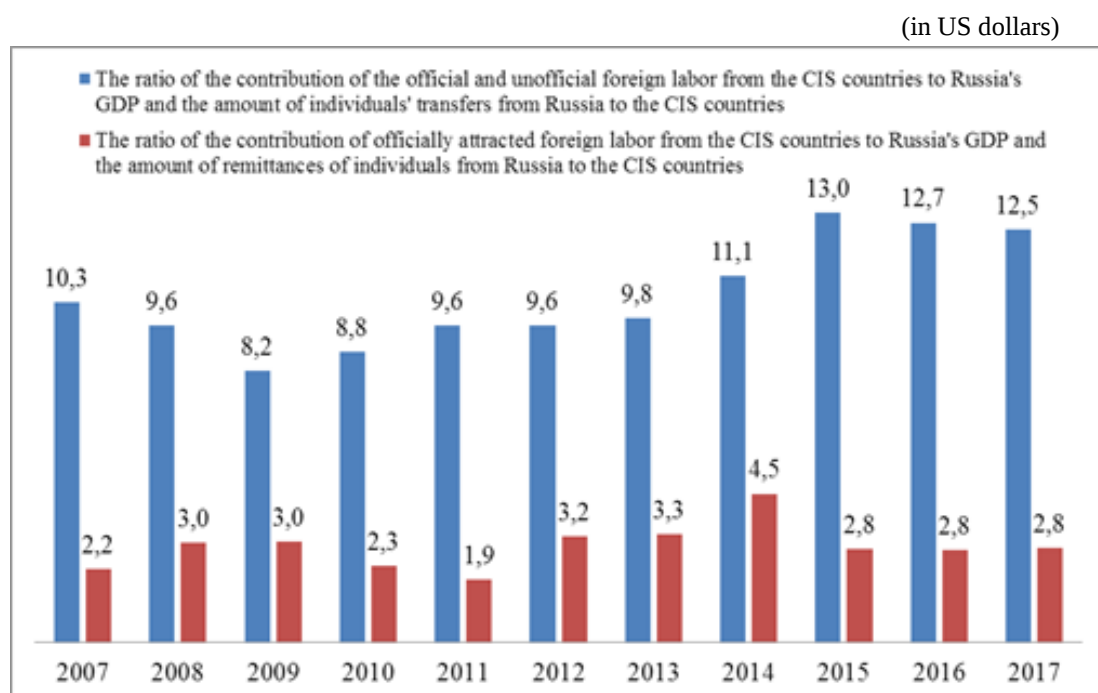
	in millions dollars											
	2017	2016	2015	2014	2013	2012	2011	2010	2009	2008	2007	2006
Transfers by individuals from the Russian Federation	43 834	35 928	35 116	68 878	58 991	48 588	43 819	31 718	25 362	41 066	29 807	18 759
to other countries	30 928	25 799	24 059	49 825	37 264	29 384	27 816	19 896	15 808	27 111	20 133	12 491
To CIS countries	12 906	10 129	11 057	19 054	21 726	19 205	16 002	11 823	9 555	13 955	9 675	6 268
Average amount of one transfer (in US dollars)												
Transfers by individuals from the Russian Federation	220	211	210	514	771	995	995	1 170	1 180	1 850	1 725	1 465
To other countries	222	219	206	667	2 604	4 489	4 489	5 315	6 204	10 846	10 019	8 153
To CIS countries	214	192	220	321	350	423	423	506	504	709	634	556

Source: according to the Central Bank of Russia

According to the Central Bank of Russia, in 2016, the average amount of one transfer to the CIS countries decreased to \$192⁹², but in 2017 this figure increased to 214 US dollars⁹³.

To answer the above question, data will be required on the contribution of potential labor migrants to Russia's GDP, which was previously calculated (see figure 5.3 and Appendix 5), as well as data on the amount of their transfer (see table 5.1). The ratio of these two indicators illustrates an interesting picture (see fig. 5.5).

Figure 5.5 - Ratio of the contribution of foreign labor from the CIS countries to Russia's GDP and the amount of individuals' transfers from Russia to the CIS countries



Source: Compiled by the author according to Rosstat

⁹²Результаты анкетирования физических лиц, осуществляющих трансграничные денежные переводы [The results of the survey of individuals engaged in cross-border remittances (in Russ)]. Retrieved from: http://www.cbr.ru/statistics/default.aspx?Prtd=svs&ch=ITM_35234#CheckedItem

⁹³Рязанцев С.В., Письменная Е.Е., Боженко В.В. Финансово-экономические аспекты временной трудовой иммиграции в Россию // Финансовая экономика. 2014. №3. С. 88 [Ryazantsev S.V., Pismennaya E.E., Bozhenko V.V. Financial and economic aspects of temporary labor immigration to Russia // Financial economics. 2014. №3. pp. 88 (in Russ)]

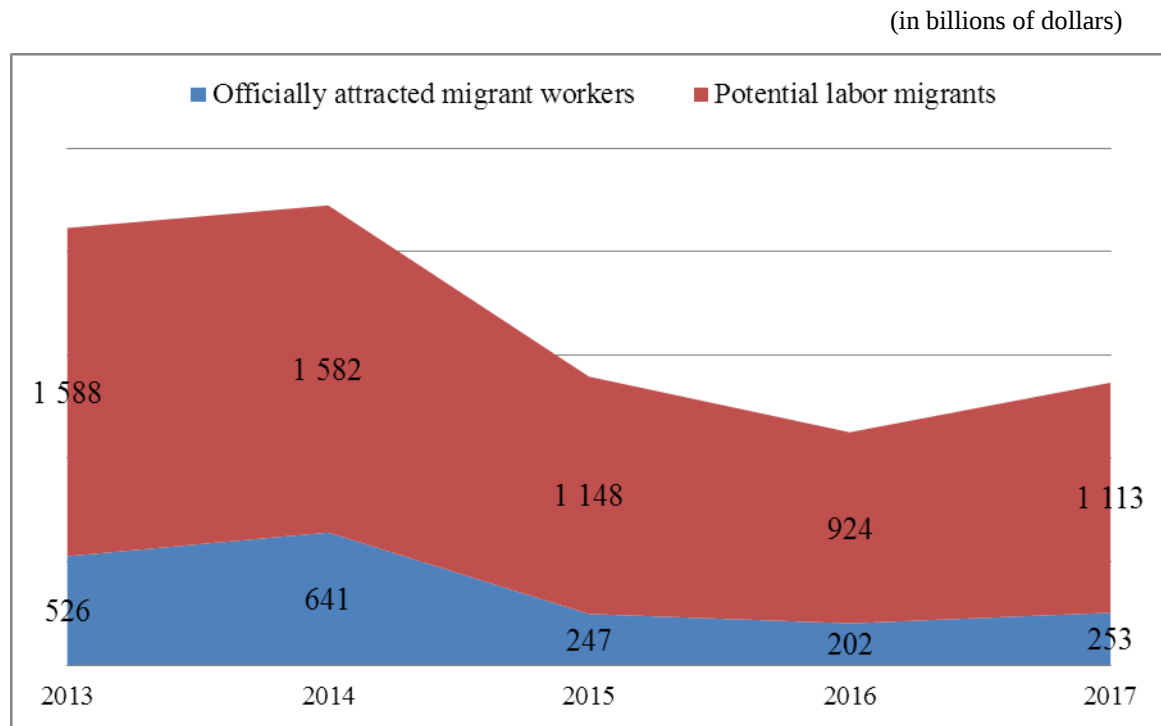
The results of the calculations clearly demonstrate the importance of reliable statistics on international migration. Thus, if we build a migration policy, as part of the country's socio-economic policy, based on official statistics, then it shows only the 'leading edge'. In this case, if relying on official statistics, it shows that for every dollar sent, in 2017 labor migrants from the CIS countries left around 2.8 US dollars in Russia.

However, the largest share of labor migrants left behind migration statistics (including citizens of the EAEU member countries, who also remained behind migration statistics because they do not need a work permit) also make a significant contribution to the socio-economic development of Russia. If they could formally find a job (i.e. both with regular and irregular status migrant workers), their contribution would become more obvious. In this case, the results of calculations made show that, given the potential employment of migrant workers, in 2017 they left 12.5US dollars in the Russian economy for every dollar sent.

In the previous sections the average wage of foreign workers from the CIS countries in Russia in three simulated cases in 2006-2017 year was calculated. As a result, it was revealed that in 2017 labor migrants from the CIS countries sent 214 out of 365 US dollars (the second scenario is 60% of transfers) to their countries and only 40% were left for their own needs. In 2017, this percentage they left was \$151.

The amount of money left by labor migrants was calculated below and is based on the remaining money after the transfer, as well as on data on the number of formally employed and potential labor migrants. For this, the following **formula was used**: the amount of money remaining after the transfer is multiplied by the number of officially employed and potential labor migrants.

Figure 5.6 - The ratio of the amount of remittances and the expenses of labor migrants from the CIS countries in Russia for 2013-2017



Source: calculations are modeled by the author based on data from the Central Bank of Russia

If sum up all the calculations made above, it turns out that in 2017, out of 9,385 billion rubles, or 161 billion US dollars, contributed to Russia's GDP (see Figure 3.3 and Annex 5), over 1.1 billion dollars in Russia was spent additionally by labor migrants from the CIS countries, and only 12.9 billion US dollars were sent to their countries.

If we divide the amount we have identified about the contribution of labor migrants to Russia's GDP (in 2017 - 161 billion USD) by the amount of labor migrants remittances (in 2017 - 12.9 billion USD), we'll get the correctness of our calculations illustrated on fig.3.5. Namely, labor migrants leave about \$12.5 in the Russian economy for every dollar sent.

It is important to note that the more labor migrants earn, the more they leave money in their country of residence, spending on themselves and buying goods produced in this country.

Thus, the calculations made are significantly different from the European trend, where the contribution of labor migrants in OECD countries is estimated at around 0.5-1% of GDP⁹⁴.

The calculations made in this study roughly confirm the theses that claim a 6–15 percent contribution of labor migrants to Russia's GDP. Our calculations revealed that during 2013-2017, the contribution of foreign labor from the CIS countries amounted to approximately 9.6% -10.8% of Russia's GDP.

The Contribution of Labor Migrants to Local Budgets

Labor migrants in their host countries make tax payments to the state budget. In a research conducted on OECD countries, it was revealed that in Austria immigrants have a contribution of 10.7% of all social contributions⁹⁵ to the country's budget, while they receive only 6.2% of these contributions. For all 27 OECD member countries, it was revealed that the contribution of immigrants to social funds is 9.7%, and only 2% is spent on their maintenance from this fund.

Russia has a slightly different system with pension and other types of social security for migrant workers. Russia has an agreement on pensions with 23 countries⁹⁶, and they do not mostly cover migrant workers. Therefore, there is no need to talk about any such significant types of social

⁹⁴The fiscal impact of immigration in OECD countries, in International Migration Outlook 2013, OECD Publishing, Paris

⁹⁵Note: which includes a tax on pension insurance, medical insurance policy, insurance, etc.

⁹⁶Назначение и выплата пенсии на основании международных соглашений (договоров). [The appointment and payment of pensions on the basis of international agreements (contracts). (in Russ)]. Retrieved from: http://www.pfrf.ru/grazdanam/pensionres/pens_zagran/~533

security for labor migrants in Russia. Nevertheless, migrant workers, as well as the local population, make contribution to the Russian budget in the form of tax payments.

The previous section analyzed the patent system for foreign labor migrants in Russia. In particular, in Appendix 8 statistical data on the number of patents issued for 2011-2017 were given.

In 2014, labor migrants under this patent had to pay monthly fixed advance payments in the amount of 1,216 rubles. However, in 2015, the so-called quotas were abolished, and instead of them, labor migrants are now allowed to work on the patent not only for individuals, but also for legal entities⁹⁷. In addition to this, the amount of fixed monthly advance payments increased, which amounted to 2,575.3 rubles on the average in Russia. Secondly, the regions of Russia are given the right to establish a regional coefficient⁹⁸.

In 2016, the average cost of a patent in Russia increased to 3,328 rubles, in 2017 to 3,716 rubles, and in 2018 to 3,844 rubles. Thus, the rising cost of a patent from 2014 to 2018 amounted to 216%.

Based on this, total contributions of labor migrants in the form of monthly advance payments for a patent to regional budgets were calculated. As a temporary period, 9 months were chosen as labor migration from this region is mainly seasonal for 9-10 months.

⁹⁷Федеральный закон от 25.07.2002 N 115-ФЗ (ред. от 30.12.2015) "О правовом положении иностранных граждан в Российской Федерации" [Federal law of July 25, 2002 No. 115-ФЗ (as amended on December 30, 2015) "On the legal status of foreign citizens in the Russian Federation" (in Russ)]. Retrieved from: http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_37868/78903dca1f0ac1f3abc08d2f8cd1c0e2fddc826b

⁹⁸Сколько стоят патенты для мигрантов в регионах России в 2015 году? [How much are patents for migrants in the regions of Russia in 2015? (in Russ)]. Retrieved from: <http://tjk.rus4all.ru/exclusive/20150116/725666157.html>

Table 5.2. Calculations of revenues to the regional budget from patents for migrant workers in 2014-2017

	2014			2015		
	The number of foreign citizens holding a patent (thousand people)	Average cost of monthly fixed advance payments (rub.)	Total revenues from monthly fixed advance payments (in million rubles)	The number of foreign citizens holding a patent (thousand people)	Average cost of monthly fixed advance payments (rub.)	Total revenues from monthly fixed advance payments (in million rubles)
Russian Federation	2 079,8	1 216	22 761	1 656,3	2575,3	38 389
Central Federal District	1 643	1 216	17 980	774	2867,8	19 977
-Moscow	926	1 216	10 134	437	4 000	15 732
-Moscow region	427	1 216	4 673	182	4 000	6 552
Northwestern Federal District	331	1 216	3 622	280	2278,8	5 742
-St. Petersburg	213	1 216	2 331	194	3 000	5 238
-Leningrad region	63	1 216	689	57	3 000	1 539
Southern Federal District	197	1 216	2 155	113	1971,8	2 005
-Krasnodar region	93	1 216	1 017	48	2800	1 209

North Caucasus Federal District	38	1 216	415	18	1915,7	310
-The Republic of Dagestan	9	1 216	98	5	1568	70
Volga Federal District	275	1 216	3 009	171	2043,5	3 144
-Samara Region	67	1 216	733	44	2500	990
--Nizhny Novgorod Region	37	1 216	404	22	2274	450
-Republic of Tatarstan	40	1 216	437	24	2838	613
-Republic of Bashkortostan	37	1 216	404	26	1568	366
Ural Federal District	244	1 216	2 670	122	3619,4	3 974
- Sverdlovsk region	78	1 216	853	43	2400	928
- Tyumen region	123	1 216	1 346	59	3999	2 123
- including: Khanty-Mansky AO-Ugra	67	1 216	733	36	1568	508
-Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug	28	1 216	306	12	6629	715
Siberian Federal District	261	1 216	2 856	120	2015,36	2 176

-Irkutsk region	59	1 216	645	31	1568	437
-Novosibirsk region	72	1 216	787	39	1568	550
Far Eastern Federal District	134	1 216	1 466	49	3890	1 715
-Primorsky Krai	32	1 216	350	8	3136	225
-Khabarovsk region	29	1 216	317	11	2744	271

Continued Table 5.2

	2016			2017		
	The number of foreign citizens holding a patent (thousand people)	Average cost of monthly fixed advance payments (rub.)	Total revenues from monthly fixed advance payments (in million rubles)	The number of foreign citizens holding a patent (thousand people)	Average cost of monthly fixed advance payments (rub.)	Total revenues from monthly fixed advance payments (in million rubles)
Russian Federation	1543,4	3328	46 227	1649,1	3716	55 152
Central Federal District	709,7	3399	21 710	777,5	3716	26 002
-Moscow	394,6	4200	14 915	436,2	4200	16 488
-Moscow region	174,8	4000	6 292	194,4	4000	6 998

Northwestern Federal District	280,4	3382	8 534	307,6	3800	10 519
-St. Petersburg	196,7	3000	5 310	221	3000	5 967
-Leningrad region	55,8	3000	1 506	58,2	2999	1 570
Southern Federal District	116,4	2049	2 146	105,8	3065	2 918
-Krasnodar region	39,5	3244,8	1 153	31,4	3478	982
North Caucasus Federal District	22,4	2028	408	26,7	2754	661
-The Republic of Dagestan	6,5	1568,4	91	10,2	2532	232
Volga Federal District	152,6	2919	4 008	157,8	3399	4 827
-Samara Region	38,4	2999,5	1 036	32,8	3101	915
--Nizhny Novgorod Region	22,8	1816,8	372	25,5	3895	893
-Republic of Tatarstan	21,8	3288,4	645	25	3525	793
-Republic of Bashkortostan	21,4	2906,9	559	23,4	3109	654
Ural Federal District	113,2	4133	4 210	115,7	4712	4 906

- Sverdlovsk region	38,7	2860	996	40	3662	1 318
- Tyumen region	58	4139	2 160	58,5	5164	2 718
- including: Khanty-Mansky AO-Ugra	32,8	3475	1 025	31	30918	8 626
-Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug	10	7412,5	667	9,6	9643	833
Siberian Federal District	105,3	3347	3 171	106,5	3216	3 082
-Irkutsk region	29	3470	905	32,3	3726	1 083
-Novosibirsk region	29	3034	791	21,6	3252	632
Far Eastern Federal District	43,2	4568	1 776	51,6	4708	2 186
-Primorsky Krai	7,7	3706,3	256	12,5	3973	446
-Khabarovsk region	10	3179,4	286	10,3	3408	315

Source: author's calculations according to Rosstat

The calculations made revealed that revenues from patents granted to labor migrants to the Russian regions budgets increased from 22.7 billion rubles in 2014 to 55.1 billion rubles in 2017 or **by 142% in just 3 years**.

In the regional context, a significant part of this amount went to the Central Federal District (about 50% in 2017), to Moscow (about 30% in 2017) and St. Petersburg (about 11%).

For comparison, it is worth noting that this amount is greater than the annual expenditures of the Russian Government for the programs ‘promoting employment’ and ‘developing shipbuilding and developing offshore fields’ taken together. In 2018 the Russian Government for these programs allocated 45 billion rubles and 10, respectively⁹⁹.

The largest share of this amount came from payments for a patent by citizens of Central Asian countries, which in 2017 amounted to over 47 billion rubles or about 86% of all revenues.

Table 5.3. Calculations of budget revenues from monthly advance payments for a patent for migrant workers in 2014-2017

	in million rubles			
	2014	2015	2016	2017
Total received	27 761	38 389	46 227	55 152
CIS-Total	22 737	27 055	46 203	55 139
of which: from Central Asia	15 438	21 368	37 904	47 350
Kazakhstan	16	6	5	6
Kyrgyzstan	1 662	506	5	3

⁹⁹Бюджет России на 2018 год. [Russian budget in 2018 (in Russ)]. Retrieved from http://www.aif.ru/dontknows/infographics/byudzhets_rossii_na_2018_god_infografika

Tajikistan	4 733	6 812	11 783	14 474
Uzbekistan	9 026	14 042	26 109	32 671

Source: author's calculations

Regardless of the fact that in 2015-2016 there was a significant decrease in the number of labor migrants in the Russian labor market, however, the country's budget began to receive even more funds due to the increase in patent value.

It should be noted that such a step the government of Russia has pushed the deteriorating socio-economic situation and, as a result of the crisis of 2008–2009, labor migrants were the first to take the brunt of it.

Together with the abolition of quotas, the reform of 2015 provides for several additional costs for labor migrants associated with obtaining a patent, the price of which varies depending on the region¹⁰⁰.

Some of these expenses are irregular. For example, a test of knowledge of the Russian language is valid for 5 years. The service charge paid to the center for the preparation of documents and their redirection to the Main Department of the Russian Ministry of Interior on migration issues does not work in all regions and the prices for this service in the regions differ. Other items of expenditure are also one-time. From this perspective, methodologically calculate all of these costs over the years are not possible.

Since the amount of expenses of migrants depends on the regions, we took only those expenses that are standard for the whole of Russia. These include the following expenses:

¹⁰⁰ Многофункциональный миграционный центр города Москвы в Сахарово. Особенности получения патента на работу. [Multifunctional migration center of Moscow in Sakharov. Features of obtaining a patent for a job. (in Russ)]. Retrieved from: <http://www.confidencegroup.ru/default.aspx?did=153&sid=183>

- monthly advance payments, on average in Russia. We multiply this amount by 9 months, since labor migration in this region is mainly seasonal.

- a patent is required to have medical insurances, the price of which, depending on the region, is 2500-3000 rubles. In Russia as a whole, it is equal to 2,800 rubles.

- medical examination, which costs labor migrants 2300 rubles and must be passed every year.

- integration test on the history, culture and legislation of Russia about 5,500 rubles. Validity of this certificate is 5 years.

The total amount of calculations is given in Tab.5.4 - 5.6.

Table 5.4. Total costs of migrant workers to obtain a patent in the Russian Federation in 2015

in million rubles

	Total foreign citizens (thous.ppl)	Total Receipts for Medical Examination	Total Income for Medical Insurance	Total Income for the issuance of a certificate in Russian language	Total Income for fixed advance payments	Total Income from the patent system in 2015
The total number of foreign citizens who have received a patent	1656,3	3 809	5 797	7 453	38 389	55 448
CIS - Total	1655,4	3 807	5 793	7 449	38 368	55 418
of which: from Central Asia	1307,4	3 007	4 575	5 883	30 302	43 768
Kazakhstan	0,4	0,9	1	1	9,2	13
Kyrgyzstan	31	71	108	139	718	1 037
Tajikistan	416,8	958	1 458	1 875	9 660	13 953
Uzbekistan	859,2	1 976	3 007	3 866	19 914	28 764

Source: compiled by the author according to Rosstat

Table 5.5. Total costs of migrant workers to obtain a patent in the Russian Federation in 2016

	in million rubles					
	Total foreign citizens (thous.ppl)	Total Receipts for Medical Examination	Total Income for Medical Insurance	Other expenses ¹⁰¹	Total Income for fixed advance payments	Total Income from the patent system in 2016
The total number of foreign citizens who have received a patent	1543,4	3 549	5 401	6 945	46 227	62 122
CIS - Total	1542,6	3 547	5 399	6 941	46 203	62 092
of which: from Central Asia	1265,5	2 910	4 429	5 694	37 904	50 938
Kazakhstan	0,2	0,4	0,7	0,9	5	8
Kyrgyzstan	0,2	0,4	0,7	0,9	5	8
Tajikistan	393,4	904	1 376	1 770	11 783	15 835
Uzbekistan	871,7	2 004	3 050	3 922	26 109	35 087

Source: compiled by the author according to Rosstat

¹⁰¹Preparation of the application, formation and transfer the package of documents for a patent to the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs (3700 rubles) + Translation and notarization of passport (400 rubles) + Acceptance of payments for the services listed above (100 rubles) and etc. Total 4500 rubles.

Table 5.6. Total costs of migrant workers to obtain a patent in the Russian Federation in 2017

in million ruble.

	Total foreign citizens (thousand people)	Total Receipts for Medical Examination	Total Income for Medical Insurance	Other expenses ¹⁰²	Total Income for fixed advance payments	Total Income from the patent system in 2017
The total number of foreign citizens who have received a patent	1649,1	3 792	5 771	7 420	55 152	72 138
CIS - Total	1648,7	3 792	5 770	7 419	55 139	72 120
of which: from Central Asia	1415,8	3 256	4 955	6 371	47 350	61 932
Kazakhstan	0,2	0,4	0,7	0,9	6 689	8 749
Kyrgyzstan	0,1	0,2	0,3	0,4	3 344	4 374
Tajikistan	432,8	995	1 514	1 947	14 474	18 932
Uzbekistan	976,9	2 246	3 419	4 396	32 671	42 733

Source: compiled by the author according to Rosstat

¹⁰²Preparation of the application, formation and transfer the package of documents for a patent to the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs (3700 rubles) + Translation and notarization of passport (400 rubles) + Acceptance of payments for the services listed above (100 rubles) and etc. Total 4500 rubles.

Thus, the latest innovations introduced in the patent system in 2015 brought to the Russian budget over 55.4 billion rubles in the first year, and in 2017 this amount reached over 72 billion rubles.

This amount is more than annually allocated from the budget of Russia for the “environmental protection” program, which in 2017 amounted to 70 billion rubles¹⁰³.

Due to the fact that citizens of Central Asian countries make up a significant share in the migration flow to Russia, their share in socio-economic development is also significant. In this indicator, due to labor migrants from this region, the Russian budget in 2017 received about 62 billion rubles, and compared with 2015 it increased by 41.5%.

It would be also appropriate to make calculations of payments to the Russian budget of taxes paid by labor migrants who are citizens of the CIS and Central Asian countries (except for the EEU member-state). The result of the assessment for 2016-2017 are given in Tab.5.7.-5.8

¹⁰³Федеральный бюджет России на 2017 г.[Russia's federal budget in 2017 (in Russ)]. Retrieved from: http://www.aif.ru/dontknows/infographics/federalnyy_byudzheth_rossii_na_2017_god_infografika

Table 5.7. Estimation of possible revenues from the patent system
by **potential labor migrants** from the CIS countries in 2016

	in a million						
	Total foreign citizens (thous.ppl)	Total Receipts for Medical Examination	Total Income for Medical Insurance	Other expenses	Total Income for fixed advance payments	Total Income from the patent system in 2016	in USD
CIS - Total	3 218,6	7 402	11 265	14 483	96 403	129 555	1 938
of which: from Central Asia	2 273,3	5 228	7 956	10 229	68 089	91 504	1 369
Tajikistan	837,7	1 926	2 931	3 769	25 090	33 719	504
Uzbekistan	1 433,5	3 297	5 017	6 450	42 936	57 701	863

Source: compiled by the author according to Rosstat

If the Russian government could fully liberalize its migration legislation so that citizens of the CIS and Central Asian countries (with the exception of the EAEU member countries) could officially work and transfer taxes to the country's budget, then, according to the calculations made, in 2016 they could transfer about \$2 billion as a whole, where \$1.3 billion was accounted for citizens of Central Asia.

In 2017, this figure would be about \$2.4 billion.

Table 5.8. Estimation of possible revenues from the patent system by **potential labor migrants** from the CIS countries in 2017

	in a million						
	Total foreign citizens (thous.ppl)	Total Receipts for Medical Examination	Total Income for Medical Insurance	Other expenses	Total Income for fixed advance payments	Total Income from the patent system in 2016	In USD
CIS - Total	3 491,9	8 031	12 221	15 713	104 589	140 555	2 411
of which: from Central Asia	2 761,6	6 351	9 665	12 427	82 715	111 159	1 907
Tajikistan	936,7	2 154	3 278	4 215	28 056	37 704	646
Uzbekistan	1 822,9	4 192	6 380	8 203	54 599	73 375	1 258

Source: compiled by the author according to Rosstat

The above calculations encourage us to conclude that the higher the level of official registered international labor migration, the higher its contribution to Russia's socio-economic development.

The level of tax payment is a significant indicator of registered labor migration. For example, a study conducted in OECD countries revealed that in 2013, labor migrants from EU countries in Austria contributed EUR 2.6 billion to the state budget, which is 70% more than in 2007. In the meantime, foreign workers receive less medical care than local people¹⁰⁴. According to a study cited in 2013 in Germany, labor migrants from EU countries pay about 40 billion euros in taxes and fees, and the state spends only 14.8 billion euros.

In Russia, which for many years has been negotiating accession to the OECD, there is a very similar situation with the countries of this group. According to our modest calculations just for the patent, labor migrants in 2017 contributed about 55 billion rubles as taxes and fees to the Russian budget and its regions, slightly more than half of which are taxes and fees of Central Asian labor migrants.

¹⁰⁴Fiscal impact of EU migrants in Austria, Germany, the Netherlands, and the UK. Retrieved from: http://www.epim.info/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/2BC_EU-migrants-final-2.pdf.

Conclusions

In a short historical path, modern Russian society has transformed from a society and a country that has never before encountered the phenomenon of international migration to a country where such a phenomenon has become everyday. But such everyday life has also generated many conflicts between this phenomenon and the local population, which raises the question of the alternative of international labor migration in society.

In Russia, many think that the unemployment of 5 million on average per year ¹⁰⁵ and about 20 million level of poverty can do without international migration¹⁰⁶.

It should be noted that such arguments have a real basis. It would seem that by mobilizing such a number of unemployed Russians, it is possible to fill all the scarce sectors of the economy with labor resources.¹⁰⁷ The government in its turn staked on raising the birth rate by stimulating it through maternity capital. It is assumed that this measure will solve the country's demographic problems. All these measures are of course very good, but there are several key problems here.

First, the labor market in Russia cannot afford to wait 20 years for newborns to grow up and join the labor market. Meanwhile, due to different demographic waves, according to the average demographic forecast scenario, the number of working-age population will decrease

¹⁰⁵Занятость и безработица в Российской Федерации [Employment and unemployment in the Russian Federation (in Russ)]. Retrieved from: http://www.gks.ru/bgd/free/b04_03/IssWWW.exe/Stg/d06/16.htm

¹⁰⁶Неравенство и бедность [Inequality and Poverty (in Russ)]. Retrieved from: http://www.gks.ru/wps/wcm/connect/rosstat_main/rosstat/ru/statistics/population/poverty/#

¹⁰⁷Гребенюк А.А. Проблемы повышения производительности труда и сокращения потребности в иностранной рабочей силе в РФ. Научные труды: Институт народнохозяйственного прогнозирования РАН. 2013. Т. 11. С. 377-404. [Grebnyuk A.A. Problems of increasing labor productivity and reducing the need for foreign labor in Russia. Scientific works: Institute of Economic Forecasting RAS. 2013. Vol.11. pp.377-404 (in Russ)]

from year to year and by 2050 it will have decreased by about 12 million people (see Appendix 7).

Such an amount of decrease of the working population substantially increases the burden on the state budget, which is already facing a shortage in the strength of the recent geopolitical confrontation with the West and the decline in oil prices. Experts predict that the shale revolution indicates the end of an era of high oil prices¹⁰⁸.

On the other hand, the problem of the modern labor market in Russia is that such a number of the unemployed is accompanied by the same number of unfilled vacancies. According to experts, this situation testifies to the structural problems of the Russian labor market, rather than the presence of competition between foreign labor forces and the local population¹⁰⁹.

The second problem is that in the country, along with highly qualified specialists, many sectors of the national economy require the availability of low-skilled labor resources, ready for hard work. Such jobs do not enjoy prestige among the local population due to low wages and working conditions, which are known among experts as “3D work”.

The third problem of the labor market in Russia is that local people do not fill up the available vacancies due to low wages. The employer, which is mainly small and medium business, cannot offer high wages, since there are substantial bureaucratic and corrupt expenses. The combination of these factors calls into question the survival of small and medium-sized businesses in Russia. This was particularly discussed at a meeting of the

¹⁰⁸Переговоры в Дохе завершились без подписания соглашения [Doha negotiations ended without signing an agreement (in Russ)]. Retrieved from: <http://www.rbc.ru/economics/17/04/2016/5713cfaf9a79477108c82323>

¹⁰⁹Рязанцев С.В. Иностранцы трудовые мигранты на российском рынке труда и новые подходы к миграционной политике // Экономическая политика. 2015. №4. С. 24 [Ryazantsev S.V. Foreign labor migrants on the Russian labor market and new approaches to migration policy // Economical politics. 2015. №4. p.24 (in Russ)]

Federation Council on the development of small and medium-sized businesses in Russia¹¹⁰.

Due to the proliferation of shadow economic relations, the vast majority of foreign laborers are hidden from view of official statistics, although for fairness, we note that the liberalization of migration policies in recent years has significantly reduced the number of undocumented foreign labor migrants. This circumstance is even more relevant for small and medium businesses, where for several reasons the proportion of the shadow component is much higher than in the segment of large business.

In the EU, the contribution of small business to GDP is about 50%, the same share of this segment in total employment. As for Russia, according to various estimates, this figure is about 20% of GDP, and the contribution to total employment is about 25%.

According to the Global Monitoring of Entrepreneurship, only 3% of small businesses in Russia manage to hold out on the market for more than 3 years. For comparison, this figure is 6.1% in Norway, in Finland - 6.6%, in Spain - 8.4%. It is assumed that the solution to this problem lies in overcoming the initial stage and increasing the survival rate of companies, including through savings from hiring cheap labor¹¹¹.

The strategy of socio-economic development of Russia until 2020 as one of the main objectives specified increase in the share of employment in small and medium-sized businesses from 15% to 60%. It would seem that such goal-setting is quite reasonable for each country applying for the role of a developed one, especially, considering the fact that this segment forms

¹¹⁰В Общественной палате РФ прошли общественные слушания «Миграция как фактор развития малого и среднего бизнеса и экономики России» [Public hearings "Migration as a factor in the development of small and medium-sized businesses and the Russian economy" took place in the Public Chamber of the Russian Federation (in Russ)]. Retrieved from: <http://ossps.ru/osnews/6550>

¹¹¹Глобальный мониторинг предпринимательства (GEM) [Global Entrepreneurship Monitoring (GEM) (in Russ)]. Retrieved from: <http://www.gsom.spbu.ru/research/eship/projects/gem/>

the basis of economic growth of any developed country. This goal was even more actualized for Russia taking into account geopolitical confrontations and reducing the role of oil and gas industries in the formation of the country's budget.

Small and medium businesses have long been attracted by foreign labor forces and, thus, participate in the formation of a new division of labor for Russia between migrants and local workers, which will further deepen, forming a growing need for foreign work and new niches of migrant employment in the Russian labor market.

However, the existing demographic problems and the reluctance of the unemployed part of the local population to engage in low-skilled labor or their unreasonably excessive wage requirements cast doubt on the possibility of achieving the above goals and remove from the agenda the issue of alternative international labor migration.

There are all the necessary grounds to assert that the presence of labor migrants from the Central Asian countries actually stimulates the local population to receive more prestigious working specialties, reducing the burden on the state budget by maintaining the disabled population, does not delay the growth of labor productivity, and does not compete with the Russian local population.

Brain Drain vs. Brain Gain

Skilled and High-Skilled Migration

In the 60-70s of the last century, the transformation of developed societies into the stage of post-industrialization and globalization of the world economy led to the emergence of information and knowledge-based economics. This trend has caused an increase in the demand for highly qualified personnel including foreign specialists.

For the first time the United States passed a resolution granting special privileges to foreign specialists. Canada (1967) and Australia (1989) followed the same direction. In recent years this trend has changed dramatically, and highly qualified foreign specialists now have more choice of directions than they used to.

In the second decade of the third millennium, in the competition to attract highly skilled labor, many industrialized countries changed their policies in order to become more attractive for this group of migrants. European countries following Australia, Canada and the United States have recognized that the migration of highly skilled personnel will play an important role in enhancing the knowledge-based economy, outpacing economic development.

The lack of personnel in the engineering, IT, pharmaceutical, healthcare and educated sectors has forced European countries to participate actively in changing their labor migration policies in order to attract highly skilled migrants from third countries.

The economic growth in Russia caused by a favorable external environment and the result of reforms required not only the availability of

investments and technologies, but also the workforce, which requires the growing industry. The last factor of the economic growth in Russia has become more actual in the context of the demographic crisis caused by the decline and aging of its population. The experts say that ‘in the course of the reforms the disproportion of the labor market was revealed ..., in particular, the problems of structural unemployment were identified clearly’¹¹².

The situation on the labor market is complicated by the fact that with about 4 million unemployed¹¹³ and about 19.3 million people living below the subsistence minimum¹¹⁴, the population has low motivation to work.

In this regard, along with migration for permanent residence and low-skilled temporary labor migrants who are ready to take on any job, also there is a demand for qualified foreign specialists.

Taking into account the specificity of the labour market described above, Russia enters tardily into the competition of “attracting brains”. Starting from 2010 a new statement in the Russian migration legislation is introduced, where it is indicated that foreign citizens – qualified specialists who find jobs according to their specialties may start working beyond the quota¹¹⁵.

¹¹² Новая модель рынка труда России: Роль внешних факторов / С.В.Рязанцев, Гневашевой В.А., Под ред.чл.-корр.РАН С.В.Рязанцева. М.: Эконинформ, 2014. С.58. [New Model of the Russian Labor Market: The Role of External Factors / S.V. Ryazantsev, Gnevasheva V.A. Edited by S.V.Ryazantsev. Moscow.: Econinform, 2014. P.58 (in Russ)]

¹¹³ Численность безработных по субъектам Российской Федерации. [The number of unemployed in Russian regions (in Russ)]. Retrieved from: http://www.gks.ru/free_doc/new_site/population/trud/tab_trud3.htm

¹¹⁴ Уровень жизни [Standard of living (in Russ)]. Retrieved from: http://www.gks.ru/wps/wcm/connect/rosstat_main/rosstat/ru/statistics/population/level/#

¹¹⁵ Приказ Министерства труда и социальной защиты Российской Федерации "Об утверждении перечня профессий (специальностей, должностей) иностранных граждан и лиц без гражданства - квалифицированных специалистов, имеющих право на прием в гражданство Российской Федерации в упрощенном порядке " от 24 марта 2009 г. N 132н г. // Российская газета. 2009 г. №4908 (84) [Order of the Ministry of Labor and Social Protection of the Russian Federation "On Approving the List of Professions (Specialties, Positions) of Foreign Citizens and Stateless Persons - Qualified Specialists Eligible for Acceptance to the Citizenship of the Russian Federation under the Simplified Procedure" dated March 24, 2009 N 132n. // Russian newspaper. 2009 №4908 (84) (in Russ)]

This group includes foreign specialists like heads of agencies, organizations and enterprises and their structural divisions (services), natural and engineering sciences experts, specialists having average level of qualification of physical and engineering activities; medium staff in the field of financial, economic, administrative and social activities.

The number of skilled specialists in Russia increased from 98.6 thousand people in 2012 to 187 thousand people in 2014, and in 2016 it decreased to 143.8 thousand people, where 51.3 thousand (27.3%) are citizens of Central Asian countries (see Table 6.1).

In 2014, out of about 41 thousand foreign heads of agencies, organizations and enterprises and their structural subdivisions and 29.8 thousand foreign specialists of natural and engineering sciences in Russia, 39.5% and 53% respectively came from Central Asian countries.

In 2016, the overall trend of these two categories of foreign specialists from the Central Asian countries significantly decreased and amounted to only 1.3 thousand each, or 6.2% and 12% respectively.

Table 6.1. The number of foreign citizens who had valid work permits
by occupational group and country of origin in 2012-2016

in thousand people															
	2012					2014					2016				
	Qualified Specialists I-categories	Qualified Specialists II-categories	Qualified Specialists III-categories	Qualified Specialists IV-categories	TOTAL Qualified Specialists (person)	Qualified Specialists I-categories	Qualified Specialists II-categories	Qualified Specialists III-categories	Qualified Specialists IV-categories	TOTAL Qualified Specialists (person)	Qualified Specialists I-categories	Qualified Specialists II-categories	Qualified Specialists III-categories	Qualified Specialists IV-categories	TOTAL Qualified Specialists (person)
TOTAL	41,3	20,9	23,5	12,9	98,6	41,0	29,8	106,5	10,2	187,5	20,7	10,8	2,9	3,0	143,9
Including from Central Asia	22,4	25,0	62,8	21,4	32,7	16,2	15,8	77,8	19,5	51,3	1,3	1,3	5,1	1,4	12,5
Kazakhstan	0,24	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,1	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,1	0,1	0,1	-	0,1
Kyrgyzstan	2,42	2,39	5,5	0,2	3,4	2,1	1,3	5,2	2,8	3,8	0,1	0,0	0,1	0,1	0,8
Tajikistan	3,87	4,87	11,9	4,6	6,2	2,9	3,2	13,7	5,5	9,2	0,4	0,4	3,2	0,6	5,8
Uzbekistan	15,2	18,1	44,6	13,1	22,8	10,9	10,8	58,9	11,0	38,1	0,6	0,4	1,5	0,5	5,4

Source: compiled by the author according to the Rosstat "Labor and Employment in Russia-2017" Yearbook

As for the two remaining categories of specialists namely middle level of qualification of physical and engineering activities (category III) and average personnel in the field of financial, economic, administrative and social activities (category IV), their number decreased from 23.5 thousand people and 12.9 thousand people respectively in 2012 to 2.8 and 3.0 thousand people in 2016.

The total number of all four categories of specialists from Central Asian countries decreased from 51.3 thousand people in 2014 to 12.5 thousand people in 2016.

This category of foreign citizens differs significantly not only in terms of their qualifications and knowledge of the Russian language. Due to the high qualification, the difference between the wages of this category of foreign citizens and the same category of the local population is not significant. Naturally, the amount of payments to the Russian budget is much higher than that of other categories of labor migrants.

Based on the above data, there is a decrease in the level of skilled specialists from Central Asian countries from 33.1% in 2012 to 8.7% in 2016, the reasons for which can be interpreted in different ways.

If, on the one hand, this trend is associated with the exhaustion of skilled labor migrants from this region, on the other hand, it can be explained by the high competition in the Russian labor market between migrants.

At the same time, the tendency to reduce the level of skilled and highly skilled labor migration from Central Asian countries can also be explained by the simplification of migration legislation in relation to the CIS countries, especially to those of its members that are members of the EEU.

It is logical to assume that these categories of foreign labor migrants are competitors in the labor market to the local population. However, it is not. The presence of such a large number of skilled migrants in the labor market of Russia (see Tab.6.2) is dictated by the demand for them.

Table 6.2 - The demand of organizations for employees to fill vacancies by occupational group

	Demand for workers to fill vacant jobs, in thousand people		
	2012	2014	2016
Total for 4 categories	117,3	119,7	291,0
Heads of agencies and their structural divisions (services)	31,3	32,4	27,1
Natural and engineering sciences experts	48,6	52,4	174,0
Average level experts of qualification of physical and engineering activities	17,7	15,2	90,0
Average personnel in the field of financial, economic, administrative and social activities	19,7	19,7	-

Source: Rosstat 'Labor and Employment in Russia-2017' Yearbook

Notwithstanding that in 2016 in all these categories, 143.9 thousand foreign qualified specialists were attracted. However, the Russian labor market required an additional 291 thousand people.

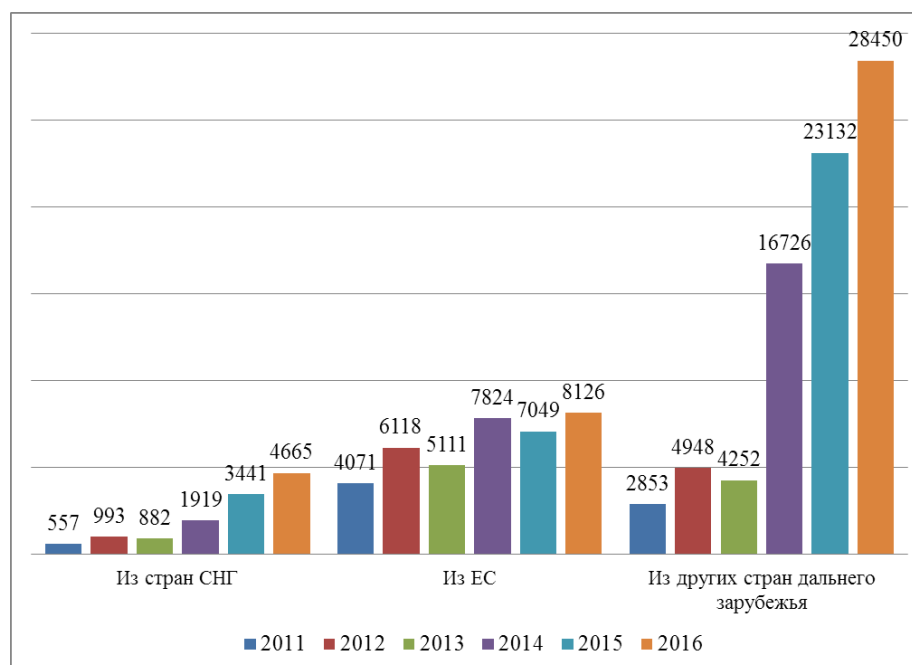
Along with the concept of a 'qualified specialist', starting in 2010, the concept of "highly skilled specialist" is introduced in migration legislation, which has been discussed in details in the previous sections.

Maintaining this provision is caused by the need to ensure sustainable economic growth and balanced development of the country.

That is why, the creation of conditions for attracting highly qualified foreign specialists is an important step in this direction.

In the figure 6.1 the data shows that if during the first year (2011) 7.5 thousand people had used new changing in the migration legislation in their own interests, then, in 2016 this indicator reached more than 41.2 thousand people, where the majority is the EU citizens.

Figure 6.1 – Number of Highly Qualified Foreign Specialists having Valid Work Permits



Source : compiled by the author according to the Rosstat data

In quantitative terms, the number of highly qualified specialists from the CIS countries increased from 557 people in 2011 to 4,665 people in 2016. In percentage terms, this indicator reached 8.6% of the total number of highly qualified specialists in 2013, after which, under the influence of a serious depreciation of the ruble, it decreased to 7.2% in 2014. In

subsequent years, there is a recovery of this trend, and in 2016 it reached 11.3%.

The focus of migration authorities in the aspect of migration of highly qualified specialists is to work out the issue with regions of the Russian Federation implementing resettlement programs for compatriots, taking into account the need to attract highly qualified personnel from among compatriots as well as to provide comprehensive assistance to this category of immigrants, among whom are citizens of Central Asia.

Tracing the migration processes of highly qualified foreign specialists to Russia from this region, a number of the most important characteristics are revealed, which are presented in Tab.6.3.

Table 6.3 - Labor migrants from Central Asia with valid work permits by occupational group in 2011-2016.

	2011		2012		2013		2014		2015		2016	
	Total number of work permits issued (thousand)	<u>Of which: issued to highly qualified professionals (people)</u>	Total number of work permits issued (thousand)	<u>Of which: issued to highly qualified professionals (people)</u>	Total number of work permits issued (thousand)	<u>Of which: issued to highly qualified professionals (people)</u>	Total number of work permits issued (thousand)	<u>Of which: issued to highly qualified professionals (people)</u>	Total number of work permits issued (thousand)	<u>Of which: issued to highly qualified professionals (people)</u>	Total number of work permits issued (thousand)	<u>Of which: issued to highly qualified professionals (people)</u>
Total	1027,9	7529	1148,7	12139	1111,5	10294	1043,8	26523	182,4	33669	143,9	41295
Of which: from CIS- Total	858,9	557	968,6	993	947,3	882	866,0	1919	33,5	3441	25,0	4665
Including from Central Asia - Total	576,0	144	726,7	234	722,6	152	641,1	595	23,8	1118	17,9	1602
Kazakhstan	4,5	97	0,8	84	0,7	57	0,5	50	0,2	47	0,2	30
Kyrgyzstan	65,6	5	76,8	18	82,7	10	72,9	64	2,5	58	1,1	8
Tajikistan	166,4	2	181,4	5	162,8	3	145,7	49	10,7	252	8,3	339
Turkmenistan	0,5	12	0,6	25	0,5	15	0,5	151	0,4	196	0,5	177
Uzbekistan	339,0	28	467,9	102	476,6	67	422,0	281	10,0	761	7,8	1048

Source: compiled by the author according to Rosstat 'Labor and Employment in Russia' Yearbook

The number of highly qualified specialists from Central Asia increased from 114 people or 1.5% in 2011 to 1602 people or about 4% of the total number of attracted highly qualified specialists in Russia in 2016. Among the CIS countries, the share of such specialists from the Central Asian countries increased from 25.8% to 34% over the same period.

The outflow of highly qualified specialists from the Republic of Tajikistan with a population of 9 million in 2016 was bigger than from Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan taken all together (339 people).

The situation is different with the other two Central Asian countries. For the Republic of Uzbekistan, a relatively oil-rich country, with its more than 30 million people, 1048 highly qualified specialists are like a drop in the ocean. For Turkmenistan with the same wealth of natural resources, but with a smaller number of people, the outflow of 177 highly qualified specialists to Russia is not such a significant loss as for the same Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. The fact is that, due to its official policy of neutrality, Turkmenistan is less involved in global migration processes, and the part of the population that is involved in this process is much higher than other Central Asian citizens in terms of their qualifications. And as the above table shows, only 500 citizens of Turkmenistan worked in Russia in 2016, 151 people or about 30% of whom were highly qualified specialists.

The existing theoretical studies¹¹⁶ indicate that the influence of labor migration on the economy of the host country depends on many factors including the educational level of the labor migrants themselves. Labor migration generates investment opportunities and can affect productivity through increased business activities, capital returns, and its impact on wages throughout the economy.

¹¹⁶Gianluca Orefice.2010. Skilled Migration and Economic Performances: Evidence from OECD Countries // Swiss Journal of Economics and Statistics (SJES). №146 (IV). C.781-820.

From this standpoint, the skill level of migrants is of great importance, since they lay the foundation for a long-term increase in the ratio of capital to labor in the economy.

Another category of foreign citizens - scientists and researchers falls within the concept of highly qualified foreign specialists.

Today accumulated theoretical knowledge in the field of migration is mostly focused on the issue of labor migration or the migration of highly skilled workers. The few theoretical papers available in this area confirm that migration increases overall productivity, human capital and also contributes to the economic growth in their host countries¹¹⁷.

Other works confirm the growing global trend towards the migration of highly qualified foreign specialists and their accumulations in the major developed countries of the world¹¹⁸, and that such a diversity of highly qualified foreign specialists significantly and positively stimulates the growth of the economies of the host countries¹¹⁹. However, the research of academic migration remained behind international labor migration.

Academic work is especially important because it covers a number of functions that are important for the sustainable economic growth of receiving countries and ensuring poverty reduction in their countries of origin.

Researches in this area confirm that the migration of scientists, IT specialists, engineers and mathematicians is a major factor in the growth of

¹¹⁷ Boubtane E., J.C. Dumont C. Rault. 2010. Immigration and Economic Growth in the OECD Countries 1986–2006. IZA Discussion Paper No8681.

¹¹⁸ Czaika M., H. Haas. 2014. The Effect of Visa Policies on International Migration Dynamics. IMI working paper No89, University of Oxford;

Özden Ç., C. Parsons. 2015. The Economic Geography of International Migration. World Economy

¹¹⁹ Alesina A., J. Harnoss, H. Rapoport. Birthplace Diversity and Economic Prosperity. 2013. NBER Working Paper No18699.

labor productivity in the US¹²⁰. Such migration stimulates technological progress through the creation and dissemination of knowledge and innovation¹²¹. It was proved that an increase of 1.3% of migrants with higher education from 1990 to 2000 enhanced patenting per capita by 21%, a significant proportion of which is estimated as positive external effects from highly qualified foreign specialists¹²².

Given this circumstance, a special provision appears in the migration legislation of the Netherlands in October 2004, targeting highly skilled migrants. One of the criteria for assigning a foreign citizen to this category is the minimum wage, the amount of which as of 2014 is 4,371 euros for persons of 30 y.o. and older years and in the amount of 3,205 euros for persons of 30 y.o. and younger. However, due to their importance foreign scientists and researchers, this provision of the law does not apply.

In Germany, rules regarding highly skilled migrants were introduced with the adoption of the Law in 2005. Two of the three criteria of this Law include: 1) recognized scientists and researchers; 2) personnel with high rank, i.e. professors or academicians who are heads of scientific projects or research groups. In relation to this category of highly qualified foreign specialists, there are no claims regarding their income.

Thus, highly skilled migrants enjoy a special status in the migration laws of many developed countries. However, among this category of foreign specialists, foreign scientists and researchers are in a more privileged position in relation to which the wage requirements do not apply.

¹²⁰Peri G., K. Shih, C. Sparber. (2016) STEM Workers, H1B Visas and Productivity in US Cities. *Journal of Labor Economics*.

¹²¹Kerr W.R., Lincoln W.F. (2010). The Supply Side of Innovation: H-1B Visa Reforms and US Ethnic Invention. *Journal of Labor Economics* 28(3): 473–508.

¹²²Hunt J., and Gauthier-Loiselle M. (2010) How Much Does Immigration Boost Innovation. *American Economic Journal: Macroeconomics* 2: 31–56.

Being the country which claims to be developing and having the same demographical problems, Russia has followed the similar schema. In order to implement the Concept of the Russian Migration Policy before 2025¹²³, it is planned to promote educational (training) migration and support academic mobility. For foreign specialists involved in teaching, research, and expert-analytical work in educational and scientific organizations, a simplified procedure has been provided for obtaining permanent resident status in Russia (and their family members), and all restrictions for their work and training have been removed.

Academic Migration from Central Asia

The tendency of academic migration from the countries of Central Asia, including the CIS to Russia, took place long before the adoption of the aforementioned Concept. However, the available statistics originate from 2008. As evidenced by the data below (see Tab.6.4) for candidates of science (PhDs), indicate the multidirectional nature of this trend.

Table 6.4 – The net migration rate in Russia due to the influx of PhD from the CIS countries in 2008-2017

Countries / Years	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	TOTAL
CIS-Total	136	139	81	609	212	115	218	242	178	108	2038
Including from Central Asia - Total	59	77	51	279	127	69	101	36	36	41	876
Azerbaijan	12	4	8	21	11	-5	7	7	-3	3	65
Armenia	25	20	4	64	11	17	18	6	8	2	175
Belarus	0	-1	3	22	16	-	11	1	2	11	65

¹²³Президент утвердил Концепцию государственной миграционной политики России на период до 2025 года [President approved the Concept of the state migration policy of Russia for 2025 (in Russ)]. Retrieved from: <http://kremlin.ru/events/president/news/15635>

Kazakhstan	17	17	20	59	33	43	41	9	10	5	254
Kyrgyzstan	10	13	9	69	24	-1	6	15	6	4	155
Moldova	7	11	10	53	13	13	18	7	12	5	149
Tajikistan	8	13	12	46	19	4	21	4	12	16	155
Turkmenistan	5	3	-	8	3	4	5	3	-1	-1	29
Uzbekistan	19	31	10	97	48	19	28	5	9	17	283
Ukraine	33	28	5	170	34	21	63	185	123	46	708

Source: compiled by the author according to "The number and migration of the population in Russia-2017" Yearbook

If in 2008 the net migration rate, due to the above-mentioned category of foreign citizens, amounted to 136 people, then the peak of this indicator was in about 609 people, after which, a succession of growth and decline replace each other.

The year 2011 is also the peak of the inflow of PhD from Central Asia, which reached 279 people. However, as a percentage, this indicator reached its peak a year earlier, in 2010, about 63% of the total figure, after which it dropped to about 15% in 2015.

The reason for such a sharp fall is due, rather, to the socio-economic difficulties in Russia caused by the influence of Western sanctions on it.

A large contribution to the migration growth of Russia due to this category of foreign specialists after Ukraine (about 35%) is made by Uzbekistan, whose share makes up about 14% of the total share for 10 years. Kazakhstan's share in this figure is 12.5%, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, 7.6% each, respectively.

Thus, from 2008 to 2017 the net migration rate of Russia due to the influx of PhDs from the CIS countries amounted to 2038 people, 876 people or about 43% of which is from Central Asia.

There is also data available on net migration rate in Russia due to the influx of Doctor of Science from the CIS countries, which are listed in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5 – The net migration rate in Russia due to the influx of Doctor of Science from the CIS countries in 2008-2017

Countries / Years	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	Total
CIS-Total	172	248	116	114	84	83	108	116	104	68	1213
Including from Central Asia - Total	60	108	51	54	43	43	42	32	47	17	497
Azerbaijan	18	24	15	6	1	6	7	3	-2	8	86
Armenia	31	38	23	7	16	10	14	11	10	7	167
Belarus	1	-2	1	1	3	6		5	-	2	17
Kazakhstan	14	23	17	4	13	8	13	14	12	2	120
Kyrgyzstan	19	20	8	23	9	4	7	5	-1	6	100
Moldova	17	29	16	14	5	6	10	7	6	3	113
Tajikistan	7	35	15	15	6	8	6	3	14	6	115
Turkmenistan	2	2	1	-	-	2	1	1	1	-	10
Uzbekistan	18	28	10	12	15	21	15	9	21	3	152
Ukraine	45	51	10	32	16	12	35	58	43	31	333

Source: compiled by the author according to "The number and migration of the population in Russia-2017" Yearbook

Since 2008, the net migration rate in Russia due to the influx of Doctor of Science has increased from 172 people to 248 people in just a year, after which there is a multidirectional nature of this trend, which reached its bottom for about 68 people in 2017.

Doctors of sciences from Central Asia constitute a significant part of this inflow, whose share in percentage ratio reached its peak for about 51.8% of the total migration inflow in 2013 due to this category of specialists.

In total, over 10 years, the migration rate of Russia due to the influx of doctors of science from the CIS countries increased by 1213 people, about 500 people or 41% of whom are citizens of Central Asia.

In the existing theoretical studies it was revealed that the increase in the population of the United States due to such category of foreign citizens finally led to an increase in patented introductions per capita by 21%¹²⁴.

Due to many factors, such information is absent in Russia, as the information about their sectoral employment. However, the available data show an interesting picture. During 2010-2017, 2063 people defended the degrees of doctors of science¹²⁵ all over Russia and in all fields of science. During the same period, the migration rate due to the influx of doctors of science from the CIS countries increased by 793 persons or 38% (see. Table 6.6).

¹²⁴ Hunt J., M. Gauthier-Loiselle 2010. How Much Does Immigration Boost Innovation. *American Economic Journal: Macroeconomics* 2: 31–56.

¹²⁵ Форма федерального статистического наблюдения № 1-НК "Сведения о работе аспирантуры и докторантуры". [Form of federal statistical observation No. 1-NK "Information on the work of postgraduate and doctoral studies" (in Russ)]. Retrieved from: http://www.gks.ru/wps/wcm/connect/rosstat_main/rosstat/ru/statistics/science_and_innovations/science/#

Table 6.6. Key performance indicators of post-graduate and doctoral studies in Russia in 2010-2017 ¹²⁶

	Defended Doctoral Dissertations							
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Total	336	382	394	323	231	181	151	65
including the fields of science:								
physical and mathematical	27	23	30	25	16	11	15	5
chemical	9	13	8	11	4	4	8	1
biological	8	8	5	4	4	4	5	3
technical	100	103	112	92	62	56	49	11
agricultural	10	11	16	6	8	4	4	4
historical and archeology	10	12	15	10	14	11	3	4
philological	24	24	22	23	18	6	9	4
philosophical	19	9	18	11	5	5	10	1
art history	1	2	1	-	3	1	5	2
cultural studies	1	6	8	3	3	3	-	2
documentary information	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
psychological	4	4	6	4	3	2	1	2
economic	48	66	65	51	24	29	10	5
pedagogical	28	31	37	28	27	16	10	3
sociological	6	9	8	13	6	3	2	2
legal	7	13	3	11	2	6	4	5
political science	6	12	4	4	1	2	-	-
medical	22	25	24	22	24	14	15	8
earth sciences	5	10	9	4	7	4	1	3
other sciences	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-

It is noteworthy that in 2017 the amount of Doctors of Science from the CIS countries arrived in Russia for a permanent residency (68 people)

¹²⁶ Основные показатели деятельности аспирантуры и докторантуры // [Main indicators of postgraduate and doctoral studies (in Russ)]. Retrieved from: http://www.gks.ru/wps/wcm/connect/rosstat_main/rosstat/ru/statistics/population/education/#

was more than the quantity of local population (65 people) that had defended doctoral degrees during the same period of time.

As for the Central Asian countries, from 2008 to 2017, about 500 doctors of science arrived in this region for a permanent residence, which accounted for 41% of the total net migration.

Such serious academic outflows to Russia is caused not so much by push factors, including low wages in the countries of origin, but rather pull factors, which include relatively high wages, more opportunities for overall growth, but the most important thing is the demand for their labor.

The demand for personnel in the education sector alone is about 68 thousand specialists of different levels, which is 1.3% of the total employment level in this industry. Out of this number, the demand for higher and medium staff is 26.5 thousand and 12 thousand respectively.

Table 6.7. The list number of employees and the demand for employees to fill vacant jobs by professional groups (Section: Education)

	Total number of employees - Total, people	The demand for workers to fill vacant jobs, people	The share of demand for workers to fill job vacancies in the total number of jobs in%
Total	5074370	68018	1,3
Heads of agencies, organizations and enterprises and their structural units (services)	408096	2732	0,7
High level specialists	2097971	26524	1,2
Natural (except biology) and engineering scientists	78569	2107	2,6
Biological, agricultural and health scientists	13892	445	3,1
Educational scientists	1814956	20714	1,1
Other high level scientists	190554	3258	1,7

Medium level scientists	867583	12001	1,4
Medium level physical and engineering activities scientists	26826	830	3,0
Natural, public health scientists and support staff	37706	1436	3,7
Medium level educational specialists	756006	8406	1,1

Source: Rosstat

Over the years, the deficit will increase in all sectors of the Russian national economy while the country's population is growing older. On the other hand, Russia's growing demand for highly qualified specialists is caused not only by the demographic problems, but also by the outflow of such personnel from Russia to more developed countries.

Knowledge that cannot be transmitted through other information channels requires the mobility of the carrier of such knowledge where this value is worth. The comparative lack of Russian science with the necessary infrastructure in comparison with Western countries led to the fact that the share of highly qualified specialists who left Russia is 15%.

Russia faces the same problems as the European Union. Despite concerns over the continuing refugee crisis, an aging population and a shortage of skilled workers in key economic sectors in many EU countries, it remains a major problem of the labor market in Europe.

Along with investment policies in education and measures to increase the participation of local people in the labor market, Europe widely acknowledges that attracting qualified migrants is a critical support for knowledge-intensive and demanded sectors that are facing labor shortages.

In May 2015 the European Commission being aware of the challenges it faces, developed a new set of documents to attract qualified

personnel to the vital sectors of the EU economies facing labour shortages. These documents recognize that improving the management of migration processes and its contribution to the growth and competitiveness of the European Union is one of the main priorities of the European Commission¹²⁷.

Given the current situation, Russia could not stand aside, and was forced to enter into global competition for “attracting brains” on the world labor market. In this regard, international migration to Russia, including the migration of skilled, highly skilled and academic migration from the Central Asia is a significant compensation for it.

The global race for talents has intensified with the introduction of the so-called “repatriation” of former emigrants abroad, especially leading scientists and specialists, in order to encourage them to return to their countries of origin. Taiwan and South Korea, which have invested heavily in infrastructure development and paying generous amounts for the return of their highly skilled immigrants, have achieved the greatest successes in this area.

Another example is Israel, in which many workers in high-tech industries are involved in a transnational network and “circulation of minds”, being in other countries for studying or working for several years. These high-skilled specialists, as a rule, retain their citizenship and upon return, convey world-class experience for domestic start-up companies.

It is assumed that rapid economic growth in China and India will generate new opportunities for the return of former immigrants and the investment of their entrepreneurial investments in their countries, thereby increasing competition for “brain gain”.

¹²⁷ A new start for Europe: My agenda for Jobs, Growth, Fairness and Democratic Change. Retrieved from http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-14-546_en.htm

Stimulating the high-skilled immigration from Central Asian, along with measures aimed at the local population, is a complementary source of increasing human potential in Russia, but by no means are mutually exclusive components.

It can be noted with confidence that the migration of this category of foreign citizens in Russian society causes a positive attitude, compared to low-skilled labor.

Non-economic factors also determine the attitude of the local population towards highly qualified specialists¹²⁸. Since highly skilled migrants integrate faster and easier into the socio-cultural environment of host countries, there can be no social discontent among the local population. Perhaps the question arises about the presence of competition between the local population and migrants of the same qualification. However, a study conducted in 2015 in the UK did not reveal any links between them¹²⁹.

In addition, academic work plays an important role in building human capital, especially through the transfer of knowledge to teachers, medical workers and other vital professionals, who in turn can help to build institutional, social and human capacity in the countries of origin for their sustainable development¹³⁰.

It is clear that the extent to which all or some of these functions are present in the migration of labor depends on how each individual migrant

¹²⁸Card D., Dustmann C. and Preston I. Immigration, wages and compositional amenities. *Journal of the European Economic Association*. 2012 10: 78–119.

¹²⁹The Sun Survey Results. Retrieved from:
https://d25d2506sfb94s.cloudfront.net/cumulus_uploads/document/9n3rbm3yf2/YG-Archive-150122-TheSun-Immigration.pdf

¹³⁰Teferra, D., P.G. Altbachl. 2004. African higher education: Challenges for the 21st century, *Higher Education*. №47(1), pp 21–50;

Dervin, F. 2011. *Analysing the Consequences of Academic Mobility and Migration*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing;

Leung, M.W. 2013. Unraveling the Skilled Mobility for Sustainable Development Mantra: An Analysis of China-EU Academic Mobility. *Sustainability*, №5, 2644-2663.

performs them. Obviously, not all academic work will perform all these functions. However, the loss of academic work in general is a loss for the countries of origin in terms of introducing innovations and transforming these innovations into commercially viable products and ideas.

Tajik People in the Russian Economy

A review of academic literature and the global agenda on migration issues show that over the last years, recognition of the important role that migrant Diasporas play in the development of receiving and sending countries is growing worldwide. The Republic of Tajikistan, whose population is actively involved in international migration, is connected by a multitude of threads with its Diasporas beyond its borders. One of the largest Tajik Diasporas is concentrated in Russia.

According to the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs in 2017 over 2.1 million facts of migrant's registration¹³¹ were recorded in relation to citizens of Tajikistan, which is 11.3% more than in 2016 (Appendix 9-10).

For the covered period 936 752 citizens of Tajikistan who entered Russia with the aim of work, were recorded, that is 11.8% more compared to 2016.

At the same time, Russian statistical service (Rosstat) indicates that in 2017, the citizens of Tajikistan received 442.4 thousand patents – work permits (Appendix 8).

The data comparison of Rosstat and Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs shows that out of 936,752 citizens of Tajikistan who entered for the purpose of work, only 442,4 thousand people were able to obtain work

¹³¹ Note: Since the same person can be registered twice and more, it is therefore advisable to check under the “registration” column not the number of people who committed such an action, but the number of events.

permits. About 500 thousand citizens of Tajikistan could not receive such documents for various reasons. In other words, 1 legally working citizen of Tajikistan in 2017 is accounted for about 1.14 illegally working people.

Citizens of Tajikistan, like the local population, working for the Russian economy, make its gross domestic product (GDP) a definite contribution. The contribution of officially employed labor migrants - citizens of Tajikistan in Russia's GDP for 2016–17 (Tab.6.8), as well as **potential labor migrants** - citizens of Tajikistan was calculated (Tab.6.9).

Table 6.8. The contribution of formally employed labor migrants from Tajikistan in Russia's GDP in 2016–2017

Years	Russian GDP in market prices (in billion rubles)	The number of native Russian employed (on average per year / thousand people)	Number of citizens of Tajikistan who had a patent (thousand people)	Share Tajiks in the number of people employed in the Russian economy (in %)	Contribution to GDP (in billions of rubles)	Contribution to GDP (in billions of US dollars)	Contribution to GDP (%)
2016	85880,6	72392,6	393,4	0,5	466,7	\$7,0	0,5
2017	92037,2	72315,9	442,4	0,6	563,0	\$9,7	0,6

Source: author's calculations according to the Rosstat and the State Ministry of Internal Affairs

Table 6.9. The contribution of potential labor migrants from Tajikistan in Russia's GDP for 2016-2017

Years	Russian GDP in market prices (in billion rubles)	The number of native Russian employed (on average per year / thousand people)	Number of citizens of Tajikistan who entered for the purpose of 'work' (thousand people)	Share Tajiks in the number of people employed in the Russian economy (in %)	Contribution to GDP (in billions of rubles)	Contribution to GDP (in billions of US dollars)	Contribution to GDP (%)
2016	85880,6	72392,6	837,7	1,1	993,8	14,9	1,1
2017	92037,2	72315,9	936,7	1,3	1192,1	20,5	1,3

Source: author's calculations according to the Rosstat and the State Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia

For comparison: in 2017, about 1.2 trillion rubles were contributed by labor migrants from Tajikistan to the Russian economy, which is more than the Russian Government was able to allocate from its budget for such expenses as “housing and public utilities” (79 billion rubles), “physical culture and sport” (90 billion rubles), “healthcare” (378 billion rubles) and “education” (595 billion rubles) taken together. And even more than it could allocate for such an important item of its expenditures as “national defense” (1,021 billion rubles)¹³².

In the Russian media, it was repeatedly stated that labor migrants bring the country 4-6 rubles for each ruble sent from Russia.

Our calculations show that if correlate the sum of remittances of labor migrants from Russia to Tajikistan (Appendix 11-12) with their contributions to Russia's GDP (Table 6.9), it turns out that in 2016, for every dollar sent to Tajikistan, labor migrants from Tajikistan left 7.8 US dollars in the Russian economy. In 2017, this figure was 1 to 8.2. In rubles, this amount is 521 and 478 rubles respectively.¹³³

For the last 5 years the government of the Republic of Tajikistan has been negotiating pensions for its labor migrants working in Russia.

The pension of migrant workers – foreign citizens, as well as the pension of the local population, depends on the contributions that they make to the budget of Russia, as well as to its pension fund.

Above it was said about the number of citizens of Tajikistan, officially working in Russia under patent. In 2016, the availability of such a document assumed a total of monthly fixed advance payments on average across Russia, i.e. 3328 rubles, while in 2017 it was 3,716 rubles and 3,844 rubles in 2018.

¹³² Федеральный бюджет России на 2017 [Russia's federal budget for 2017 (in Russ)]. Retrieved from: http://www.aif.ru/dontknows/infographics/federalnyy_byudzheth_rossii_na_2017_god_infografika

¹³³ Note: At the average rate of the ruble against the US dollar in 2016: 66.83 and in 2017: 58.29

Based on these data, total contributions of labor migrants – citizens of Tajikistan – were calculated in the form of monthly advance payments for a patent to the federal budget. 9 months have been chosen as an interim period, since labor migration is mostly seasonal and lasts 9-10 months. The results of the calculations are presented in Table 6.10.

Table 6.10. Calculations of contributions to the Russia's budget from patents for officially employed labor migrants from Tajikistan in 2016-2017

2016			2017		
The number of Tajikistan's citizens having a patent (thous ppl.)	Average cost of monthly fixed advance payments (rub.)	Contributions from monthly fixed advance payments (million rubles)	The number of Tajikistan's citizens having a patent (thous ppl.)	Average cost of monthly fixed advance payments (rub.)	Contributions from monthly fixed advance payments (million rubles)
393,4	3328	11 783	432,8	3716	14 474

Source: author's calculations according to Rosstat

If Tajikistan and Russia could create the conditions under which all the arrived citizens of Tajikistan with the aim of work could get permits for labor migration, the Russian budget would increase for more than 31 billion rubles only from patents for labor migrants (Tab.6.11).

Table 6.11. Calculations of contributions to budget from patents
for potential labor migrants from Tajikistan in 2016-2017

2016			2017		
The number of Tajikistan's citizens who entered with the aim of 'work' (thous ppl.)	Average cost of monthly fixed advance payments (rub.)	Contributions from monthly fixed advance payments (million rubles)	The number of Tajikistan's citizens who entered with the aim of 'work' (thous ppl)	Average cost of monthly fixed advance payments (rub.)	Contributions from monthly fixed advance payments (million rubles)
837,7	3328	25 090	936,7	3716	31 326

Source: author's calculations according to the Rosstat and the Ministry of Internal Affairs

Since 2015, the patent system foresees several additional costs associated with obtaining a patent for migrant workers.

Some of these expenses are irregular. For example, a test of knowledge of the Russian language is valid for 5 years. The service charge paid to the center for the preparation of documents and their redirection to the Ministry of Interior on migration issues does not work in all regions and the prices for this service in the regions differ. Other items of expenditure are also one-time. From this perspective, all these costs over the years are not possible to calculate methodologically.

However, the expenses that are standard for the whole of Russia may be taken into consideration. They include the following:

- Monthly advance payments, on average in Russia. We multiply this amount by 9 months, since labor migration in this region is mainly seasonal.

- A patent is required to have medical insurances, the price of which, depending on the region, is 2500-3000 rubles. In Russia as a whole, it is equal to 2,800 rubles.

- Medical examination, which costs labor migrants 2300 rubles and must be passed every year.

Based on this data, the total expenses of **legally employed** and **potential** working migrants – citizens of Tajikistan for obtaining a patent in 2016-2017 have been calculated in the Figures 6.12 and 6.13.

Table 6.12. Total expenses of officially employed labor migrants - citizens of Tajikistan
for obtaining a patent in 2016-2017

in million rubles

Years	Total officially employed labor migrants from the Republic of Tajikistan (thous. people)	Total Receipts for Medical Examination	Total Income for Medical Insurance	Other expenses (4500 rub)	Total Income for fixed advance payments	Total Income from the patent system	in USD
2016	393,4	904	1 376	1 770	11 783	15 835	236,9
2017	432,8	995	1 514	1 947	14 474	18 932	324,7

Source: author's calculations according to the Rosstat and Ministry of Internal Affairs

Table 6.13. Total expenses of **potential** labor migrants - citizens of Tajikistan for obtaining a patent in 2016-2017

in million rubles							
Years	Total potential labor migrants from Tajikistan (thousand people)	Total Receipts for Medical Examination	Total Income for Medical Insurance	Other expenses (4500 rub)	Total Income for fixed advance payments	Total Income from the patent system	in USD
2016	837,7	1 926	2 931	3 769	25 090	33 719	504,5
2017	936,7	2 154	3 278	4 215	31 326	40 975	702,9

Source: author's calculations according to the Rosstat and Ministry of Internal Affairs

The results indicate that if all potential labor migrants from Tajikistan could be officially employed, the Russian budget would receive about 41 billion rubles in 2017.

It is worth noting another important fact. In 2016, by agreement between the governments of Tajikistan and Russia, 102.1 thousand citizens of Tajikistan were legalized, who temporarily denied entry to Russia. If calculate the benefits of such legalization by the above-mentioned methodology, it turns out that the Russian economy won about 30 billion rubles.

The results of the calculations clearly demonstrate the importance of joint efforts between the governments of Tajikistan and Russia in labor migration policy.

In the flow of migration from Tajikistan to Russia, there is also a “brain drain”, which is, on the one hand, a common global phenomenon, and on the other hand, negative moment for the economy of Tajikistan.

Table 6.14. The Number of Foreign Citizens - Highly Qualified Specialists who had a Valid Work Permit in 2014-2016

	Number of people			As a percentage of the total		
	2014	2015	2016	2014	2015	2016
Total	26523	33669	41295	100	100	100
From CIS	1919	3441	4665	7,2	10,2	11,3
Azerbaijan	126	364	665	0,5	1,1	1,6
Armenia	71	52	23	0,3	0,2	0,1
Kazakhstan	50	47	30	0,2	0,1	0,1
Kyrgyzstan	64	58	8	0,2	0,2	0,0
Moldova	82	208	283	0,3	0,6	0,7
Tajikistan	49	252	339	0,2	0,7	0,8
Turkmenistan	151	196	177	0,6	0,6	0,4

Uzbekistan	281	761	1048	1,1	2,3	2,5
Ukraine	1045	1503	2092	3,9	4,5	5,1
EU	7824	7049	8126	29,5	20,9	19,7
Others	16726	23132	28450	63,1	68,7	68,9

Source: Federal State Statistics Service 'Labor and Employment in Russia - 2017'

The currently available statistics show that in 2017, 339 highly qualified specialists from Tajikistan worked in Russia. But, unfortunately, more specific data on the sectors of their employment is not available.

In this flow, there is a skilled migration from Tajikistan, which in 2016 amounted to 8321 people, including leadership positions (Appendix 13).

In order to implement the Russian Migration Policy for the period till 2025, it is planned to promote educational (training) migration and support academic mobility. For foreign specialists involved in teaching, research, and expert-analytical work in educational and scientific organizations, a simplified procedure is provided for obtaining permanent resident status in Russia (and their family members). Any restrictions for the implementation of their work and training are also removed.

This Concept in conjunction with other economic and non-economic factors caused the flow of migration of scientists and researchers from Tajikistan for permanent residence to Russia (Tables 6.15 and 6.16.).

Table 6.15 – The net migration rate in Russia due to the influx of PhD from the CIS countries in 2008-2017

Countries / Years	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	TOTAL
CIS-Total	136	139	81	609	212	115	218	242	178	108	2038
Including from Central Asia	59	77	51	279	127	69	101	36	36	41	876

- Total											
Azerbaijan	12	4	8	21	11	-5	7	7	-3	3	65
Armenia	25	20	4	64	11	17	18	6	8	2	175
Belarus	0	-1	3	22	16	-	11	1	2	11	65
Kazakhstan	17	17	20	59	33	43	41	9	10	5	254
Kyrgyzstan	10	13	9	69	24	-1	6	15	6	4	155
The Republic of Moldova	7	11	10	53	13	13	18	7	12	5	149
Tajikistan	8	13	12	46	19	4	21	4	12	16	155
Turkmenistan	5	3	-	8	3	4	5	3	-1	-1	29
Uzbekistan	19	31	10	97	48	19	28	5	9	17	283
Ukraine	33	28	5	170	34	21	63	185	123	46	708

Source: compiled by the author according to "The number and migration of the population in Russia-2017" Yearbook

Table 6.16 – The net migration rate in Russia due to the influx of Doctor of Science from the CIS countries in 2008-2017

Countries / Years	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	TOTAL
CIS-Total	172	248	116	114	84	83	108	116	104	68	1213
Including from Central Asia - Total	60	108	51	54	43	43	42	32	47	17	497
Azerbaijan	18	24	15	6	1	6	7	3	-2	8	86
Armenia	31	38	23	7	16	10	14	11	10	7	167
Belarus	1	-2	1	1	3	6		5	-	2	17
Kazakhstan	14	23	17	4	13	8	13	14	12	2	120
Kyrgyzstan	19	20	8	23	9	4	7	5	-1	6	100
Moldova	17	29	16	14	5	6	10	7	6	3	113
Tajikistan	7	35	15	15	6	8	6	3	14	6	115

Turkmenistan	2	2	1	-	-	2	1	1	1	-	10
Uzbekistan	18	28	10	12	15	21	15	9	21	3	152
Ukraine	45	51	10	32	16	12	35	58	43	31	333

Source: compiled by the author according to “The number and migration of the population in Russia-2017”

In total, over 10 years, the net migration rate of Russia due to the influx of doctors of science from the CIS countries increased by 1213 people, where 115 people (9.4%) are citizens of Tajikistan.

Thus, the essence of the transformation of the Tajik diaspora in Russia at the present stage is the rapid growth of its quantity connecting their future and the future of their families with Russia.

Despite the weakening of labor migration from Tajikistan to Russia observed since 2014, however, it is assumed that this direction will remain the predominant direction of migration from Tajikistan, and its scale based on not so much to pushing factors, as pulling ones (higher wages and the presence of a larger number of Tajik diasporas) will only increase. Accordingly, the number and potential of the Tajik diaspora will increase.

International migration, including the skilled, high-skilled and academic migration from Tajikistan and other countries of Central Asia is a significant compensation for the scientific and personnel potential of Russia.

There is no doubt that a positive thing about the migration of highly qualified specialists and scientists from Tajikistan is the fact that by acquiring the skills, these specialists, when returning home, can pass on their experiences to Tajikistan, thereby bringing together the educational standards of two countries. In other words, the migration of these personnel

to an even greater extent leads to the interdependence of Tajikistan and Russia.

However, if it takes tens of years and tens (or even hundreds) of thousands of dollars to prepare one highly qualified staff, a reasonable question arises: **can remittances and other tangible and intangible flows compensate for the investment that Tajikistan has invested on them?**

But, as a rule, this category of emigrants is considered to be more educated, younger and more mobile than the majority of citizens living in Tajikistan itself. For Tajikistan, this results in the loss of not only significant, but also the advanced, well-motivated part of the population.

If due to the great efforts, Tajikistan managed to attract only about 50 Russian language teachers from Russia¹³⁴, then, from 2008 to 2017 without doing almost anything, Russia received 155 candidates and 115 doctors of science from Tajikistan.

Moreover, only in 2016 and only according to official data, Russia received 339 high-skilled and 8,312 skilled migrants from Tajikistan, including leadership positions, which together brought to the Russian's GDP about 1 trillion rubles or almost 1.1% of its GDP (Tab. 6.9).

For comparison: According to US State Department economists, the overall impact of sanctions on the Russian economy is estimated at 1% of its GDP.¹³⁵

Russia receives qualified labor from Tajikistan without spending any money on their training¹³⁶, thereby attracting the science potential of the Tajik society.

¹³⁴ В Таджикистан едут ещё 28 российских учителей [28 more Russian teachers are going to Tajikistan (in Russ)]. Retrieved from: <https://www.news.tj/ru/news/tajikistan/society/20180828/v-tadzhikistan-edut-etshyo-28-rossiiskih-uchitelei>

¹³⁵ Measuring Smartness: Understanding the Economic Impact of Targeted Sanctions. Retrieved from: <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/267590.pdf>

Conclusions

Thus, based on the analysis of migration of various categories of labor migrants in this section, including from Central Asia to Russia, it can be stated that labor flows have caused mutual flows of capital and goods between the national economies of these countries.

The cheap labor supply of migrants, including those from the countries of Central Asia, contributed to increasing the competitiveness of Russian business, and, thereby, reducing the urgency of its survival. In turn, thanks to the favorable migration regime, labor migrants from the Central Asian countries had the opportunity to send substantial cash flows to their families, and thus, get out of the extreme form of poverty and significantly reduce the level of poverty in their countries.

One could argue that with confidence the international movement of labor resources between these countries is the most important integration element, leading to the interdependence and sustainable development of the national economies of Central Asia and Russia.

However, we dare to suggest that although international migration is not a “zero-sum game”, nevertheless, there are still many ambiguities regarding the benefits of migration of skilled migration to their countries of origin.

There is no doubt that these highly qualified foreign specialists maintain close sociocultural ties with their countries of origin. Moreover, the high wages and the constant nature of their incomes allow them to send significantly more money transfers, and they are much more stable compared to low-skilled remittances of their compatriots.

¹³⁶ Ярослав Кузьмин. И все-таки зачем России мигранты? Интервью/Миграция XXI век. - 2011 г. - №2(5). Март-апрель. - С.2-4 [Yaroslav Kuzmin. And yet, why does Russia need migrants? Interview / Migration XXI century. - 2011 - №2 (5). March, April. - pp.2-4]

The positive fact of migration of highly skilled local specialists and scientists for the Central Asian countries is that when acquiring skills, these people can share their experience while coming back to their native countries, thereby, bringing together the educational standards of these countries. In other words, the migration of this staff leads to an even greater degree of interdependence of the Central Asian countries and Russia.

In this regard, despite a number of both indisputable and ambiguous moments that have been discovered during the course of this study, the question of the consequences of the international movement of labor resources between Russia and the countries of Central Asia is still open to researchers.

Key Findings

Key findings of the research on international labor migration from Central Asia and its impact on Russia's socio-economic development led to the following conclusions:

1. While reviewing literature in the field of empirical studies, a positive impact of international migration on the state budget of the host countries has been identified. It was found that foreign labour contributes more resources and consumes less. As for the concentration of foreign labor in certain sectors of the economy, it reduces the cost of products in these sectors and it does not slow productivity growth.

2. Migration policies are based on reliable labor migration statistics. Until today, such statistics in Russia were difficult to interpret, were questionable and required careful approach to their interpretation. In recent years, sources of statistics on international labor migration have become much more reliable than in previous years.

There are at least a number of circumstances that forced Russia to change the situation fundamentally not only in the international migration, but also in statistical accounting, which includes Russia's gaining experience in resolving this issue, security factors, international socialization and economic ambitions.

In its effort to abolish the visa regime with the EU and negotiate the entry into the OECD, Russia assumed a number of obligations to harmonize its legislation with these groups of countries. The factor of international socialization forced it to improve the regulation of international labor migration, which begins with the presence of relatively accurate information about their presence.

Notwithstanding that as of 2019, negotiations on joining the OECD were temporarily suspended, the Russia's migration legislation has become much closer to the OECD since 2014.

3. The Russia's migration policy has become an important mechanism for regulating various aspects of interstate activity of labor migration between Russia and other countries. Its role has gone far beyond the scope of the migration, and began to play a role that it has never played before. It has evolved as one of the components of sustainable development and interdependence, both in host and in origin countries of migrant workers.

Over the years of its formation, Russia' migration policy has changed under the influence of many factors, including security, Russia's socio-economic ambitions, its international obligations, and the last is a lever of political pressure on the countries of origin of labor migrants.

4. Demographic forecasts until 2030 (Appendix 7) predict that Russia will have a serious reduction in labor resources, which may hinder the achievement of the goals set in the Russia's Strategy for Social and Economic Development until 2020 and 2030.

The largest and most important lobbyist for attracting foreign labor in Russian labor market is a business that needs labor resources for its sustainable development. The business is ready to hire local labor resources, but their excessive demands and business limited financial capabilities force them to hire cheap labor from Central Asian countries. Certain sectors of the Russian economy are already entrenched for labor migrants.

Cheap labor from Central Asian countries employed in large wholesale and retail trade networks, construction enterprises and housing and communal services allows their employers to save on the wage fund

and redistribute these funds to other expenditure items. Thanks to labor migrants, construction companies have developed at a rapid pace, cities and trade establishments became cleaner; citizens when using public transport arrive at work in time, and goods are delivered to their consumers.

Sustainable development of small and medium-sized entrepreneurship, which has started to resort often to the employment of migrant workers, and its entry at a totally new level depends on migrant labor and therefore as a clear and coherent migration policy will be in Russia.

5. The results of assessing the number of potential (officially and informally employed) labor migrants from the CIS countries range from 1.5 million people (in 2007) to 2.1 million people in 2017. Despite all attempts of the Russian authorities to liberalize migration legislation, the number of CIS citizens who managed to obtain work permits in 2015-2017, on the contrary, decreased and compared to 2014, in 2017 it was only 22.8% of total number of people who arrived for the purpose of labour migration.

The assessment results of the number of potential labor migrants from Central Asia have revealed that the ratio of legally and illegally working labor migrants was almost 1 to 1: for 1.4 million legally employed, there were 1.5 million potential labor migrants.

In accordance with other calculations, this figure was almost 1 to 1.2 in 2017: for 1.43 million people who are legally employed, there were 1.78 million people of potential labor migrants.

Despite attempts to diversify the directions of labor migration undertaken by Central Asia countries, in the near future Russia will remain the main market for labor migrants from this region for a number of reasons, including:

A) Pull factors: cultural and historical ties, strengthening of integration processes between Russia and Central Asia, Central Asian transnational diasporas in Russia, Russia's demographic problems and relatively high wages, and the demand for labor resources, including low-skilled ones; Russian migration policy.

B) Push factors: low wages in origin countries; the presence of a large number of labor resources; small size of the economy and, accordingly, the demand for alternative countries (Belarus and Kazakhstan) and high competition in other alternative countries (Kuwait, Qatar, South Korea, etc.).

The calculations made in this study are significantly different from the European trend, where the contribution of labor migrants in OECD countries is estimated at about 0.5–1% of GDP.¹³⁷

It was found that during 2013-2017, the contribution of foreign workers from the CIS countries accounted for 9.6% -10.8%, and the Central Asian countries 4-4.5% of Russia's GDP.

The results of our calculations clearly demonstrate the importance of reliable statistics on international migration. Thus, if we build a migration policy as part of a country's socio-economic policy, based on official statistics, then it shows only the tip of the iceberg. In this case, **it shows that for each dollar sent, labor migrants from the CIS countries left around 2.8 US dollars in Russia in 2017.**

However, the biggest share of labor migrants left willingly and unwillingly beyond the borders of migration statistics (including citizens of the EEU) also makes a significant contribution to the socio-economic development of Russia. If they were able to find a job officially, their

¹³⁷The fiscal impact of immigration in OECD countries, in International Migration Outlook 2013, OECD Publishing, Paris

contribution would be more obvious. In this case, the results of the calculations indicate that, taking into account the potentially employed labor migrants, **for every dollar sent, they have left \$ 12.5 in the Russian economy.**

The more labor migrants earn, the more they leave money in a host country spending on themselves and buying goods produced in this country.

The assessment of labor migration impact on unemployment rate and the employability of local residents did not reveal any links between them, as the analysis of labour migrants' employment by industry type and of employment of local residents shows the inverse relationship between them.

From the calculations made, it suggests that there is a clear discrepancy between the labor migrants' employment by industry type and local residents unemployed, wherein labour migrants do not occupy the places claimed by native unemployed. On the other hand, the coincidence of the sectoral structure of the unemployed with the demand for these professions tells us about the reluctance of local residents to take these vacancies.

The assessment of the wages impact of labour migrants on the local population wages level indicates a low degree of their influence and the absence of wage dumping.

Migrant workers, in particular, make tax payments to the state budget in their host countries. Thus, the latest innovations introduced in the patent system in 2015 brought to Russia's budget over 55.4 billion rubles the first year, and in 2017 this amount reached over 72 billion rubles. This amount is more than annually allocated from the Russia's budget for the

environmental protection program, which amounted to 70 billion rubles¹³⁸ in 2017.

If the Russian Government could fully liberalize its migration legislation so that CIS and Central Asian citizens (with the exception of the EEU member countries) could officially work and transfer taxes to the country's budget, they would be able to transfer about 2 billion US dollars in 2016, of which 1.3 billion US dollars accounted for the citizens of Central Asia. In 2017, this figure would be equal to about 2.4 billion USA dollars.

The above calculations encourage us to conclude that the higher the level of official registered international labor migration, the higher its contribution to Russia's socio-economic development.

Along with migration for permanent residence of temporary low-skilled labor migrants who are ready to accept any job, Russia also needs skilled foreign citizens. Given the above specifics of the labor market, Russia is very late to enter into competition for 'brain gain'.

Beginning in 2010, a provision is being introduced in the migration legislation whereby skilled migrants may be employed outside the quota and occupy the jobs according to their specialties.

As a result, the number of qualified foreign specialists increased from about 100 thousand in 2012 to about 150 thousand people, including from the CIS and Central Asia.

Over the same period, the total number of specialists of this category from Central Asia decreased from 51.3 thousand people in 2014 to 12.5 thousand people in 2016. This fact can also be explained by the simplification of migration legislation in relation to the CIS countries,

¹³⁸Федеральный бюджет России на 2017 г. [Russia's federal budget in 2017 (in Russ)]. Retrieved from: http://www.aif.ru/dontknows/infographics/federalnyy_byudzheth_rossii_na_2017_god_infografika

especially to EEU member-states.

Notwithstanding that in 2016 about 150 thousand skilled migrants were attracted in all of these categories. However, the labor market required an additional 291 thousand people.

Along with the concept of a 'skilled migrants', since 2010, the concept of 'highly skilled migrants' is introduced in the migration legislation.

In quantitative terms, the number of highly skilled migrants from the CIS countries increased from 557 people in 2011 to 4,665 people in 2016. The number of highly skilled migrants from the Central Asian countries increased from 114 people or 1.5% in 2011 to 1602 people or about 4% of the total number highly skilled migrants in Russia in 2016. Among the CIS countries, the share of highly skilled migrants from Central Asian increased from 25.8% to 34% over the same period.

This trend also revealed the tendency of academic migration, which had took place long before the USSR collapse, when laws on the national language began to be passed in the former republics. However, the available statistics show that from 2008 to 2017, Russia's net migration rate due to influx of PhDs from CIS countries amounted to 2038 people, 876 people or about 43% of which is accounted for the Central Asian flow.

For the same period, this indicator due to influx of doctors of sciences from the CIS countries increased by 1213 people, about 500 people (approximately 41%) of whom are Central Asian citizens.

In the period from 2010 to 2017 throughout Russia, 2063 people earned the doctorate degrees¹³⁹. Over the same period, the number of

¹³⁹ Форма федерального статистического наблюдения № 1-НК "Сведения о работе аспирантуры и докторантуры". [Form of federal statistical observation No. 1-NK "Information on the work of postgraduate and doctoral studies"]. Retrieved from: http://www.gks.ru/wps/wcm/connect/rosstat_main/rosstat/ru/statistics/science_and_innovations/science/#

doctoral degrees due to net migration rate influx from the CIS countries increased by 793 persons or 38%.

It is noteworthy that in 2017 more Doctors of Science from the CIS countries arrived to Russia for a permanent place of residence (68 people), than local population earned doctoral degrees (65 people) for the same period.

Such a serious academic outflow from these countries to Russia is caused not so much by push as by pull factors: relatively high wages, more opportunities for inclusive growth, but the most important is the demand for their labor in Russia's economy.

The significance of such migration inflow is very high for Russia. For Russia, which has ambitious goals and attempts to create an "information society", transnational movement of scientists and highly skilled migration including from Central Asia is an additional potential for sustainable development and building up its intellectual potential.

For the origin countries the positive point from highly skilled and academic migration is the skills and technologies they have acquired, which they can use and transfer to their countries. It is the discrepancy between the factors of production, i.e. labor and capital which forced them to mobility. Connecting with other production factors in destination countries, labor increases the effectiveness of other production factors. Accumulating human and financial capital, on returning to their home countries, these migrants may facilitate the opening of venture capital firms and the technological transfer, thus reducing the gap in the level development between host and sending countries.

The combination of these factors for the origin and destination countries of labor migration has become an important integration element

leading to interdependence and sustainable development of national economies.

Notwithstanding that international migration is not a “zero-sum game”, nevertheless, there are still many uncertainties regarding the benefits of skilled migration to their origin countries. If it takes dozens of years and hundreds of thousands of dollars to train one highly qualified specialist, without including the cost of primary and secondary education, a reasonable question arises: **can remittances and other tangible and intangible flows compensate for the investment made by their countries of origin?**

But, as a rule, this category of emigrants is considered to be more educated, younger and more mobile than the majority of the population in origin countries. Hence, there is a loss of not only significant, but also the advanced, well-motivated part of the population for the origin country. Russia receives ready personnel from Central Asia countries without spending any money on their training. In other words, the migration results in the fact that host countries attract scientific elite from the origin countries.

In this regard, despite a number of both positive and ambiguous points of view that have been discussed in this research, in our opinion, the question of the consequences of international labor movement between Russia and Central Asia is still open to researchers.

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Appendix 1

Distribution of migrants arriving by purpose of travel (according to the Russian Border Service of) in 2007-2017

person														
Arrived	2007							2008						
	Service	Tourism	Private	Permanent residence	Transit	Service staff	TOTAL	Service	Tourism	Private	Permanent residence	Transit	Service staff	TOTAL
Total arrived	2,666,093	2,273,658	14,159,657	302,028	315,611	1,700,474	21,417,521	3,477,881	2,395,042	14,253,445	176,499	214,060	1,667,260	22,184,187
CIS	535,387	232,873	11,162,324	257,437	211,704	793,980	13,193,705	603,888	258,000	11,806,032	146,428	133,917	742,479	13,690,744
Azerbaijan	25,638	6,964	880,908	12,186	21,898	38,279	985,873	28,811	8,292	834,285	19,329	17,472	32,783	940,972
Armenia	22,641	6,860	346,326	23,795	3,301	3,644	406,567	24,831	7,248	377,631	21,950	3,757	3,618	439,035
Belorussia	22,994	74,525	119,911	597	16,854	37,547	272,428	21,424	68,544	109,670	690	6,213	27,171	233,712
Kazakhstan	47,142	31,746	2,200,047	168,292	98,572	157,884	2,703,683	50,794	30,831	2,232,162	54,369	53,096	152,492	2,573,744
Kyrgyzstan	19,595	2,291	323,177	13,815	3,278	28,025	390,181	27,851	3,514	416,619	11,521	3,514	19,345	482,364
Moldova	26,589	6,022	815,574	319	6,570	46,903	901,977	29,654	6,521	951,210	317	8,664	47,663	1,044,029
Tajikistan	79,044	5,311	515,527	17,253	3,459	17,985	638,579	93,239	5,455	637,816	14,441	2,067	15,010	768,028
Turkmenistan	3,583	7,646	9,445	18	1,811	366	22,869	5,415	8,612	9,765	24	1,337	146	25,299
Uzbekistan	87,607	6,753	806,054	12,938	8,470	40,628	962,450	151,644	9,860	1,084,347	14,770	9,311	38,235	1,308,167
Ukraine	200,554	84,755	5,145,355	8,224	47,491	422,719	5,909,098	170,225	109,123	5,152,527	9,017	28,486	406,016	5,875,394

Arrived	2009							2010						
	Service	Tourism	Private	Permanent residence	Transit	Service staff	TOTAL	Service	Tourism	Private	Permanent residence	Transit	Service staff	TOTAL
Total arrived	3,880,401	2,100,601	13,432,334	6,831	282,368	1,636,115	21,338,650	4,432,077	2,133,869	13,695,966	9,000	271,028	1,739,277	22,281,217
CIS	1,123,733	100,383	10,761,338	2,712	221,617	750,384	12,960,167	1,426,832	104,878	11,397,527	3,594	222,395	751,379	13,906,605

Azerbaijan	48,483	2,862	787,414	230	19,087	34,359	892,435	76,213	5,426	851,842	359	17,111	28,827	979,778
Armenia	52,138	3,905	311,445	286	8,539	3,212	379,525	60,485	6,088	378,082	138	8,849	5,398	459,040
Belorussia	15,244	12,224	168,925	30	54,538	35,534	286,495	7,364	13,301	150,349	28	46,925	41,224	259,191
Kazakhstan	87,728	8,736	2,263,390	991	59,093	170,750	2,590,688	68,969	21,852	2,404,936	790	65,332	185,479	2,747,358
Kyrgyzstan	55,007	2,024	323,763	302	8,754	16,654	406,504	90,197	3,359	433,855	299	8,359	16,840	552,909
Moldova	65,489	2,919	756,000	45	5,157	55,389	884,999	65,489	2,919	756,000	45	5,157	55,389	884,999
Tajikistan	270,351	1,408	384,079	112	4,956	13,666	674,572	356,751	1,875	448,761	248	5,226	17,299	830,160
Turkmenistan	4,684	10,831	10,814	13	476	886	27,704	4,979	11,127	16,890	3	559	1,459	35,017
Uzbekistan	323,380	3,330	839,238	352	12,805	33,707	1,212,812	493,065	12,839	1,017,730	894	13,128	46,430	1,584,086
Ukraine	201,229	52,144	4,916,270	351	48,212	386,227	5,604,433	203,320	26,092	4,939,082	790	51,749	353,034	5,574,067

Arrived	2011							2012						
	Service	Tourism	Private	Permanent residence	Transit	Service staff	TOTAL	Service	Tourism	Private	Permanent residence	Transit	Service staff	TOTAL
Total arrived	5,475,374	2,335,977	14,862,728	11,791	310,149	1,936,042	24,932,061	6,200,596	2,570,469	16,956,054	8,642	317,654	2,123,087	28,176,502
CIS	1,722,354	108,313	12,741,837	4,073	263,918	889,783	15,730,278	2,142,363	140,760	14,472,998	2,843	275,364	961,522	17,995,850
Azerbaijan	79,303	7,258	910,426	558	20,209	27,771	1,045,525	80,443	9,656	989,994	95	14,611	21,439	1,116,238
Armenia	69,670	5,374	459,654	312	9,526	5,813	550,349	78,427	7,522	599,398	49	10,363	4,573	700,332
Belorussia	7,519	12,124	163,291	84	37,185	47,030	267,233	11,425	19,695	228,016	24	51,811	61,971	372,942
Kazakhstan	78,325	16,523	2,594,358	1,088	105,419	253,693	3,049,406	95,408	23,832	3,094,305	1,023	101,218	314,556	3,630,342
Kyrgyzstan	143,649	4,844	409,406	424	13,514	21,123	592,960	188,805	5,460	399,407	133	12,355	17,810	623,970

Moldova	44,322	5,939	947,807	60	6,816	65,693	1,070,637	59,008	7,220	1,065,776	17	7,649	54,621	1,194,291
Tajikistan	430,293	3,042	497,761	162	6,968	17,229	955,455	509,348	3,810	591,774	92	12,174	16,952	1,134,150
Turkmenistan	6,146	12,143	19,413	14	289	1,574	39,579	5,224	13,548	22,021	68	262	2,597	43,720
Uzbekistan	637,128	9,205	1,358,455	521	12,063	68,987	2,086,359	834,202	11,567	1,754,375	544	10,297	66,337	2,677,322
Ukraine	225,999	31,861	5,381,266	850	51,929	380,870	6,072,775	280,073	38,450	5,727,932	798	54,624	400,666	6,502,543

2013							2014							
	Service	Tourism	Private	Permanent residence	Transit	Service staff	TOTAL	Service	Tourism	Private	Permanent residence	Transit	Service staff	TOTAL
Total arrived	5,816,764	2,664,782	19,874,865	328,316	1,195	2,106,169	30,792,091	6,263,053	2,583,079	21,001,773	842	367,557	2,205,186	32,421,490
CIS	2,301,033	158,749	16,292,998	281,028	796	887,774	19,922,378	3,044,410	175,381	17,082,209	739	321,427	996,977	21,621,143
Azerbaijan	70,355	9,034	1,084,868	10,533	15	21,954	1,196,759	88,082	10,158	883,400	9	8,381	31,174	1,021,204
Armenia	71,700	9,050	782,916	10,688	27	8,483	882,864	120,827	12,280	640,497	33	11,463	8,998	794,098
Belorussia	12,760	27,164	254,035	62,035	17	62,196	418,207	10,379	43,225	271,258	6	106,256	64,875	495,999
Kazakhstan	124,242	21,079	3,346,553	84,285	457	272,283	3,848,899	120,635	26,213	3,652,489	328	99,143	316,353	4,215,161
Kyrgyzstan	224,758	6,812	497,442	14,291	29	20,086	763,418	306,723	4,554	383,085	52	12,329	18,921	725,664
Moldova	78,810	7,512	1,229,964	18,814	6	39,584	1,374,690	191,690	5,677	671,693	4	7,934	46,627	923,625
Tajikistan	585,070	8,193	728,194	11,381	102	15,928	1,348,868	711,489	3,349	465,636	35	9,516	12,235	1,202,260
Turkmenistan	6,136	13,474	19,386	102	1	1,139	40,238	8,294	17,313	20,790	6	114	485	47,002
Uzbekistan	818,101	12,886	2,058,551	9,379	111	68,416	2,967,444	1,009,430	11,263	1,258,948	189	10,017	63,293	2,353,140
Ukraine	309,101	43,545	6,291,089	59,520	31	377,705	7,080,991	476,861	41,349	8,834,413	77	56,274	434,016	9,842,990

2015								2016						
	Service	Tourism	Private	Permanent residence	Transit	Service staff	TOTAL	Service	Tourism	Private	Permanent residence	Transit	Service staff	TOTAL
Total arrived	7 517 070	2 937 447	20 891 969	1 102	444 862	1 936 720	33 729 187	7 038 109	3 266 975	18 949 189	621	387 646	1 823 942	31 466 538
CIS	4 552 869	160 081	16 882 815	1 033	387 159	884 797	22 868 754	4 027 461	141 014	15 711 384	570	343 220	907 415	21 131 078
Azerbaijan	173 093	10 466	849 336	9	12 020	26 400	1 071 324	144 427	12 687	953 982	3	14 903	30 701	1 156 703
Armenia	341 533	9 089	472 588	29	18 076	8 822	850 137	318 703	10 729	471 218	9	15 652	17 266	833 577
Belorussia	11 574	25 225	244 018	-	86 942	55 772	423 531	10 261	10 707	193 268	-	47 289	58 847	320 372
Kazakhstan	185 649	38 798	4 560 259	659	116 471	278 410	5 180 246	210 011	37 283	3 460 042	356	74 522	343 637	4 125 859
Kyrgyzstan	495 092	3 870	320 424	67	7 001	15 942	842 396	466 774	4 599	297 198	36	5 750	17 684	792 042
Moldova	291 692	6 100	426 446	25	10 456	36 246	770 965	194 278	6 186	455 150	2	9 874	33 622	699 112
Tajikistan	880 653	2 653	298 958	21	8 282	10 405	1 200 972	794 404	4 136	477 711	34	8 895	8 086	1 293 270
Turkmenistan	8 629	20 175	21 902	2	156	306	51 170	10 514	21 280	23 758	1	135	570	56 258
Uzbekistan	1 393 577	11 632	699 778	177	16 097	41 995	2 163 256	1 239 386	15 660	803 455	84	17 150	40 744	2 116 480
Ukraine	771 377	32 073	8 989 106	44	111 658	410 499	10 314 757	638 703	17 747	8 575 602	45	149 050	356 258	9 737 405

	2017						
	Service	Tourism	Private	Permanent residence	Transit	Service staff	TOTAL
Total arrived	7 377 545	3 809 733	18 169 520	571	572 279	2 105 669	32 035 443
CIS	4 287 265	151 713	15 685 941	551	521 047	1 097 513	21 744 072
Azerbaijan	153 996	12 724	913 866	15	23 000	39 641	1 143 243
Armenia	340 600	10 441	457 011	6	17 985	31 165	857 212
Belorussia	11 497	10 837	225 114	-	55 799	78 775	382 022
Kazakhstan	242 002	40 827	3 313 484	404	121 580	419 296	4 137 613
Kyrgyzstan	511 071	4 442	289 164	34	9 524	22 707	836 946
Moldova	174 781	6 898	567 407	5	10 077	44 748	803 916
Tajikistan	804 170	2 377	520 748	20	12 018	11 010	1 350 356
Turkmenistan	11 373	24 209	28 984	-	138	1 045	65 749
Uzbekistan	1 396 987	12 581	867 178	59	22 628	50 574	2 350 007
Ukraine	640 788	26 377	8 502 985	8	248 298	398 552	9 817 008

Appendix 1.2

Distribution of migrants arriving by purpose of travel (according to the Russian Border Service of) in 2007-2017

person														
	2007							2008						
	Service	Tourism	Private	Permanent residence	Transit	Service staff	TOTAL	Service	Tourism	Private	Permanent residence	Transit	Service staff	TOTAL
Total arrived	2,666,093	2,273,658	14,159,657	302,028	315,611	1,700,474	21,417,521	3,477,881	2,395,042	14,253,445	176,499	214,060	1,667,260	22,184,187
CIS	535,387	232,873	11,162,324	257,437	211,704	793,980	13,193,705	603,888	258,000	11,806,032	146,428	133,917	742,479	13,690,744
Azerbaijan	25,638	6,964	880,908	12,186	21,898	38,279	985,873	28,811	8,292	834,285	19,329	17,472	32,783	940,972
Armenia	22,641	6,860	346,326	23,795	3,301	3,644	406,567	24,831	7,248	377,631	21,950	3,757	3,618	439,035
Belorussia	22,994	74,525	119,911	597	16,854	37,547	272,428	21,424	68,544	109,670	690	6,213	27,171	233,712
Kazakhstan	47,142	31,746	2,200,047	168,292	98,572	157,884	2,703,683	50,794	30,831	2,232,162	54,369	53,096	152,492	2,573,744
Kyrgyzstan	19,595	2,291	323,177	13,815	3,278	28,025	390,181	27,851	3,514	416,619	11,521	3,514	19,345	482,364
Moldova	26,589	6,022	815,574	319	6,570	46,903	901,977	29,654	6,521	951,210	317	8,664	47,663	1,044,029
Tajikistan	79,044	5,311	515,527	17,253	3,459	17,985	638,579	93,239	5,455	637,816	14,441	2,067	15,010	768,028
Turkmenistan	3,583	7,646	9,445	18	1,811	366	22,869	5,415	8,612	9,765	24	1,337	146	25,299
Uzbekistan	87,607	6,753	806,054	12,938	8,470	40,628	962,450	151,644	9,860	1,084,347	14,770	9,311	38,235	1,308,167
Ukraine	200,554	84,755	5,145,355	8,224	47,491	422,719	5,909,098	170,225	109,123	5,152,527	9,017	28,486	406,016	5,875,394

Continuation of Appendix 1.2.

	2009							2010						
	Service	Tourism	Private	Permanent residence	Transit	Service staff	TOTAL	Service	Tourism	Private	Permanent residence	Transit	Service staff	TOTAL
Total arrived	3,292,913	2,228,215	13,700,444	1,659	152,347	1,591,790	20,967,368	3,425,872	2,365,116	13,685,332	-	170,256	1,696,560	21,343,136
CIS	556,953	256,900	10,957,084	674	84,420	709,367	12,565,398	466,399	375,962	11,470,866	-	79,787	725,422	13,118,436
Azerbaijan	20,761	8,902	840,994	4	15,565	33,581	919,807	26,798	11,830	872,302	-	12,507	27,527	950,964
Armenia	23,186	6,427	335,602	65	2,347	3,663	371,290	19,446	8,969	391,545	-	2,896	5,272	428,128
Belorussia	14,711	95,123	125,733	95	5,073	25,347	266,082	12,587	80,271	117,279	-	4,579	35,550	250,266
Kazakhstan	51,960	31,811	2,241,215	172	27,177	153,896	2,506,231	51,675	44,844	2,329,657	-	28,203	199,868	2,654,247
Kyrgyzstan	26,212	3,958	338,446	1	2,762	13,548	384,927	29,129	5,516	447,724	-	2,943	18,174	503,486
Moldova	52,839	6,771	725,293	20	2,542	55,370	842,835	26,917	12,276	1,197,054	-	1,404	45,072	1,282,723
Tajikistan	81,449	4,121	643,587	9	2,165	11,321	742,652	68,210	7,928	670,985	-	1,168	16,666	764,957
Turkmenistan	4,696	8,889	13,995	-	1,350	1,106	30,036	4,377	9,269	13,216	-	1,754	1,436	30,052
Uzbekistan	121,491	8,446	1,156,969	26	6,713	30,925	1,324,570	94,634	10,691	1,285,346	-	5,505	43,649	1,439,825
Ukraine	159,648	82,452	4,535,250	282	18,726	380,610	5,176,968	132,626	184,368	4,145,758	-	18,828	332,208	4,813,788

Departure	2011						2012					
	Service	Tourism	Private	Transit	Service staff	TOTAL	Service	Tourism	Private	Transit	Service staff	TOTAL
Total departure	4,267,507	2,411,016	15,144,074	213,500	1,884,661	23,920,758	6,200,596	2,570,469	16,956,054	8,642	317,654	2,123,087
CIS	600,007	246,842	12,916,302	149,701	857,676	14,770,528	2,142,363	140,760	14,472,998	2,843	275,364	961,522
Azerbaijan	27,035	13,658	936,499	15,914	28,009	1,021,115	80,443	9,656	989,994	95	14,611	21,439
Armenia	21,209	8,905	470,758	3,638	6,719	511,229	78,427	7,522	599,398	49	10,363	4,573
Belorussia	13,055	65,560	137,535	2,430	35,529	254,109	11,425	19,695	228,016	24	51,811	61,971
Kazakhstan	55,770	36,257	2,521,961	90,864	241,587	2,946,439	95,408	23,832	3,094,305	1,023	101,218	314,556
Kyrgyzstan	43,896	7,464	456,671	4,111	24,962	537,104	188,805	5,460	399,407	133	12,355	17,810
Moldova	37,254	13,476	873,645	2,690	57,995	985,060	59,008	7,220	1,065,776	17	7,649	54,621
Tajikistan	91,663	5,452	747,687	2,180	17,341	864,323	509,348	3,810	591,774	92	12,174	16,952
Turkmenistan	5,578	10,224	15,423	2,158	1,642	35,025	5,224	13,548	22,021	68	262	2,597
Uzbekistan	126,298	14,500	1,583,442	5,907	65,323	1,795,470	834,202	11,567	1,754,375	544	10,297	66,337
Ukraine	178,249	71,346	5,172,681	19,809	378,569	5,820,654	280,073	38,450	5,727,932	798	54,624	400,666

	2013						2014					
	Service	Tourism	Private	Transit	Service staff	TOTAL	Service	Tourism	Private	Transit	Service staff	TOTAL
Total departure	4,671,150	2,631,651	17,764,901	240,467	2,037,899	27,346,068	4,181,192	2,822,573	22,545,920	123,243	2,172,947	31,845,875
CIS	703,917	319,152	15,132,339	143,957	903,367	17,202,732	1,003,480	546,323	18,441,427	64,126	942,671	20,998,027
Azerbaijan	25,488	13,821	1,026,474	8,895	22,267	1,096,945	28,008	15,246	966,793	3,356	29,306	1,042,709
Armenia	22,619	12,360	611,360	3,504	4,653	654,496	32,696	17,574	708,319	2,543	8,583	769,715
Belorussia	18,580	105,678	194,086	3,026	44,338	365,708	16,576	225,649	194,832	3,514	43,694	484,265
Kazakhstan	72,360	48,462	3,100,401	54,447	302,915	3,578,585	58,569	101,738	3,691,909	26,717	284,284	4,163,217
Kyrgyzstan	52,265	7,434	491,029	7,866	21,012	579,606	83,309	7,986	597,996	2,393	18,058	709,742
Moldova	41,794	15,279	982,808	2,464	52,531	1,094,876	63,560	17,938	805,462	2,482	47,541	936,983
Tajikistan	107,837	6,219	893,619	4,910	18,069	1,030,654	174,074	7,759	1,033,446	3,214	13,587	1,232,080
Turkmenistan	5,300	11,271	18,776	1,844	1,635	38,826	7,915	15,903	21,003	790	501	46,112
Uzbekistan	148,630	16,442	2,159,890	11,029	71,013	2,407,004	289,348	20,969	2,084,996	5,575	63,589	2,464,477
Ukraine	209,044	82,186	5,653,896	45,972	364,934	6,356,032	249,425	115,561	8,336,671	13,542	433,528	9,148,727

	2015						2016					
	Service	Tourism	Private	Transit	Service staff	TOTAL	Service	Tourism	Private	Transit	Service staff	TOTAL
Total departure	4 478 115	3 091 716	23 958 739	146 189	1 975 528	33 650 296	4 146 576	3 363 231	21 564 648	129 390	1 852 513	31 056 384
CIS	1 519 241	457 789	19 691 670	84 789	910 963	22 664 452	1 141 983	289 033	18 283 865	79 694	934 112	20 728 687
Azerbaijan	51 785	12 499	877 824	4 507	26 177	972 792	37 770	11 200	1 055 547	7 893	33 082	1 145 492
Armenia	62 379	12 526	725 986	3 465	9 230	813 586	48 242	13 462	718 504	3 071	15 445	798 724
Belorussia	17 159	167 903	174 841	2 742	47 412	410 057	17 479	82 608	147 190	2 321	53 392	302 990
Kazakhstan	91 050	91 350	4 681 108	30 004	289 443	5 182 955	74 951	51 249	3 568 977	21 838	350 980	4 067 995
Kyrgyzstan	128 195	6 795	632 645	1 546	15 150	784 331	87 295	6 648	636 296	1 332	19 247	750 818
Moldova	77 310	17 169	662 625	1 767	51 702	810 573	38 635	14 298	590 154	1 580	52 381	697 048
Tajikistan	278 490	6 341	915 355	2 334	10 068	1 212 588	208 623	4 139	1 018 044	3 561	7 924	1 242 291
Turkmenistan	8 812	19 672	22 214	764	416	51 878	10 078	20 783	20 409	670	542	52 482
Uzbekistan	507 671	17 439	1 716 361	5 204	43 956	2 290 631	369 850	13 962	1 654 046	6 700	40 429	2 084 987
Ukraine	296 390	106 095	9 282 711	32 456	417 409	10 135 061	249 060	70 684	8 874 698	30 728	360 690	9 585 860

2017						
	Service	Tourism	Private	Transit	Service staff	TOTAL
Total departure	4 261 005	4 000 636	20 746 060	223 283	2 123 180	31 354 191
CIS	1 162 542	411 978	18 253 334	166 112	1 109 939	21 103 906
Azerbaijan	39 616	47 300	991 265	11 263	39 315	1 128 759
Armenia	50 699	14 944	738 187	4 294	29 217	837 341
Belorussia	18 877	100 930	163 577	3 596	69 293	356 273
Kazakhstan	72 587	84 811	3 457 485	35 304	427 881	4 078 068
Kyrgyzstan	108 084	8 356	667 031	2 479	25 366	811 316
Moldova	26 896	18 811	604 682	2 338	58 588	711 315
Tajikistan	194 322	7 303	1 047 506	3 598	11 795	1 264 524
Turkmenistan	11 045	23 708	22 170	672	954	58 549
Uzbekistan	417 696	17 544	1 741 296	7 821	52 707	2 237 065
Ukraine	222 720	88 271	8 820 135	94 747	394 823	9 620 696

Source: Rosstat "The number and migration of the population of the Russian Federation" Yearbook

Assessing methodology for the impact of international labor migration
on socio-economic development of Russia

By social indicators, this paper assesses the impact (contribution) of international migration on:

- *The scale of attracting international labor migrants.* Assessment the scale of attracting international labor migrants to Russia is determined by their share in the number of people employed in economy, which is calculated by the formula: **the ratio of international labor migrants to the number of people employed in the economy multiplied by 100%.**

The aggregate (average) share of international labor migrants in the number of natives employed is compared with their share in the number of natives employed by economic activity. Identifies industries with relatively high (above average) and relatively low (below average) share of international migrants in employment.

The target is a change in the share of international labor migrants in the number of native's employees. Reduction or increase of the rate of not more than 2% indicates a low degree of Russian economy dependence and its regions from labour migrants.

-*Unemployment rate.* The assessment of the sectoral structure of international labor migrants employment is compared with the sectoral structure of the native unemployed. The indicator reflects the degree of pressure of labor migrants on the labor market. The mismatch of the sectoral structure of the native unemployed with the employment structure of international labor migrants indicates the absence of their influence on

the labor market, and they do not occupy the place claimed by native unemployed.

- *Tension in the labor market.* The assessment of labor market tension is defined as the ratio of the number of native unemployed and the number of vacancies. The indicator could be calculated by regions and types of economic activity and compare the types of activities in which international labor migrants are employed with the aggregate (average) indicator in Russia. However, the statistics at our disposal on the sectoral structure of labour migrant's employment are incomplete, which makes such an assessment difficult.

The target is the difference between the number of vacancies and the number of native unemployed. The index value is greater than zero indicates a low degree of federal and regional labor market tensions.

-*The local population wages level.* Assessing the international migrant impact to the local population wages level is determined by the ratio of international labor migrant's salaries and the average monthly nominal wage of the average in Russia.

This indicator is calculated as the ratio of international labor migrant's average wage to the average monthly nominal wage in Russia, an average of 100%.

The target is the percentage ratio of the average wage of international labor migrants to the average monthly nominal accrued wage on average in Russia. Deviation of no more than 35% indicates a low degree of international labor migrant's impact on wages.

Under the **economic indicators** within this research, assesses the international labor migrant's contribution to:

- *In Russia's gross domestic product.* Assessing the contribution of international labor migrants to GDP is defined as GDP at market prices

multiplied by the share of labor migrants in the number of natives employed and divided by 100.

-Federal and regional budgets. The assessment of international labor migrant's impact on the federal and regional budgets revenue is calculated as the amount of tax in the form of fixed advance payments from international labor migrants engaged in labor activities on the basis of a patent.

The contribution of legal labor migrants from
CIS countries to Russia's GDP in 2006-2017

Years	GDP at market prices	The number of native employed (on average for the year. Thousands of people)	The number of laborer migrants with a valid work permit + Patent at the end of the year (in thousands)	The share of labor migrants in the number of native employed (%)	The labour migrant's contribution to GDP (in billions of rubles.)	The labour migrant's contribution to GDP (in billions of USD)	The share of labour migrants in GDP (%)	Annual average rate of USD for 2006-17
2006	26 917	69168,7	537,7	0,78	209,2	\$7,7	0,8	27,17
2007	33 248	70770,3	1152,8	1,63	541,6	\$21,2	1,6	25,58
2008	41 277	71003,1	1780	2,51	1034,8	\$41,6	2,5	24,86
2009	38 807	69410,5	1645,1	2,37	919,8	\$28,9	2,4	31,83
2010	46 309	69933,7	1246,9	1,78	825,7	\$27,2	1,8	30,36
2011	59 698	70856,6	1049,5	1,48	884,2	\$30,1	1,5	29,39
2012	66 927	71545,4	2049,2	2,86	1916,9	\$61,7	2,9	31,08
2013	71 017	71391,5	2261,8	3,17	2249,9	\$70,6	3,2	31,85
2014	77 945	71539,0	2998,6	4,19	3267,1	\$85,4	4,2	38,27
2015	80 804	72323,6	1684	2,33	1881,5	\$30,9	2,3	60,87
2016	85880	72392,6	1581,1	2,18	1875,7	28,1	2,2	66,83
2017	92037	72315,9	1679	2,32	2136,9	\$36,7	2,3	58,29

Source: Author's calculations based on Rosstat data

The contribution of legal labor migrants
from Central Asia countries to Russia's GDP in 2006-2017

Years	GDP at market prices	The number of native employed (on average for the year. Thousands of people)	The number of laborer migrants with a valid work permit + Patent at the end of the year (in thousands)	The share of labor migrants in the number of native employed (%)	The labour migrant's contribution to GDP (in billions of rubles.)	The labour migrant's contribution to GDP (in billions of USD)	The share of labour migrants in GDP (%)	Annual average rate of USD for 2006-17
2006	26 917	69168,7	242,5	0,35	94,4	\$3,5	0,35	27,17
2007	33 248	70770,3	714,1	1,01	335,5	\$13,1	1,01	25,58
2008	41 277	71003,1	1232,2	1,74	716,3	\$28,8	1,74	24,86
2009	38 807	69410,5	1195,2	1,72	668,2	\$21,0	1,72	31,83
2010	46 309	69933,7	907,3	1,30	600,8	\$19,8	1,30	30,36
2011	59 698	70856,6	791	1,12	666,4	\$22,7	1,12	29,39
2012	66 927	71545,4	1619	2,26	1514,5	\$48,7	2,26	31,08
2013	71 017	71391,5	1837,2	2,57	1827,6	\$57,4	2,57	31,85
2014	77 945	71539,0	2091,9	2,92	2279,2	\$59,6	2,92	38,27
2015	80 804	72323,6	1355,2	1,87	1514,1	\$24,9	1,87	60,87
2016	85 880	72392,6	1298,9	1,79	1540,9	\$23,1	1,79	66,83
2017	92 037	72315,9	1439,8	1,99	1832,4	\$31,4	1,99	58,29

Source: Author's calculations based on Rosstat data

The contribution of potential labor migrants
from CIS countries to Russia's GDP in 2006-2017

Years	GDP at market prices	The number of native employed (on average for the year. Thousands of people)	The number of laborer migrants with a valid work permit + Patent at the end of the year (in thousands)	The share of labor migrants in the number of native employed (%)	The labour migrant's contribution to GDP (in billions of rubles.)	The labour migrant's contribution to GDP (in billions of USD)	The share of labour migrants in GDP (%)	Annual average rate of USD for 2006-17
2007	33 248	70770,3	5 392	7,6	2533,1	\$99,0	7,6	25,58
2008	41 277	71003,1	5 695	8,0	3310,7	\$133,2	8,0	24,86
2009	38 807	69410,5	4 422	6,4	2472,3	\$77,7	6,4	31,83
2010	46 309	69933,7	4 751	6,8	3146,0	\$103,6	6,8	30,36
2011	59 698	70856,6	5 373	7,6	4526,9	\$154,0	7,6	29,39
2012	66 927	71545,4	6 151	8,6	5753,9	\$185,1	8,6	31,08
2013	71 017	71391,5	6 818	9,6	6782,2	\$212,9	9,6	31,85
2014	77 945	71539,0	7 393	10,3	8055,0	\$210,5	10,3	38,27
2015	80 804	72323,6	7 812	10,8	8728,0	\$143,4	10,8	60,87
2016	85 881	72392,6	7226	10,0	8572,3	128,3	10,0	66,83
2017	92 037	72315,9	7374	10,2	9385,0	\$161,0	10,2	58,29

Source: Author's calculations based on Rosstat data

The contribution of potential labor migrants from
Central Asia countries to Russia's GDP in 2006-2017

Years	GDP at market prices	The number of native employed (on average for the year. Thousands of people)	The number of laborer migrants with a valid work permit + Patent at the end of the year (in thousands)	The share of labor migrants in the number of native employed (%)	The labour migrant's contribution to GDP (in billions of rubles,)	The labour migrant's contribution to GDP (in billions of USD)	The share of labour migrants in GDP (%)	Annual average rate of USD for 2006-17
2006	26 917	69168,7	242,5	0,35	94,4	\$3,5	0,4	27,17
2007	33 248	70770,3	1 792	2,53	841,9	\$32,9	2,5	25,58
2008	41 277	71003,1	1 965	2,77	1142,3	\$46,0	2,8	24,86
2009	38 807	69410,5	1 679	2,42	938,7	\$29,5	2,4	31,83
2010	46 309	69933,7	1 961	2,80	1298,5	\$42,8	2,8	30,36
2011	59 698	70856,6	2 288	3,23	1927,7	\$65,6	3,2	29,39
2012	66 927	71545,4	2 769	3,87	2590,2	\$83,3	3,9	31,08
2013	71 017	71391,5	3 075	4,31	3058,9	\$96,0	4,3	31,85
2014	77 945	71539,0	2 922	4,08	3183,7	\$83,2	4,1	38,27
2015	80 804	72323,6	3 224	4,46	3602,0	\$59,2	4,5	60,87
2016	85 881	72392,6	2 867	3,96	3401,2	\$50,9	4,0	66,83
2017	92 037	72315,9	2 971	4,11	3781,7	\$64,9	4,1	58,29

Source: Author's calculations based on Rosstat data

The change in Russia population based on the forecast options

Years	Under working age		Working age		Older than working age	
	thous.ppl	in % of total population	thous.ppl	in % of total population	thous.ppl	in % of total population
	The low variant of the forecast					
2017	26703	18,2	83226	56,7	36843	25,1
2020	27569	18,8	80580	54,9	38702	26,3
2025	27075	18,6	78017	53,7	40313	27,7
2030	24240	17,0	77292	54,2	41040	28,8
2035	21159	15,2	75980	54,6	42052	30,2
2040	19842	14,6	72537	53,4	43409	32,0
2045	20062	15,1	67244	50,8	45167	34,1
2050	20626	16,0	63055	48,8	45423	35,2
	Medium version of the forecast					
2017	26829	18,2	83344	56,7	36928	25,1
2020	27993	18,9	80996	54,8	38915	26,3
2025	28348	19,1	79138	53,4	40856	27,5
2030	26579	18,0	79271	53,6	41995	28,4
2035	24472	16,6	79197	53,9	43379	29,5
2040	23987	16,4	77414	52,8	45037	30,8
2045	25134	17,2	74005	50,6	47109	32,2
2050	26838	18,3	71670	49,0	47886	32,7
	High version of the forecast					
2017	26951	18,3	83460	56,6	37013	25,1
2020	28326	19,0	81377	54,7	39146	26,3
2025	29125	19,3	80131	53,2	41448	27,5
2030	27803	18,3	81028	53,4	42988	28,3
2035	25924	17,0	82027	53,7	44721	29,3
2040	25680	16,7	81463	52,9	46692	30,4
2045	27229	17,5	79203	50,8	49360	31,7
2050	29574	18,7	77916	49,2	50918	32,1

Source: Based on Rosstat data

The number of labour migrants with patent in 2011-2017

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Russia-Total	764,9	1080,5	1356,7	2134	1655,4	1542,6	1649,1
Armenia	14,3	76	92,5	148,9	48,8	0,0	0,0
Azerbaijan	10	47,7	59,3	96,8	0,2	48,2	54,1
Kazakhstan	1,2	0,9	0,9	0,9	0,4	0,2	0,1
Kyrgyzstan	11,7	61,9	90,4	157,4	31	0,2	0,1
Moldova	7,7	34,1	48,8	180,3	96,4	64,3	52,2
Tajikistan	40,3	228,7	301,9	443,5	416,8	393,4	442,4
Uzbekistan	7,4	31,3	42,2	256,3	859,2	871,7	997
Ukraine	98	600	720,7	848,5	202,7	164,6	133,5

Source: Compiled by the author according to Rosstat

Appendix 9

Selected indicators of the migration situation in the Russian Federation for 2016

	Migration registration	including:								Removal from migration registration
		registered at the place of residence	registered at the place of arriving	including:						
				primary	of which by purpose of entry:					
					Tourism	study	work	private	other	
CIS –Total	10 771 726	585 332	10 186 394	6 356 963	200 056	233 210	3 959 785	1 702 408	261 504	6 563 459
Including, from Central Asia	6 679 515	221 282	6 458 233	3 742 134	78 430	162 598	2 706 812	699 690	94 604	4 189 689
Azerbaijan	594 902	41 584	553 318	422 661	12 418	14 840	199 212	167 561	28 630	370 101
Armenia	631 746	56 376	575 370	337 967	8 068	8 786	209 887	99 251	11 975	349 376
Belarus	345 801	9 694	336 107	283 372	50 799	5 813	97 743	95 005	34 012	211 233
Kazakhstan	545 676	62 457	483 219	399 516	25 042	77 812	71 600	196 087	28 975	384 921
Kyrgyzstan	826 640	17 446	809 194	474 058	17 067	12 512	361 875	73 799	8 805	388 895
Moldova, Republic	585 937	36 769	549 168	417 703	5 853	10 027	242 035	145 827	13 961	292 910
Tajikistan	1 892 404	69 744	1 822 660	1 073 104	8 831	25 250	837 695	182 399	18 929	1 149 324
Turkmenistan	60 406	2 208	58 198	40 456	8 213	22 401	2 085	4 990	2 767	40 385
Uzbekistan	3 354 389	69 427	3 284 962	1 755 000	19 277	24 623	1 433 557	242 415	35 128	2 226 164
Ukraine	1 933 825	219 627	1 714 198	1 153 126	44 488	31 146	504 096	495 074	78 322	1 150 150

continued ...

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	A TEMPORARY RESIDENCE PERMIT		A PERMANENT RESIDENCE PERMIT		ACQUISITION OF RUSSIAN CITIZENSHIP (accepted, restored, recognized)
	Decisions made to issue a temporary residence permit	Currently lives with temporary residence permit	Decisions made to issue a permanent residence permit	Currently lives with permanent residence permit	
CIS –Total	315 563	584 881	173 899	432 699	247 979
Including, from Central Asia	124 793	217 439	59 269	162 316	94 155
Azerbaijan	19 292	46 670	13 497	43 315	9 885
Armenia	21 872	48 914	18 352	65 842	22 264
Belarus	135	1 051	8 052	23 856	3 582
Kazakhstan	42 145	64 281	14 239	28 915	37 837
Kyrgyzstan	7 125	18 292	6 338	12 378	9 316
Moldova, Republic	19 305	33 696	10 510	28 694	17 397
Tajikistan	33 157	54 896	17 882	55 328	23 012
Turkmenistan	819	1 621	892	2 967	774
Uzbekistan	41 547	78 349	19 918	62 728	23 216
Ukraine	130 166	237 111	64 219	108 676	100 696

Source: Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs

Selected indicators of the migration situation in the Russian Federation for 2017

		registered at the place of residence	registered at the place of arriving	including:						
				primary	of which by purpose of entry:					
					Tourism	study	work	private	other	
CIS –Total	15 710 227	606 279	15 103 948	10 630 541	2 496 250	449 021	4 313 911	2 030 508	800 758	10 588 289
Including, from Central Asia	7 730 161	236 516	7 493 645	4 336 554	68 425	177 235	3 226 701	775 249	88 944	4 921 028
Azerbaijan	633 765	45 405	588 360	434 230	10 169	13 238	32	181 792	27 416	385 815
Armenia	657 648	51 091	606 557	350 770	7 283	8 321	232 247	89 657	13 262	342 986
Belarus	394 449	12 559	381 890	318 187	44 081	5 815	124 633	108 878	34 780	245 251
Kazakhstan	587 728	65 702	522 026	419 403	26 390	73 752	88 202	201 573	29 486	422 754
Kyrgyzstan	879 575	14 865	864 710	479 940	10 804	14 508	376 863	69 331	8 434	412 309
Moldova, Republic	542 004	32 235	509 769	395 785	4 843	9 816	227 011	143 566	10 549	228 994
Tajikistan	2 106 256	81 157	2 025 099	1 207 798	6 389	30 223	936 752	217 204	17 230	1 278 877
Turkmenistan	74 225	2 359	71 866	50 930	10 140	29 792	1 951	6 259	2 788	48 221
Uzbekistan	4 082 377	72 433	4 009 944	2 178 483	14 702	28 960	1 822 933	280 882	31 006	2 758 867
Ukraine	1 792 247	188 369	1 603 878	1 117 430	42 881	28 083	503 287	485 051	58 128	1 075 853

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	Temporary residence permits (TRP)		Permanent residence permits (PRP)		Issued Russian citizenship (accepted, restored, recognized)
	Issued	Living with TRP	Issued	Living with PRP	
CIS –Total	304 119	569 924	181 536	570 651	257 822
Including, from Central Asia	131 245	215 615	57 728	185 008	102 597
Azerbaijan	20 810	45 300	13 018	48 399	10 394
Armenia	22 860	41 247	13 320	66 043	25 144
Belarus	125	1 052	10 158	27 646	4 092
Kazakhstan	45 317	59 592	13 553	32 776	40 718
Kyrgyzstan	7 572	14 131	4 986	13 705	8 777
Moldova, Republic	17 119	30 373	8 721	33 325	15 473
Tajikistan	40 887	62 399	19 563	63 905	29 039
Turkmenistan	1 000	1 656	1 021	3 334	729
Uzbekistan	36 469	77 837	18 605	71 288	23 334
Ukraine	96 612	201 631	67 022	144 530	85 119

Source: Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs

Appendix 11

Cross-border remittances of individuals by major counteragent countries from Russia in 2016

	carried out by individuals in total		carried out by resident individuals		carried out by non- resident individuals	
	amount of transfers, million USD	<i>average amount of one transfer, USD</i>	amount of transfers, million USD	<i>average amount of one transfer, USD</i>	amount of transfers, million USD	<i>average amount of one transfer, USD</i>
Total	35 928	211	24 812	177	11 116	363
To CIS countries	10 129	192	3 342	146	6 787	227
Uzbekistan	2 741	279	327	156	2 413	312
Tajikistan	1 929	101	381	41	1 548	156
Kyrgyzstan	1 743	221	572	224	1 171	220
Armenia	1 003	211	658	207	345	220
Azerbaijan	739	354	404	386	335	322
Ukraine	711	196	336	226	376	175
Kazakhstan	559	201	329	166	230	288
Moldova	434	262	160	265	274	261
Belarus	263	294	170	294	93	293
Turkmenistan	8	385	5	371	2,7	418

Source: Russian Central Bank

Appendix 12.

Cross-border remittances of individuals by major counteragent countries from Russia in 2017

	carried out by individuals in total		carried out by resident individuals		carried out by non-resident individuals	
	amount of transfers, million USD	<i>average amount of one transfer, USD</i>	amount of transfers, million USD	<i>average amount of one transfer, USD</i>	amount of transfers, million USD	<i>average amount of one transfer, USD</i>
Total	43 834	220	31 305	182	12 529	459
To CIS countries	12 906	214	4 661	138	8 245	312
Uzbekistan	3 902	335	771	203	3 131	398
Tajikistan	2 536	98	717	43	1 819	197
Kyrgyzstan	2 211	276	741	194	1 469	351
Armenia	1 065	302	558	295	507	311
Azerbaijan	893	371	496	387	397	354
Ukraine	750	257	521	248	229	281
Kazakhstan	709	234	429	155	280	1 047
Moldova	525	292	227	270	297	310
Belarus	314	311	199	304	115	324
Turkmenistan	2	264	1	254	0	332

Source: Russian Central Bank

Number of foreign citizens who had a valid work permit
by occupational group and countries of origin in 2016

	including by professional groups							
	Total foreign citizens	heads of institutions, organizations and enterprises and their structural divisions (services)	experts in the field of natural and engineering sciences	specialists of the average level of qualification of physical and engineering activities	medium staff in the field of financial, economic, administrative and social activities	workers in the sphere of individual services and the protection of citizens and property	sellers, product demonstrators, clothing models and clothing demonstrators	qualified workers of commodity agricultural production, forestry, hunting, fish farming and fisheries, having a market orientation
Total	143874	20694	10812	2853	3035	2504	753	3564
from CIS countries	25023	1237	386	173	109	616	265	245
Azerbaijan	1955	91	32	3	40	39	69	1
Armenia	1466	33	19	8	7	86	7	1
Kazakhstan	198	14	11	3	-	2	-	-
Kyrgyzstan	1146	14	4	2	3	26	6	-
Republic	900	37	19	1	3	8	-	1
Moldova	8321	81	40	91	19	205	103	32
Tajikistan	500	41	45	7	5	18	-	-
Turkmenistan	7835	123	42	43	14	201	66	185

	including by professional groups							
	Total foreign citizens	heads of institutions, organizations and enterprises and their structural divisions (services)	experts in the field of natural and engineering sciences	specialists of the average level of qualification of physical and engineering activities	medium staff in the field of financial, economic, administrative and social activities	workers in the sphere of individual services and the protection of citizens and property	sellers, product demonstrators, clothing models and clothing demonstrators	qualified workers of commodity agricultural production, forestry, hunting, fish farming and fisheries, having a market orientation
Uzbekistan	2702	803	174	15	18	31	14	25
Ukraine	8399	4552	1078	240	162	32	-	5
from EU countries	110227	14870	9339	2440	2760	1852	482	3313

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workers engaged in mining, capital and construction and repair and construction works	metalworking and engineering workers	other professions of skilled workers of large and small industrial enterprises	operators, operators and machinists of industrial installations	operators, machinists and fitters of stationary equipment	drivers and machinists mobile equipment	unskilled workers common to all industries	other professional qualification group	
36688	3510	8588	2055	4954	2510	6452	34902	Total
2236	212	357	83	293	436	4104	14271	from CIS countries
								Azerbaijan
41	4	3	1	-	21	135	1475	Armenia
132	23	32	2	18	76	206	816	Kazakhstan
5	-	1	-	1	-	14	147	Kyrgyzstan
24	-	11	-	1	9	415	631	Republic
64	2	1	1	16	13	84	650	Moldova
1292	127	255	52	199	202	1543	4080	Tajikistan
122	-	6	-	4	-	10	242	Turkmenistan
486	27	48	7	42	82	1518	4951	Uzbekistan
70	29	-	20	12	33	179	1279	Ukraine

Source: Federal State Statistics Service "Labor and Employment in Russia - 2017"

Appendix 14.

Number of labor migrants employed by entrepreneurs by type of economic activity (according to a sample survey on the use of migrant labor in 2014)

	Number of foreign labor migrants (thousand people)	at %	Number of Russian labor migrants (thousand people)	at %
Total	939,3	100	432,5	100
including:				
agriculture, hunting and forestry	74,0	7,9	21,2	4,9
fishing, fish farming	1,2	0,1	2,0	0,5
manufacturing	64,8	6,9	35,6	8,2
construction	163,3	17,4	32,7	7,6
wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles, motorcycles, household goods and personal items	352,6	37,5	157,4	36,4
hotels and restaurants	58,7	6,3	14,9	3,5
transport and communication	59,3	6,3	48,6	11,2
real estate operations, rental and provision of services	88,2	9,4	79,8	18,5
education	7,9	0,8	16,1	3,7

Source: Rosstat "Labor and Employment in Russia - 2015" Yearbook

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“Jovid Ikromov did a great job of studying the literature on selected issues, collected and summarized a huge amount of relevant economic and legal information. I am convinced that the research results presented in the monograph can be used in the formation of migration policy, both in Russia and in the countries of Central Asia.”

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