

Research

«Monitoring of implementation of the labor migrants' rights from Kyrgyzstan in Russian Federation and Republic of Kazakhstan in accordance with the terms of accession of the Kyrgyz Republic to the EAEU Protocol»

Implementers:

Poletaev Dmitry Vyacheslavovich, PhD in Economics, Russian Federation

Zlobina Tatiana Alexandrovna, TSPC AUCA, Kyrgyz Republic

Tian Shan Policy Center
Of the American University of Central Asia (TSPC AUCA)
Bishkek
2018

Introduction	page 3
Sampling characteristics	page 3
1. The legal and institutional framework for the protection of the rights of labor migrants in Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan within the EAEU	page 5
2. The labor migration from Kyrgyzstan to Russia and Kazakhstan	page 14
3. Children’s rights: Right to education and health. The attitude towards children from Kyrgyzstan in Russia and Kazakhstan	page 20
4. The right to work, as well as the degree of fair and favorable working conditions for labor migrants from Kyrgyzstan in Russia and Kazakhstan	page 26
5. The right to an adequate standard of living. The living conditions of labor migrants from Kyrgyzstan to Russia and Kazakhstan	page 39
6. The right to health of labor migrants from Kyrgyzstan in Russia and Kazakhstan. Women’s pregnancy and childbirth	page 41
7. The right to nondiscrimination. The attitude of local residents in the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan to migrants from Kyrgyzstan and integration of migrants from Kyrgyzstan in Kazakhstan and Russia	page 49
Conclusion and recommendations	page 60
Annex 1. Tables	page 71
Annex 2. Questionnaires	page 83
Annex 3. Questionnaires for the interview with the migrants from Kyrgyzstan in Russia	page 87
Annex 4. Questionnaires for the interview with the migrants from Kyrgyzstan in Kazakhstan	page 88
Annex 5. Questionnaires for the experts in Russia	page 89
Annex 6. Questionnaires for the experts in Kazakhstan	page 90
Annex 7. The list of experts	page 91

Introduction

Based on the results of a number of its own research conducted earlier, as well as in accordance with its academic research interests aimed at promoting progressive labor migration management strategies from the Kyrgyz Republic, the Tian Shan Policy Center of the American University in Central Asia (AUCA), within the framework of this monitoring study made an attempt to find out how, after three years of Kyrgyzstan's membership in the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU), the main Kyrgyzstani labor migrants' main rights inside the EAEU are being implemented.

In order to identify the situation with the observance of the rights of labor migrants from the Kyrgyz Republic as part of our country's membership in the EAEU a sociological survey was launched among Kyrgyz citizens working in Russia and Kazakhstan in 2017.

The purpose of the study is to assist the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic in promoting the rights of Kyrgyz migrant workers by monitoring the observance of the rights of migrant workers from the Kyrgyz Republic in the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan in the context of Kyrgyzstan's accession to the EAEU Protocol, as well as in making informed decisions in the field of labor migration.

Objectives of the study:

1. To monitor the observance of the rights of migrant workers from the Kyrgyz Republic in the Russian Federation (RF) and the Republic of Kazakhstan (RK) in accordance with the conditions of the accession of the Kyrgyz Republic to the EAEU Protocol, to analyze compliance with the legally guaranteed rights of migrant workers in practice in terms of membership in this globalized scheme.

2. To analyze the current risks of unregulated labor migration from the Kyrgyz Republic to the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan in accordance with the terms of the accession of the Kyrgyz Republic to the EAEU Protocol.

3. To use materials from our own researches previously conducted by TSPC AUCA: <https://www.auca.kg/ru/tspcreports/> while developing a research toolkit,

4. To develop recommendations for interested ministries and departments, to develop approaches for upholding the rights of migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan in Russia and Kazakhstan and reducing the number of undocumented migrants from the Kyrgyz Republic to the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Sampling characteristic

The following methods and techniques were applied for collecting primary data:

1. semi-structured interviews with experts in the field of migration (8 interviews - in Russia and 8 interviews - in Kazakhstan);

2. in-depth interviews with migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan: 8 interviews in Russia (3 interviews in Moscow, 3 in St. Petersburg and 2 in Yekaterinburg) and 16 interviews in Kazakhstan (6 interviews in Almaty, 6 in Astana and 4 - in Shymkent);

3. questionnaire survey: 702 migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan in Russia were polled in 3 cities - Moscow (300 questionnaires), St. Petersburg (201 questionnaires) and Yekaterinburg (201 questionnaires).

The sample was structured by:

- age (34% of respondents - from 18 to 25 years; 33% - from 26 to 35 years; 33% - from 36 to 60 years);

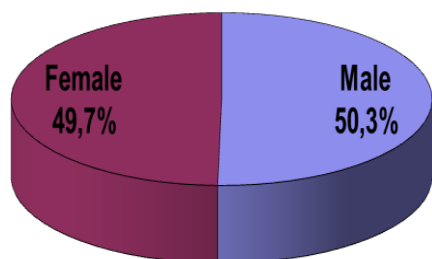
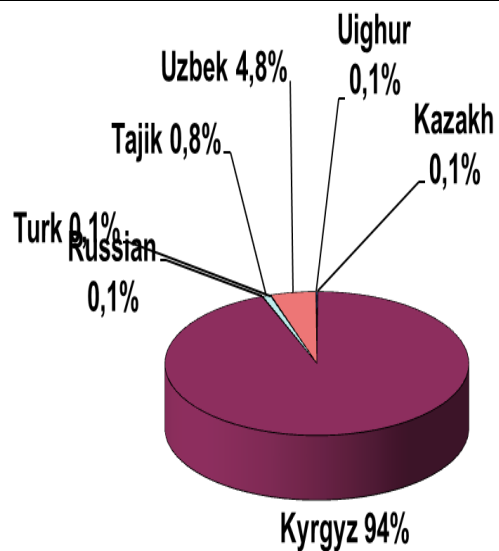
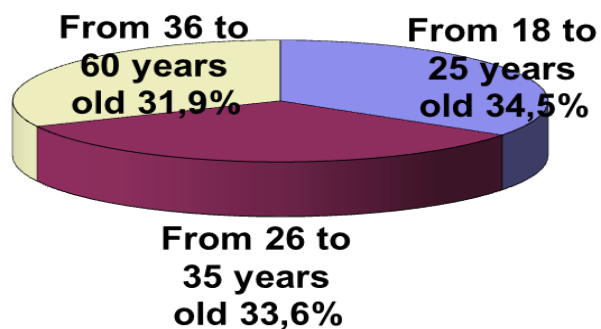
- gender (50% - men, 50% - women);

- work experience in Russia (50% - with work experience of 1-2 years, 50% - with work experience of 3 years or more);

- employment (maximum possible diversity).

All of the surveyed migrants were specifically divided into two groups in a study of 2017: 1) those who responded that they were officially paid by a bank card or signed for it in the official statement; 2) and those who receive informal wages, in cash ("in envelope").

Anticipating the analysis of the results in the context of these groups, we can say that there is a fairly bright difference in terms of socio-demographic characteristics among those who work officially and those who work without legal documents.

Figure 1. The distribution of respondents by gender, %**Figure 2. The distribution of respondents by nationality, %****Figure 3. Distribution of respondents by age, %**

1. Legal and institutional framework for the protection of the rights of labor migrants in the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan within the EAEU

One of the goals of creating the Eurasian Economic Union along with ensuring the free movement of goods, services and capital, is the freedom of movement of labor.

The EAEU Treaty (Section XXVI “Labor Migration”) ensures the freedom to work in the territories of the participating countries and obliges the member states of the Union to cooperate in the area of harmonization of labor migration management policies, as well as to assist in the organized recruitment and involvement of the labor countries of the EAEU for their work in member states.

The agreement regulates the development of a common policy in the field of labor migration, including the provision of social security, medical services for workers of the member states, the offset of labor (insurance) experience, the export of pensions and thereby helping to form a common labor market.

The provisions of the contract provide for the delivery of free ambulance and medical care (emergency and non-emergency types) to workers and their families, regardless of the availability of a medical insurance policy. The possibility of medical evacuation of the patient for his rescue and preservation of his health is also provided, the expenses of the medical organization for the provision of emergency medical care to the working members of the Member States are reimbursed at the expense of the budget of the state of employment¹.

In addition, there is a direct recognition of educational certificates without carrying out any procedures (with some exceptions that are being negotiated), and children of workers who live with them in the state of employment have the right to attend pre-school institutions and receive education in accordance with the state employment law².

Limited attention was paid to long-term strategic measures for managing migration processes before Kyrgyzstan joined the EAEU. The accession of Kyrgyzstan to the union in 2015 gave a powerful impetus to correcting the migration policy of the EAEU as a whole and of each of its member countries.

According to Article 4 of the *Treaty on the Eurasian Economic Union*³ the main goal of the union is “... striving to form a single market for goods, services, capital and labor resources within the framework of the union”. In the Annex to the Treaty on the accession of the Kyrgyz Republic to the Eurasian Economic Union⁴ the accession of the Kyrgyz Republic to the Agreement on Cooperation to Counter Illegal Labor Migration from Third States, November 19, 2010 is mentioned⁵ (paragraph №22).

According to the document “On the main directions of the international activities of the Eurasian Economic Union for 2017”⁶, the EAEU provides for “... interaction with the Council of Heads of Migration Authorities of the CIS Member States”.

Within the framework of the Memorandum of Cooperation between the Eurasian Economic Commission and the International Organization for Migration⁷, EEC and IOM state that:

«1. The parties intend to cooperate within their competence and, if possible, in the following areas:

– monitoring of the migration situation and the practice of application of migration legislation in the territories of the Customs Union member states and the Common Economic Space;

¹ Aliev S.B. Labor migration and social security of workers in the Eurasian Economic Union. 2016. p.10 <http://www.eurasiancommission.org/ru/Documents/spreads.pdf>.

² Section XXVI “Labor Migration” of the Treaty on the Eurasian Economic Union. Annex No. 30 “Protocol on the provision of medical care to workers of Member States and family members”; Agreement on cooperation in countering illegal labor migration from third countries dated November 19, 2010; Concept of the draft international agreement on cooperation in the field of pensions (approved by the Decision of the Council of the Eurasian Economic Commission No. 103 dated November 12, 2014)

³ Treaty on the Eurasian Economic Union (Astana, May 29, 2014), <http://economy.gov.ru/wps/wcm/connect/bb840de1-a37b-4e00-8c62-6e13a59485d1/Договора+о+Евразийском+экономическом+союзе.docx?MOD=AJPERES&CACHEID=bb840de1-a37b-4e00-8c62-6e13a59485d1>.

⁴ Annex to the Treaty on the accession of the Kyrgyz Republic to the Treaty on the Eurasian Economic Union of May 29, 2014. The list of international treaties included in the Eurasian Economic Union law to which the Kyrgyz Republic joins, <http://economy.gov.ru/wps/wcm/connect/a1332d7a-5708-4c4a-8c4f-03ee6e9ccade/приложения+№№1-33.docx?MOD=AJPERES&CACHEID=a1332d7a-5708-4c4a-8c4f-03ee6e9ccade>

⁵ Agreement on cooperation in countering illegal labor migration from third countries (concluded in St. Petersburg on 19.11.2010) see also: Agreement on cooperation to counter illegal labor migration from third countries https://docs.eaeunion.org/docs/ru-ru/0044035/tces_24052013.

⁶ “On the Main Directions of the International Activities of the Eurasian Economic Union for 2017” [Decisions of the Supreme Eurasian Economic Council № 18](https://docs.eaeunion.org/docs/ru-ru/01415498/scd_11042017) Date of acceptance of the document: 26.12.2016. Date of publishing the document: 11.04.2017 https://docs.eaeunion.org/docs/ru-ru/01415498/scd_11042017 p. 10.

⁷ Memorandum of Cooperation between the Eurasian Economic Commission and the International Organization for Migration. Date of publication of the document: 20.05.2013 https://docs.eaeunion.org/docs/ru-ru/0144062/ms_20052013.

- study of international migration management experience;
- other areas of cooperation by agreement of the parties.

2. The cooperation in the frame of this agreement will be implemented in the following way:

- exchange of analytical and reference materials in compliance with the requirements of confidentiality and protection of information;
- holding joint events on migration issues, including expert consultations on specific problematic issues, and developing proposals for their resolution;
- participation in international conferences and seminars, as well as in other events of mutual interest.

3. In certain areas of cooperation, the parties may prepare and implement joint projects. The degree of participation of each of the parties in such projects, as well as the procedure for their implementation, are the subject of separate agreements.

In the framework of the Memorandum of Cooperation between the *Eurasian Economic Commission and the public organization "General Confederation of Trade Unions - International Trade Union Association"*⁸, the EEC states that:

“The parties intend to cooperate within their competence in the following areas”:

- monitoring the practice of applying the legislation of member states in the social and labor sphere;
- study of international experience in managing labor migration flows;
- cooperation in developing proposals for the harmonization of the laws of the Member States in the field of labor and employment.

The Eurasian Economic Commission (ECE) as part of the work of its subdivision - the Initiatives Management Office⁹, whose main goal is to “ensure transparent, effective and accelerated development of initiatives within the framework of the implementation of the Digital Agenda of the Eurasian Economic Union” sets the following second priority task:

“Ensuring high-quality and sustainable economic growth of member states, including for accelerating the transition of economies to a new technological order, the formation of new industries and markets, and the development of labor resources.”¹⁰

As part of the work of the ECE, a special Department of Labor Migration and Social Protection has been created and is successfully operating (Director of the department is Paiza Usenbaevna Suyumbaeva¹¹).

The competence of the department includes the following areas¹²:

1. Labor migration and migration policy;
2. Social, pension and medical care, education and professional activities of workers of the member states.

The main tasks of the department include:

- to formulate and conduct a coordinated or unified policy on matters within the competence of the department jointly with the structural units of the commission, state authorities of the member states, advisory bodies, public associations and other organizations;
- participation in the development of drafts of international treaties and acts constituting Union Law, as well as in the preparation of proposals for the improvement, harmonization and (or) unification of the legislation of member states in the these areas.

In the field of labor migration and migration policy, as well as social, pension and medical care, education and professional activities of the working members of the member states:

- elimination of barriers to the free movement of labor, promoting the formation of a single labor market within the EAEU;
- facilitating the cooperation of the member states of the union in the implementation of organized recruitment and involvement of the working member states in order to carry out their work activities in the member states;
- in other areas defined by international treaties within the Union.

⁸ <http://eec.eaeunion.org/ru/act/finpol/dobd/tm/Documents/memorprofcouz.pdf> and <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/499084183>

⁹ <http://www.eaeunion.org/#resources>

¹⁰ <http://eak.mcdir.ru/extranet/>

¹¹ <http://eec.eaeunion.org/ru/act/finpol/migration/Pages/direktor.aspx>

¹² <http://eec.eaeunion.org/ru/act/finpol/migration/Pages/about.aspx>

The Department of Labor Migration and Social Protection of the EEC is currently engaged in supporting the development and implementation of the following regulatory documents in the field of migration to the EAEU¹³:

- Agreement on cooperation in countering illegal labor migration from third countries¹⁴;
- The concept of the International Treaty on cooperation in the field of pensions¹⁵;
- Treaty on the provision of pensions to workers of the member states of the Eurasian Economic Union¹⁶.

The ECE Council pays great attention to the refinement and harmonization of the International Treaty on cooperation in the field of pensions¹⁷. The need to develop a separate international treaty regulating the issues of pensions for workers of member states and family members is provided in part 3 of Article 98 of the Treaty on the Eurasian Economic Union of May 29, 2014¹⁸ (further-the EAEU Treaty).

In accordance with paragraph 5 of Article 96 of the Treaty on the EAEU, “**a worker of a member state** is a person who is a citizen of a member state who is legally present and legally carries out labor activity in the territory of the state of employment of which he is not a citizen and in which he does not reside permanently”.

Currently, one of the main directions for the development of integration is the elimination of barriers to the movement of labor. The absence or insufficient legal regulation of the issues of pensions when working in other member states of the Union is a deterrent in the formation of a common labor market, in this regard, the issue of pensions for workers in the territory of member states is relevant.

Currently, the main difference lies in different approaches to financing the pension system and the distribution of pension funds. In the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation, the insurance premiums are paid by the employer and the solidarity principle of distribution prevails. In the Republic of Kazakhstan, pension contributions are deducted from the employee's income and the mandatory accumulative pension system is in effect. In addition, pension systems differ structurally: the retirement age, the size and sources of pension contributions and other parameters.

The issues arise with the transfer and preservation of pension rights in the exercise of labor activity and the movement of citizens of the EAEU member states from one country to another.

The main purpose of developing a draft agreement is to ensure equal rights in the field of pensions, protection of pension rights acquired by workers in the territory of the EAEU member states, as well as the development of cooperation in the field of pensions between member states of the union.

The development of a draft agreement between the EAEU member states on cooperation in the field of pensions involves the following main tasks:

-pension benefits of citizens of Member States must be carried out on the same conditions and in the same manner as citizens of the state of employment, in terms of paying insurance (obligatory pension) contributions, as well as acquiring and maintaining appropriate pension rights;

- consideration by a member state of pension rights acquired by citizens in the territories of the EAEU member states when determining the right to a pension, the appointment of pensions in accordance with the provisions of the contract and the legislation of the member state;

- development of cooperation between the member states of the Union in the field of pensions, including the exchange of information and documents between the authorized bodies of the EAEU member states, including the exchange in electronic form.

The main principles of the contract stipulate that with regard to the types of pensions agreed upon by the parties within the framework of the contract, the EAEU member state should guarantee the citizens of other EAEU member states the amount of pension benefits equal to the rights granted to citizens of this member state under similar conditions.

It is expected that the implementation of the treaty will contribute to the further development of mutually beneficial cooperation, the elimination of barriers to the free movement of labor within the union, the growth of business activity by providing citizens of Member States with guarantees of pension.

¹³ <http://eec.eaeunion.org/ru/act/finpol/dobd/tm/Pages/npa.aspx>

¹⁴ <http://eec.eaeunion.org/ru/act/finpol/dobd/tm/Pages/sog12.aspx>

¹⁵ <http://eec.eaeunion.org/ru/act/finpol/dobd/tm/Documents/Решение%20Совета103.pdf> and <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/420234017>

¹⁶ https://docs.eaeunion.org/sites/storage1/Lists/Documents/ec756c8f-2248-45dd-89d5-3b63ad4b0305/206afce0-4885-48db-97c8-63dcff758ef0_Распоряжение%20Коллегии%20№%204%20от%2019%20января%202016%20г.pdf

¹⁷ Council of the Eurasian Economic Commission. The decision of November 12, 2014 №103 "On the Concept of an international agreement on cooperation in the field of pension provision

¹⁸ <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/420205962>

On December 19, 2016 at the meeting of the Board of the Eurasian Economic Commission (EEC) a draft *Treaty on the Provision of Pensions for Workers of the Eurasian Economic Union* member states was approved¹⁹. The purpose of the development of the document is to ensure equal rights in the field of pensions - when forming and exporting pensions, protecting pension rights acquired by workers in member states, and also developing cooperation in the field of pensions between union partners. The draft agreement provides for the offset of work experience received in the EAEU states. For example, a citizen of Kyrgyzstan, having worked for five years in Belarus, can be sure that this period will be credited to the total length of service.

The pension agreement provides for the appointment and payment of pensions in the following order:

- for work experience acquired after the entry into force of the contract, the pension is appointed and paid by the Member State in whose territory the relevant work experience was acquired;

- for the work experience acquired prior to the entry into force of the contract, the pension is granted and paid in accordance with the legislation of member states and the *Agreement on Guarantees of the Rights of Citizens of Member States of the Commonwealth of Independent States* in the field of pensions on March 13, 1992, and for the Republic of Belarus Of the Russian Federation - in accordance with the *Agreement between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus on Cooperation in the Field of Social Security* dated January 24, 2006.

The entry into force of the Treaty on the Provision of Pensions to Workers of the Member States of the Eurasian Economic Union will ensure the citizens of member states the right to form, maintain and exercise the pension rights they acquired while working in the countries of the union. The document also provides for the solution of the issue of the export of pensions and the accounting of work experience acquired in another Member State of the Union.

The draft treaty was sent to the countries of the Union for the internal coordination required for its signing. Also, the EEC Board approved the draft decision of the EEC Council on the implementation of the contract. The Commission, together with the member states, is entrusted with the development of a draft procedure that will determine the mechanism for the appointment and payment of pensions to workers, as well as resolve issues of interaction between the competent authorities of the member states and the ECE. The document will be submitted for consideration by the ECE Council.

Analyzing the research work carried out by the EEC²⁰, it can be noted that among them there are no works specifically devoted to migration issues within the EAEU. At the same time, “A comparative legal analysis of the obligations of the Kyrgyz Republic and the obligations of the Member States of the Customs Union and the Common Economic Space in the areas within the competence of the Customs Union and the Single Economic Space to international organizations and third countries”²¹ was carried out in 2013. The aim of the work was a comparative legal analysis of the obligations of the Kyrgyz Republic and the obligations of the Member States of the Customs Union and the Common Economic Space in the areas related to the competence of the Customs Union and the Single Economic Space to international organizations and third countries.

The research work involved following tasks:

- identifying, classifying and comparing the obligations of the Kyrgyz Republic and the obligations of the Member States of the Customs Union and the Common Economic Space in the areas related to the competence of the Customs Union and the Single Economic Space to international organizations and third countries;
- reasoned practical recommendations to the Kyrgyz Republic to bring commitments to international organizations and third countries in line with the obligations imposed by potential membership in the Customs Union and the Common Economic Space, as well as in line with the commitments made by the Member States of the Customs Union and the Single Economic Space related to the competence of the Customs Union and the Common Economic Space before international organizations and third countries.

To discuss topical issues of cooperation in the field of migration within the EAEU, two advisory committees were established:

¹⁹См. The EEC Board approved the draft Treaty on the provision of pensions for workers of the EAEU member states 20.12.2016 <http://www.eurasiancommission.org/ru/nae/news/Pages/20-12-2016-4.aspx>

²⁰ <http://eec.eaeunion.org/ru/NIR/Lists/List/AllItems.aspx>

²¹ <http://eec.eaeunion.org/ru/NIR/Lists/List/DispForm.aspx?ID=7&Source=http%3A%2F%2Feec%2Eeaeunion%2Eorg%2Fru%2FNIR%2FLists%2FList%2FAllItems%2Easpx&ContentTypeId=0x01002110E62F7E25A24DB824E882270A5638>

- Consultative Committee on Migration Policy²²;
- Advisory Committee on Social Security, Pension Rights, Medical Care and Professional Activities of Workers of the Eurasian Economic Union member states²³.

During its meetings, the *Consultative Committee on Migration Policy* mainly focuses on the following issues²⁴: border crossings (Session 4), pensions of migrant workers (Session 3), exchange of statistical data on the number of migrant workers of the EAEU between the EEU countries), migration cards and terms of stay of citizens of the EAEU without registration in the territory of the EAEU countries (meeting No. 2), social and medical guarantees of migrant workers (meeting No. 3). The last meeting of the Migration Policy Advisory Committee was held in 2016.

*The Advisory Committee on Social Security, Pension Rights, Medical Care and Professional Activities of the Working People of the Eurasian Economic Union*²⁵ member states during their meetings mainly focus on the following issues²⁶: Pension benefits for EAEU citizens - migrant workers (meetings Nos. 1, 2, 3), medical support for migrant workers and their families (meetings No. 1, 2, 3), mutual recognition of diplomas of education (meetings No. 2, 3). The last meeting of the Consultative Committee on Social Security, Pension Rights, Health Care and Professional Activities of the Working People of the Eurasian Economic Union member states was in 2017.

First results of the EAEU in the field of labor migration

Changes in Russian legislation made in 2015 liberalized employment conditions for foreign migrant workers from the EAEU in the Russian Federation. Kyrgyzstanis do not have to receive patents for employment in Russia since 2015. By the example of Kyrgyzstanis the changes in the EAEU labor market are clearly visible.

The expectations of migrant workers related to the simplification of employment procedures and obtaining permits were justified: now Kyrgyzstanis are working in Russia and Kazakhstan without obtaining special permits. However, they still remain in the position of foreigners, therefore, their position is not similar to the position of the Russians and Kazakhstanis.

Until 2015, there were countries in the EAEU, among which there were no active labor worker donors. Armenia and especially Kyrgyzstan joining the EAEU made this association more diverse and more difficult to manage. Measures to protect the rights of migrant workers have become acutely relevant, and not just the practice of implementing the Treaty on the Free Movement of Labor within the EAEU.

The movement of labor within the EAEU contributes to economic development, but the economic advantages differ from the position of the country (giving away labor and attracting labor) and from the position of households (having migrant workers in their composition or using labor).

In any case, migration processes contribute to the growth of the welfare of the population of both donor and host countries, and contribute to the rational use of labor. Migration is becoming a very sensitive indicator of integration into the EAEU. Despite all the positive changes (and our study revealed this), the protection of the labor rights of migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan both in Russia and in Kazakhstan still remains outside the zone of priorities in the EAEU. Simplification of documentary registration of employment is not accompanied by building mechanisms of protection against unscrupulous employers. Family members of migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan both in Russia and in Kazakhstan are in a vulnerable position and the mechanisms for their adaptation and integration do not have an integrated format and funding. The access of children of migrant workers to Russian and Kazakhstan schools is not complete and open. The problems of retraining migrant workers are still outside the scope of the priorities of the EAEU.

²² <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/456023500>

²³ http://eec.eaeunion.org/ru/act/finpol/dobd/tm/Pages/kk_soc.aspx

²⁴ The meeting protocols №№ 1, 2, 3, 4:

<http://eec.eaeunion.org/ru/act/finpol/dobd/tm/Documents/Протокол%20№%202%20%20заседания%20Консультативного%20комитета%20по%20миграционной%20политике%20при%20Коллегии%20ЕЭК.pdf>

<http://eec.eaeunion.org/ru/act/finpol/dobd/tm/Documents/Протокол%20№%203%20%20заседания%20Консультативного%20комитета%20по%20миграционной%20политике%20при%20Коллегии%20ЕЭК.pdf>

<http://eec.eaeunion.org/ru/act/finpol/dobd/tm/Documents/Протокол%20№%204%20заседания%20Консультативного%20комитета%20по%20миграционной%20политике%20при%20Коллегии%20ЕЭК.pdf>

²⁵ http://www.eurasiancommission.org/ru/act/finpol/migration/social_security/Pages/kk_soc.aspx

²⁶ The meeting protocols №№ 1, 2, 3:

<http://www.eurasiancommission.org/ru/act/finpol/migration/tm/Documents/Протокол%20№%201%20заседания%20Консультативного%20комитета.pdf>

The economic effects for the countries of unification after the introduction of the “four freedoms” are also limited so far. This is largely due to the insufficiently effective and in many ways outdated system for controlling migration and regulating its flows. This is due to the institution of registration, which has been preserved in Russia and Kazakhstan since Soviet times, although in a somewhat modified form. The current registration regime seriously hampers the movement of labor migration and its legalization (including for citizens of Russia and Kazakhstan).

These problems are no longer just internal problems of the mentioned states. Modernization of the registration institute is becoming a key for the development of a common labor market in the EAEU, as well as in the protection of the rights of migrant workers, internal and external.

Whole tangle of difficulties and problems, including corruption, has formed around the registration, which carries not a notifying nature, but a controlling one. The effective approach to resolving the current situation seems not to strengthen police measures (which have shown their limited effectiveness and enormous destructive potential over the past decades), but to eliminate the very ground for problem formation and corruption - the transition to a notification registration system and the introduction of alternative forms of control over migration flows (for example, control over the payment of taxes by migrant workers through the tax identification number).

There has been an increase in anti-migrant rhetoric in the Duma of the Russian Federation recently and new legislation is being initiated over and over again to tighten the migration control.

A criminal liability was introduced for the illegal registration of migrants in non-residential premises in November, 2018. Previously, the law applied only to the owners of the so-called "rubber" apartments, in which several thousand migrants were sometimes fictitiously registered. Now, the amendments have excluded the phrase “residential premises”, thus the responsibility extends to the owners of “rubber” offices of all non-residential premises, including warehouses, manufacturing facilities, offices and apartments.

In addition, the issue of fingerprinting of migrants has already been resolved by law, it will start to be active from July 1, 2019 for migrants staying in the Russian Federation without a visa for more than a month.

The main features of the program documents of migration policy in Russia

In accordance with the Concept of State Migration Policy until 2025, the three-pronged goals of the state policy of Russia in the field of international migration are defined:

1. The goal in the field of national security: maximum security, comfort and well-being of the population of the Russian Federation.
2. The demographic goal: stabilization and increase in the number of the resident population of Russia (attracting immigrants for permanent residence in Russia) (State program to assist the voluntary resettlement of compatriots in the Russian Federation - since 2007)
3. The economic goal: to assist in meeting the needs of the Russian economy for labor, modernization, innovative development and increasing the competitiveness of industries (attracting temporary migrant workers).

Here is how it says in the concept itself:

"The objectives of the state migration policy of the Russian Federation:

- a) ensuring the national security of the Russian Federation, maximum security, comfort and well-being of the population of the Russian Federation;
- b) stabilization and increase in the number of the resident population of the Russian Federation;
- c) assistance in meeting the needs of the economy of the Russian Federation in labor, modernization, innovative development and increasing the competitiveness of its industries.

22. Principles of the state migration policy of the Russian Federation:

- a) ensuring the rights and freedoms of man and citizen;
- b) the inadmissibility of any form of discrimination;
- c) compliance with the norms of national and international law;
- d) harmonization of the interests of the individual, society and the state;
- e) interaction of federal state authorities, state authorities of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation and local governments, development of social partnership institutions and civil society;
- e) protection of the national labor market;

- f) differentiated approach to the regulation of migration flows depending on the goals and duration of stay, socio-demographic and professional qualification characteristics of migrants;
- g) consideration of the features of regional development;
- h) openness and availability of information on migration processes and decisions made in the implementation of the state migration policy of the Russian Federation;
- i) scientific validity of the decisions made.

Objectives of the state migration policy of the Russian Federation:

- a) the creation of conditions and incentives for the resettlement to the Russian Federation for permanent residence of compatriots living abroad, immigrants and certain categories of foreign citizens;
- b) the development of differentiated mechanisms for attracting, selecting and using foreign labor;
- c) promoting the development of internal migration;
- d) facilitating educational migration and supporting academic mobility;
- e) fulfillment of humanitarian obligations in relation to forced migrants;
- (e) promoting the adaptation and integration of migrants, the formation of constructive interaction between migrants and the host community;
- g) combating illegal migration.

The main directions of the state migration policy of the Russian Federation:

- creation of conditions and incentives for compatriots living abroad, immigrants and certain categories of foreign citizens to resettle in the Russian Federation for permanent residence;
- development of differentiated mechanisms for attracting, selecting and using foreign labor demanded by the Russian economy;
- promoting the development of internal migration of citizens of the Russian Federation;
- simplification of registration procedures for citizens of the Russian Federation in order to remove administrative barriers that prevent changing the place of stay or residence;
- promoting educational (training) migration to the Russian Federation and supporting academic mobility;
- fulfillment of humanitarian obligations in relation to forced migrants;
- promoting the adaptation and integration of migrants, the formation of constructive interaction between migrants and the host community;
- combating illegal migration.

For the implementation of the Concept of the State Migration Policy of the Russian Federation for the period until 2025, a Plan of Measures for Implementation in 2012-2015 (first stage) of the Concept of the State Migration Policy of the Russian Federation for the period until 2025 is provided

(http://pvsmvd.ru/doc/pmrk_2012-2015.pdf и https://rg.ru/pril/71/36/81/1502_plan.pdf) and “Plan of measures for implementation in 2016-2020 (second stage) of the Concept of the state migration policy of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2025” (https://rybm.mvd.pf/upload/site1/document_file/Wf2heXCvUV.pdf).

In the frame of these plans the interdepartmental cooperation with the general leadership of the Federal Migration Service of Russia, and after April 5, 2016 - the Main Department of Internal Affairs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation is provided.

In connection with the dissolution of the Federal Migration Service (FMS) and the transfer of its powers to the Ministry of Internal Affairs in July 2017 (<https://pravo.ru/news/view/142264/>). On June 28, 2017 the Ministry of Internal Affairs prepared a draft Decree of the President of the Russian Federation “On approval of the Concept of the migration policy of the Russian Federation until 2020” and posted it on the official website for posting information on the preparation of regulatory acts (<http://regulation.gov.ru/projects#npa=67736>).

The official documents and regulatory legal acts were not providing a precise definition of the state migration policy in Russia until now at the state level, but the proposed project has such a definition: migration policy of Russian Federation is a work of the state bodies of Russian Federation and the bodies of local self-governance in the sphere of migration, aimed at the realization of the constitutional rights of citizens and the protection of their legitimate interests, ensuring the national security of the Russian Federation, the action of the demographic and socio-economic development of the Russian Federation, the observance of law and order in its territory ”.

The development of a border control mechanism stated in the concept was implemented; further the development guidelines were set, although this turned out to be a slow and painful procedure. The Central Data Bank for Accounting for Foreign Citizens and Stateless Persons was created, control over migration flows was introduced, migration accounting methods were developed, and staff members were trained.

The creation of a mechanism for cooperation in the field of migration policy between the CIS countries, the attraction of new countries for closer cooperation within the framework of the EAEU (Kyrgyzstan, Armenia) can be considered as an important result. Attracting foreign students through stimulating academic migration is not going fast enough.

The biggest drawback of the migration policy of the Russian Federation lies in its instability, the mechanism of effective registration of the labor force throughout the country has not yet been created. This is clearly seen in the example of reducing the flow of labor migrants from Uzbekistan to Russia. In other words, Russia will have difficulties in the future with the formation of sufficient labor migration flows.

2. The labor migration to Russia and Kazakhstan from Kyrgyzstan

Russia

According to the official statistics (see Table 1.1) the number of the labor migrants from Kyrgyzstan has gradually increased after KR joining the EAEU.

Table 1.1. Arrival of Kyrgyz citizens to RF(date and number of people)

Date	04.02.14	02.10.14	20.01.15	04.05.15	01.10.15	01.01.16	01.03.16
People	554808	553675	544956	539108	519487	552207	572759
Date	01.05.16	01.08.16	01.10.16	01.05.17	01.08.17	01.10.17	01.06.18
People	561756	576020	582863	622534	622949	618706	638735

The data is taken from the Federal Migration Service of the Russian Federation and Migration Board of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russian Federation

There are more and more rural residents from the south of Kyrgyzstan among them, and the proportion of women is gradually increasing.

There are more from the South and there is more rural migration.

From the interview with the expert, Moscow

The migration is being even more feminized, that is, the proportion of women will generally approach the proportion of women among the Kyrgyz population. The quantity will probably grow a little bit, but not very significantly, because they have already given everyone they could to us. We can no longer rely on more, physically. More than 800 thousand of them are here. This is also considering that many actually have a second citizenship here..

From the interview with the expert, Saint-Petersburg

In general, I have a feeling that Kyrgyz have become a little less. And those that are here have been already living long ago. They are legal, they are already citizens of Russia, and they have no problems at all.

From the interview with the expert, Yekaterinburg

Among those who work informally, there are more residents of small cities and rural areas: 30% and 28%, respectively, against 28% and 22% of “legals” (see Table 11, Figure 4). They have a lower level of education (mainly secondary education - 44% - versus 30% for “legal”) (Table 12, Figure 5), among them there are less of those who have families (49% vs. 59%) (Table 13, Figure 6). And they come from poorer families (34% of them have enough money only for the most necessary, against 21% of the “legals”) (Table 14, Figure 7), than those who work officially.

Figure 4. Distribution of respondents by type of settlement in the place of permanent residence, %

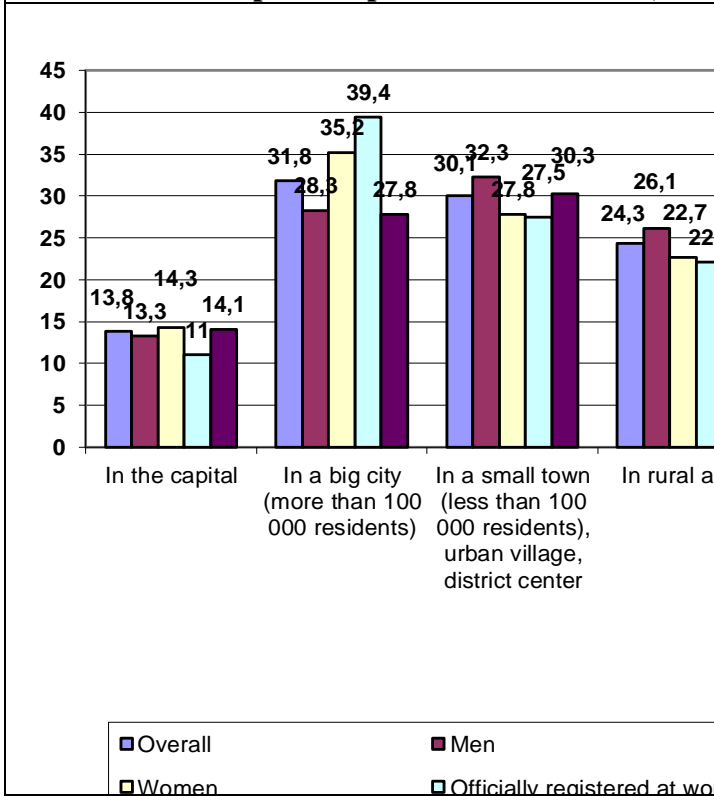


Figure 5. Distribution of respondents by education, %

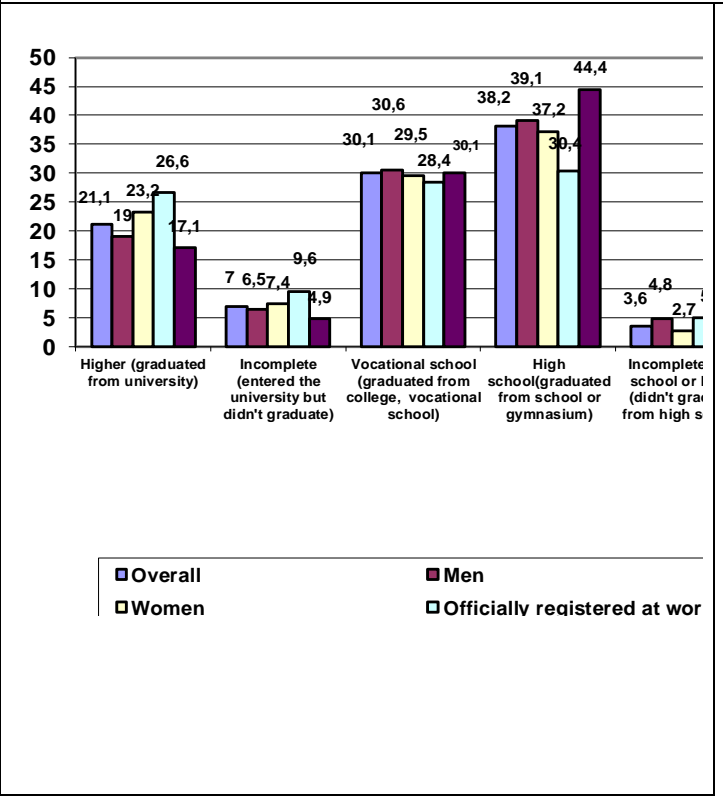


Figure 6. Distribution of respondents by marital status, %

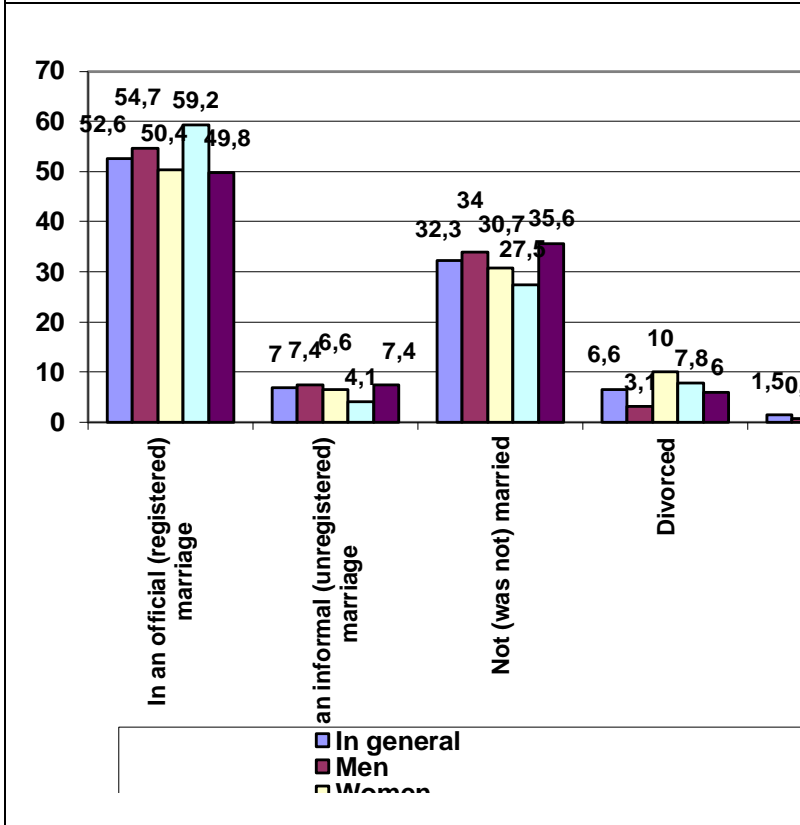
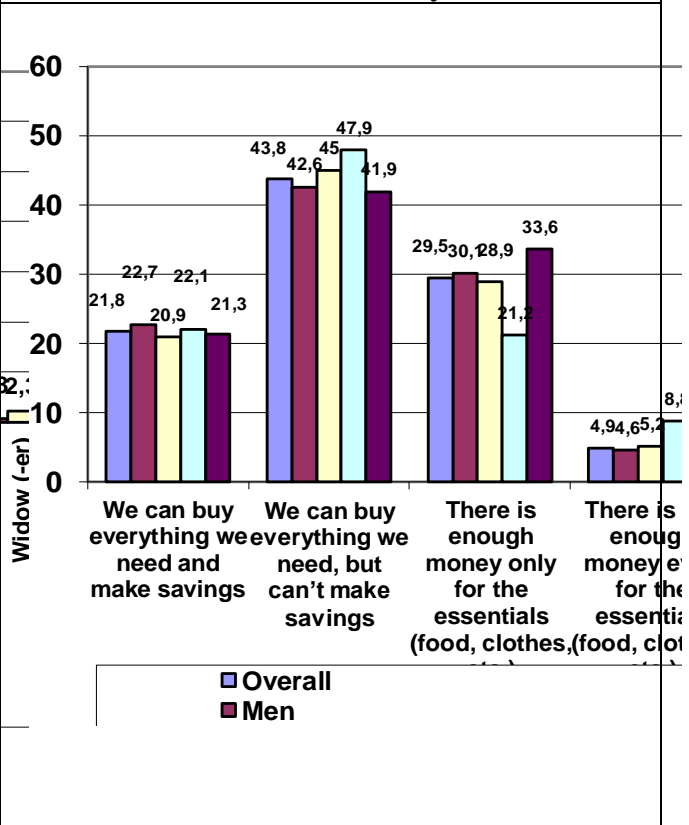


Figure 7. Distribution of respondents by current financial state of family %



The research has shown that those who work legally, on average live longer in Russia (Table 15, Figure 8), than those who live without registration of necessary documents (“legals” 4,81 years , on average

against 4,08 years of workers who are not registered legally). Among those who work legally, there are also more of those who aim at settling in Russia or for a longer stay in the Russian Federation (Table 16, Figure 9).

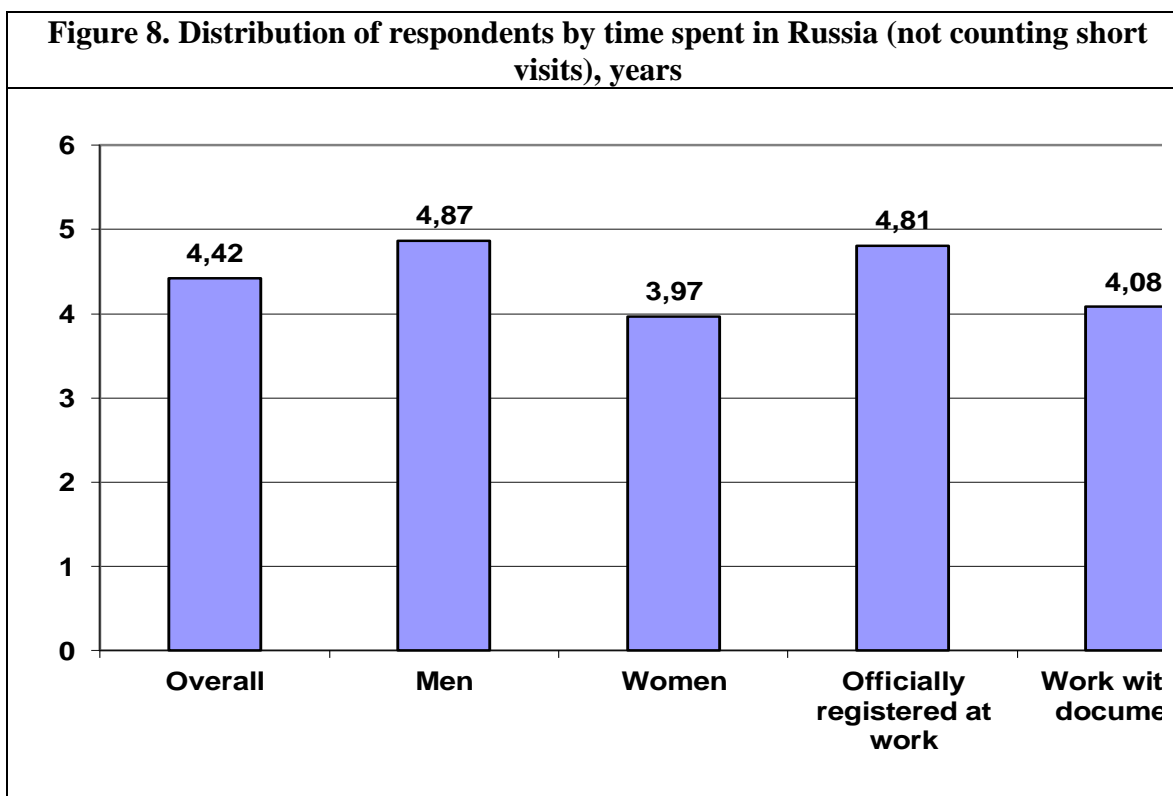
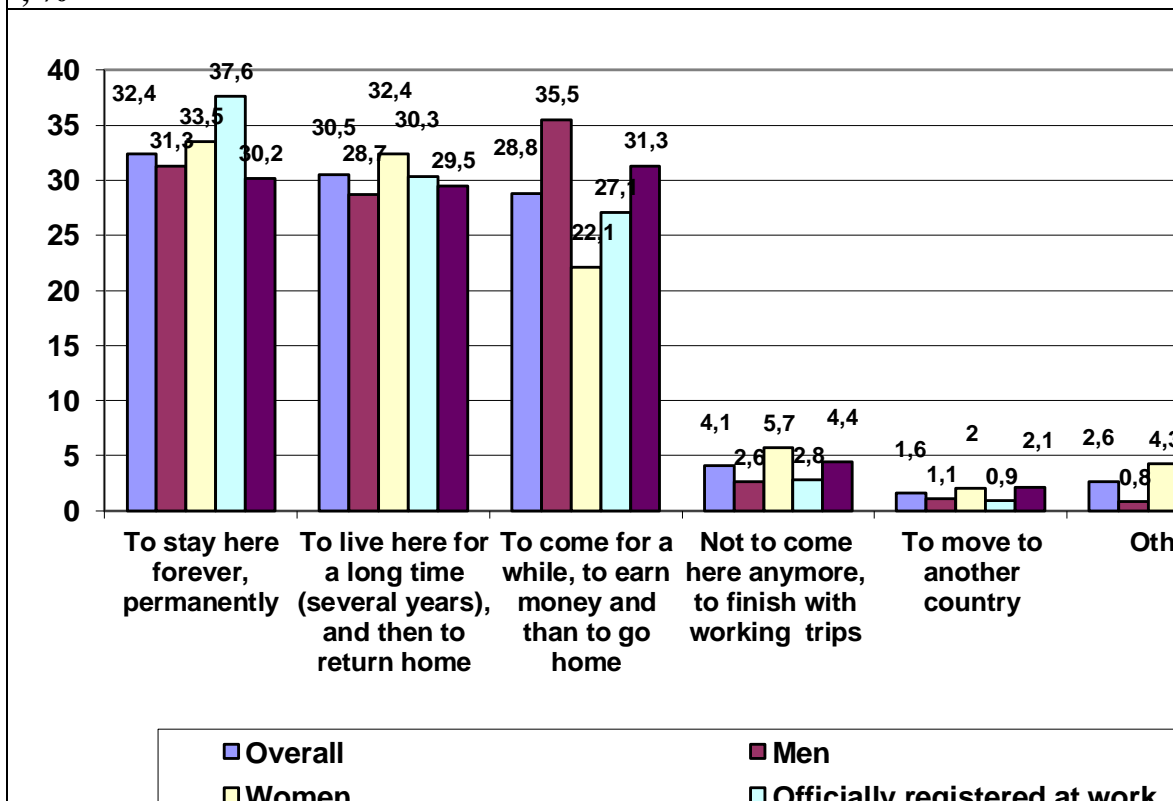


Figure 9. Distribution of respondents by their future plans during the stay in Russia, %



Migrants from Kyrgyzstan are distributed unequally across Russia. For instance, there are fewer migrants in St. Petersburg than in Moscow²⁷.

²⁷ It is possible that among those Kyrgyzstanis who work in St. Petersburg, there are more immigrants from the south of Kyrgyzstan - Uzbeks by nationality who merge with the mass of migrants from Uzbekistan that are visually noticeable.

Citizens of Kyrgyzstan are not very noticeable in St. Petersburg. The Moscow labor market is large; it easily attracts and assimilates citizens of Kyrgyzstan, who are so easily legalized, because the salary is higher. Perhaps Moscow labor market attracts and assimilates them more. Visually, they may not be visible, but they are in a more hidden workplaces. And there are fewer Kyrgyz than Uzbeks and Tajiks, and they are concentrated intensively at some points - in Moscow and maybe somewhere else. And in St. Petersburg there are fewer of them. I can not say why.

From the interview with the expert, St. Petersburg

May be experts do not single out Uzbeks separately - citizens of Kyrgyzstan (mainly from the south of Kyrgyzstan) and Uzbeks from Uzbekistan.

Kazakhstan

According to IOM there were up to 100 thousand migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan in Kazakhstan in 2016²⁸.

Table 1.2. Kyrgyz citizens stay with temporary registration in Kazakhstan in 2011-2016, person

Year	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	June 2016
Person	93848	103001	93127	94313	114385	111000

Labor migration from Kyrgyzstan to Kazakhstan has several specific features that distinguish it from migration to Russia. One of these features is a fairly high level of family migration.

In contrast to the Uzbek and Tajik, Kyrgyz migration is more of a family migration.

From an interview with the expert, Astana

It has not changed with the entry into the Eurasian Union, because the migration routes remain the same – they go to relatives, to friends.

From an interview with the expert, Astana

Ethnic Kyrgyz differ from Uzbeks and Tajiks in that they have not built powerful migration networks. And we see more individual migration, say, at the level of the family, the household, and not at the level of the whole village.

From an interview with the expert, Astana

The scale of such migration is growing at a very modest pace, and it can be more adequately assessed if we take into account settlement in Kazakhstan for permanent residence and the adoption of Kazakhstani citizenship. As we will show below, in Chapter 7, such a transition from citizenship to citizenship often has an incomplete character and in fact preserves isolation of Kazakhs of Kyrgyz origin from Kazakhstani society.

From 1999 to 2017, the number of Kyrgyz citizens of Kazakhstan increased from 10 thousand to 35 thousand. That is, the number of Kyrgyz citizens of Kazakhstan increased by more than 3.5 times. Basically, this increase was due to the settling of migrant workers. Of course, there is a natural increase, but mainly due to settlings. In addition, there are migrants who have taken a residence permit. We can see it in dynamics since 1999. Here it is about 17 thousand. I have the data from the consulate and the embassy. Plus, on-site monitoring. We have an ethnocultural association in the regions, and I have called there. And the third figure is migrant workers. These are those who work with permissions, and without permissions, in any way. Today their number is 38 thousand Kyrgyz in general. We discussed with the Head of the Migration Police in Astana, that there are about 70-80 thousand foreign migrants at a time. I think there are about 40-60 thousand Kyrgyz except for citizens of Kazakhstan and those who have a residence permit in Kazakhstan. Not more. There is a

²⁸ The vulnerability of migrants and the needs of integration in Central Asia. Short review, 2016.

seasonal migration associated with agricultural work in Dzhambul region, in Almaty region, at one time they worked on tobacco there. Different areas. A little bit of growth. The same is true for markets, for construction, that are always more active in summer. Among migrants, the number of women is gradually increasing.

From an interview with the expert, Astana

Another feature of the labor migration from Kyrgyzstan to Kazakhstan is the presence of a large number of pendulum migrants who are engaged in trade and constantly move across the border of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. This migration format was formed quite a long time ago and remains to this day.

At first, the men drove, there was a strong surge, when the construction of Astana began actively. And this period itself was such, not only Astana developed, other regions as well. It was a period in the 2000s, but there is another aspect. In Kazakhstan it is more pendulum migration, especially the southern areas, Talas, Talas region, Almaty region, Dzhambul region. There are even people who will trade in the morning and go home. There are guys, there are quite a lot of them who arrived on Monday morning, worked for a week, back then five days were allowed, they were not even registered, arrived, fit into these five days and leave.

From an interview with the expert, Astana

In general, there are not so many niches where migrants from Kyrgyzstan work. Except the trade, these are drivers and handymen.

Legalization offered by Kazakhstan legislation is not profitable for them. They go once a week to their home for the goods. They get entry-exit trips, and in this situation it is easier for them not to issue anything, but to use this situation with minimal expenses for themselves. Citizens of Kyrgyzstan, if they want to work on a permanent basis, then yes. He concludes an agreement, on this basis he receives registration, but this is for permanent, and if he himself is a business entity, he must register his trade himself, I mean consumer goods. I have not met Kyrgyz builders. There are trolleybus drivers in Kazakhstan and handymen. The bulk of it is the Kyrgyz markets. They are called this way in many cities. Here it is - their main thing.

From an interview with the expert, Astana

But not all experts agreed that migrants do not seek legalization.

It is possible to reduce the number of undocumented migrants from Kyrgyzstan in Kazakhstan, if a migratory amnesty is carried out, so that people come out of the shadows and can directly legitimize their status in Kazakhstan.

From an interview with the expert, Shymkent

Labor migration to Kazakhstan is currently only a small alternative to labor migration to Russia, and in the short and medium term this situation is unlikely to change.

There are two streams overall. The vast majority will still be sent to Russia, and this will be fueled by migrant networks that are now being built. People who want to leave for permanent residence, they have already left Kyrgyzstan, they do not see for themselves a long-term future in Kyrgyzstan. In 2016, 14% was Kazakhstan, and 73% was Russia. Kazakhstan will not replace Russia. Almost no people to move from Kyrgyzstan to Kazakhstan. Plays a role for seasonal work that you can just drive up to Almaty on a minibus. This is an attractive option. Another direction is Turkey. Only 4% of the entire migration went to Turkey, and this concerns more educated people or people who for some reason did not dare to go to Russia. But this is a minority.

From an interview with the expert, Astana

Kyrgyz will simply choose Russia. Kazakhstan is not as open as Russia, and not as attractive. There was a time when there were some hopes that Kyrgyzstan is different from other countries in the region. But migration is becoming more permanent, and in general many people no longer have the question "Are we migrating or not?", But "After finishing the free university, we just leave." This is happening in Kyrgyzstan.

From an interview with the expert, Astana

Women who return to the village return in headscarf. And this comes from the fact that in general relations in these villages are very conservative. The fact that the woman left, and even left regardless of her husband, is almost a prostitution. It was just that she disgraced herself. And if she is in a scarf it is protection from such an attitude. And, interestingly, to return to Kyrgyzstan is an indicator of that you could not escape. Mainly for secular people from there who would like to leave, Russia is a freedom and Kazakhstan is not.

From an interview with the expert, Astana

The impact of Kyrgyzstan's accession to the EAEU on this stratum of migrants has been rather weak. Such migrants try to maintain their semi-legal position and do not change the strategy of their behavior.

When Kyrgyzstan joined the EAEU, it became easier for its migrants to cross the border. But not easier to work. Most migrants from Kyrgyzstan who work in Kazakhstan are in a small trade. They are temporary here, and they are not looking for a work permit and have not been looking for a work permit before. And this is the shadow economy anyway.

From an interview with the expert, Astana

They want to work as individual entrepreneurs. The registration system is more relevant for them. Kazakhstan is better because they have 30 days to registration.

From an interview with the expert, Astana

There is a difficulty to find Kyrgyz migrants in Kazakhstan. This is not due to the fact that they do not exist. They are simply not organized, and they are trying to go into the shadows. It also reflects the environment in which they are located. The impression that they are simply undesirable in Kazakhstan. This says a lot about the Eurasian project. Kazakhstan can afford a generally different attitude towards migrants from different countries.

From an interview with the expert, Astana

In general, the problem of registration for migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan in Kazakhstan has now become one of the most important. Moreover, the supervision over the implementation of this norm has increased in recent years.

Registration is a very painful question today including the citizens of Kazakhstan. There are cases when foreign citizens are registered at the place of residence, and he works and lives, for example, at a construction site. And when the migration police arrives, it reveals violations - in fact, the person does not live there. As commented to us by law enforcement agencies, this is for keeping records, that is, in order to monitor a person, his movements. It is very difficult for a foreign citizen to get registration.

From an interview with the expert, Shymkent

The system of registration at the place of residence for migrant workers also functions. It is not worth modernizing it, since in principle it is quite clear and simple. For registration, you do not need to go through bureaucratic institutions. This can be done through the e-government portal. If there is a problem, it is that citizens of Kyrgyzstan should rent housing from those owners who officially rent housing and have experience in registration, including foreigners.

From an interview with the expert, Shymkent

The key point is that you need to be somewhere registered, registered. Almost 2 years ago, a total registration campaign was announced. It was not aimed only at migrants, but also at Kazakhstanis themselves. That is, everyone had to register at home. Because very large volumes of internal migration in Kazakhstan. These are south - south, Shymkent - Almaty, South Kazakhstan (South Kazakhstan region) - Almaty and south - north, Shymkent - Astana. These uncontrolled movements of people have already caused concern.

From an interview with the expert, Almaty

To overdue registration in Russia is not a problem. And in Kazakhstan, they were very hard on the Kyrgyz. And they did it when they wanted to. Kazakhs cannot afford the same in relations with, say, Uzbekistan. Relations with Uzbekistan are strategically important. But the Kyrgyz were not protected.

From an interview with the expert, Astana

Migrants problems with registration are more serious than in Russia. They are even worse.

From an interview with the expert, Almaty

The unregulated labor migration from Kyrgyzstan to the Republic of Kazakhstan has risks. These are the risks associated with crime and with the sanitary-epidemiological situation. Migrant workers themselves can be both a cause and a victim. There are few undocumented migrants from Kyrgyzstan in Kazakhstan. Problems of documenting migrants are associated with registration by place of residence. In Kazakhstan, this procedure is regulated. Now for citizens of Kazakhstan, registration at the place of residence is also a mandatory procedure.

From an interview with the expert, Shymkent

3. Children's rights: the right to education, health, attitudes towards children from Kyrgyzstan in Russia and Kazakhstan

Russia

The study showed that approximately half of the respondents had children under 17 years old (53%, Table 17, Figure 10). Not all took their children to Russia: about 60% (Table 18, Figure 11) left all their children at home, and about a third (32%) took them on a trip. Every tenth person surveyed had one of the children left at home.

The main reasons that children do not travel with their parents are the inability of migrant workers to provide them with proper care in Russia (36%, Table 19, Figure 12), and also that parents go to earn money, and with children who are with them in Russia, it will be more difficult to do (22% of parents cited such a reason). Also among the reasons were the reluctance to take children away from school (17%), the high cost of keeping children in Russia (13%) and the unwillingness of children to live with their parents in Russia (5%).

Of course, living without children is a serious test for both children and their parents, and carries serious risks for children (lack of parental attention and control, possible difficulties in shaping the child's personality, growing without one or both parents and etc.).

Figure 10. Distribution of respondents by presence of children under 17 years old (inclusive), %

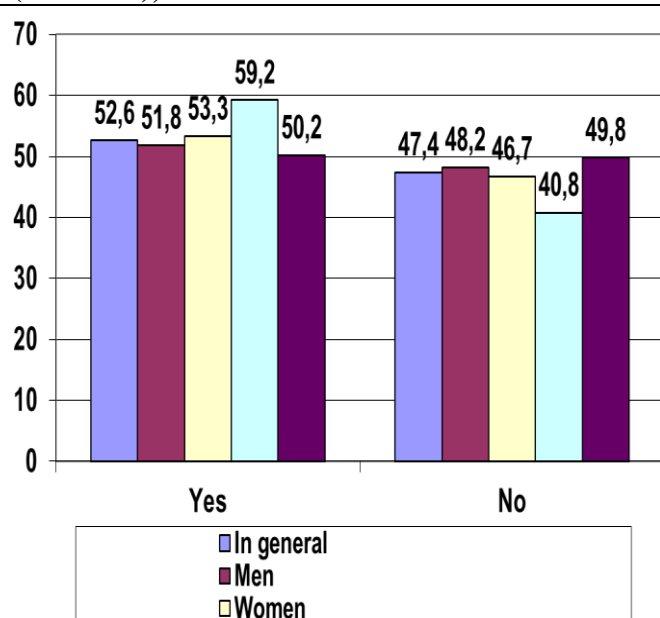


Figure 11. Distribution of respondents by current whereabouts of children, %

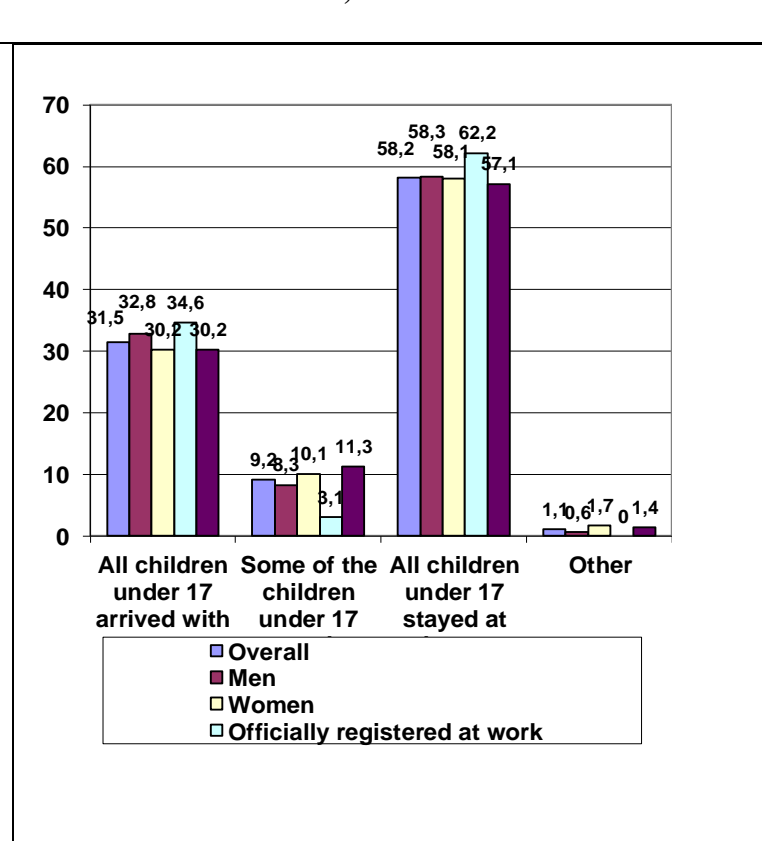


Figure 12. Distribution of respondents by the reasons of absence of children (some of the children) under 17 years old along with them in Russia, %

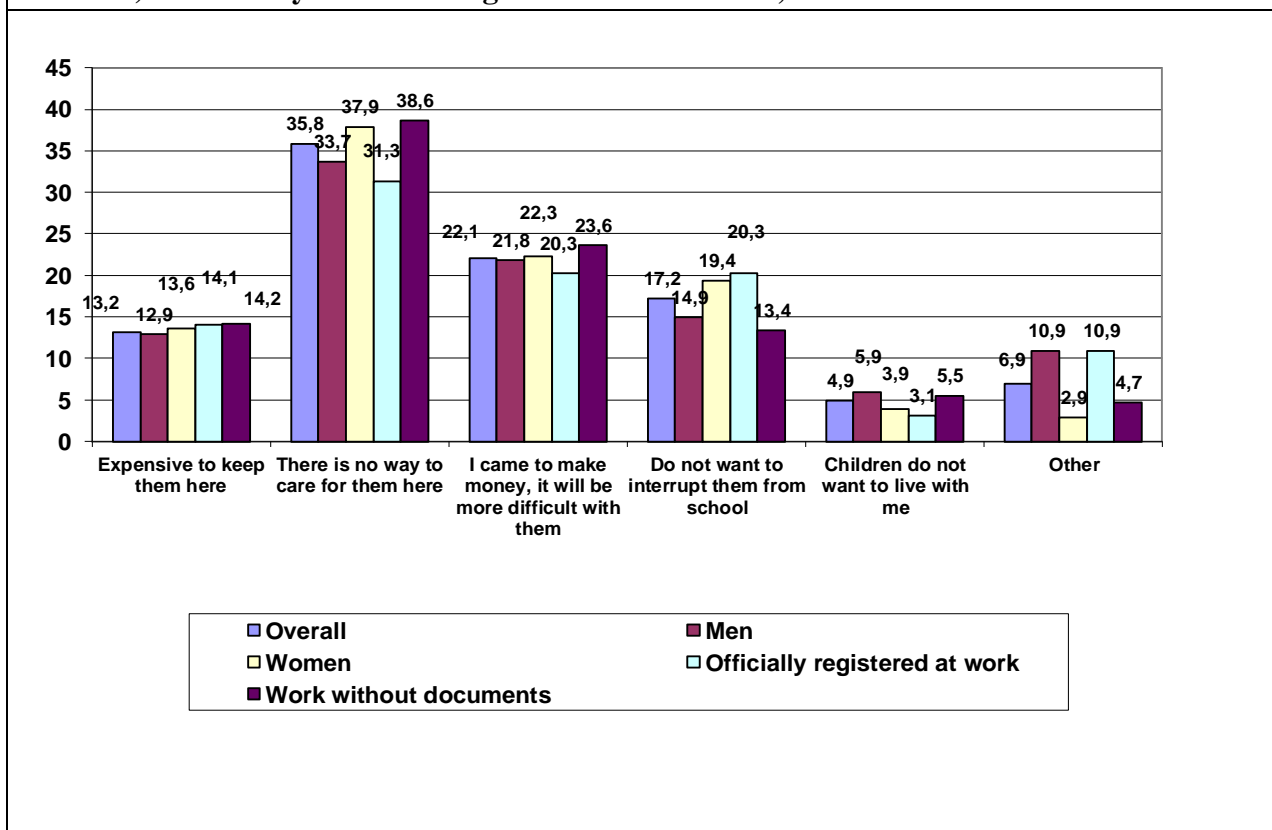
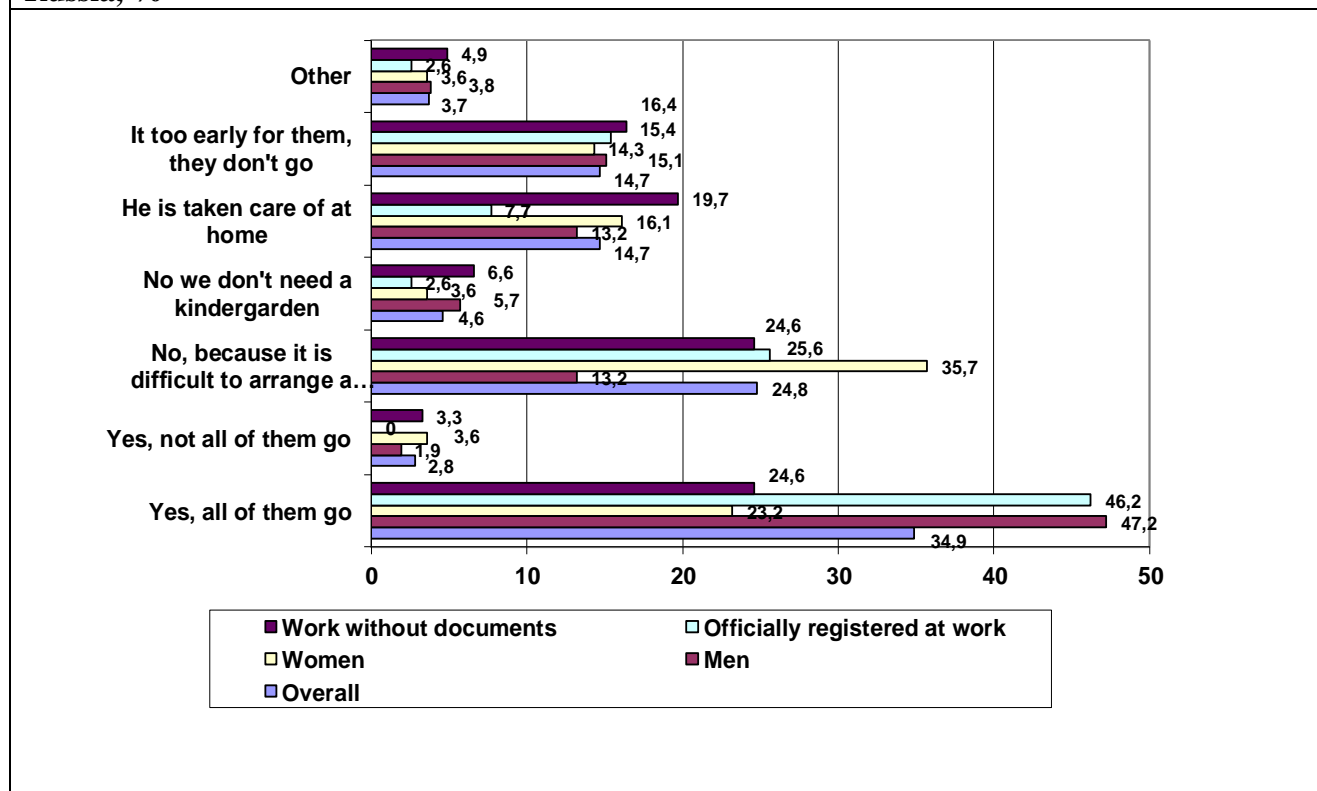


Figure 13. Distribution of respondents by attendance of their children of the kindergarten in Russia, %



The access of children of migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan to education is not the same: access to kindergarten is more difficult than access to school.

More than a third of young children (35%) go to kindergarten, a quarter of young children (25%) do not attend kindergarten (Table 20, Figure 13), since it was difficult for parents to arrange children in

kindergarten. Another 3% of respondents answered that not all young children attend kindergarten. 15% of respondents answered that they take care of children at home, and that their children are still too small to go to kindergarten, 5% of respondents answered that their children do not need kindergarten.

As a rule, the lack of registration and the lack of places in kindergartens become the main obstacles for kindergarten placement.

Parents are arranged by junior staff in kindergarten (nannies) - well, migrant mothers. And thanks to this, their [children of migrants - DP] are taken to kindergartens on preferential terms. And this, by the way, caused a slight strain. Our kindergarten situation has more or less returned to normal, this has ceased to be a very tough problem.

From the interview with the expert, Yekaterinburg

Unfortunately, there are very few adequate statistics to estimate the number of children of migrants from Kyrgyzstan to Russia. Experts also talked about this.

Many children don't attend school and don't even attend kindergartens. They are not involved in this system at all. We now have an idea that we have so many children. It is clear that some of them left the Sverdlovsk region. But we cannot understand how many of them, for example, go to school, attend some educational institutions. Such indicators, in principle, are not received such statistics are not gathered. And educational institutions (schools, for example, and this applies to medical institutions, too, when we are talking about children) - they also do not have this data. In general, this problem is catastrophic. We have no statistics reflecting the situation with children. We really do not have a holistic view of this category of the population living in the territory of our city, our region, the country as a whole. And that, of course, is the problem.

From the interview with the expert, Yekaterinburg

Access to schools for school-age children is much better (Table 21, Figure 14): 80% of children go to school. Children of 16% of parents do not go to school, and 4.5% of the respondents of school-age children come to Russia during the school holidays. Problems with schooling (Table 22, Figure 15) occurred in 34% of school-age children. They were mainly related to the lack of registration at the place of residence, which is necessary for the electronic registration of the foreign child at school, and the lack of free places at schools nearby.

According to experts, the situation with the access of children from Kyrgyzstan to schools is positive.

It became easier to arrange children in schools. And the situation in this regard has seriously changed, compared with the same Tajik, Uzbek migrants. Seriously changed. Their registration is renewed, and then they can enroll in the school, on the basis of this registration.

From the interview with the expert, St. Petersburg

As a rule, children from Kyrgyzstan do not concentrate entirely in particular schools²⁹, but there are exceptions. Let's take Yekaterinburg as an example.

There is simply more Kyrgyz children than before. We have a second generation of children of Kyrgyz migrants who are somehow easier going, their number increased. It's a bit easier for them, just a bit, because they know the language better. We have a school in the city where there are many Kyrgyz. The so-called "Kyrgyz" school. It is conditionally "Kyrgyz" of course in fact it is a school that implements programs for children with disabilities. It happened so that this school became "Kyrgyz". Children are brought there from different places by their parents. The story is that they have developed bilingualism there. Good, comfortable, safe (most importantly), parents are not afraid to give away children. The school needs students. The area where this school is located is not the most prestigious, and this school is not the best. But parents are happy, their children are happy, teachers are happy - everyone is happy.

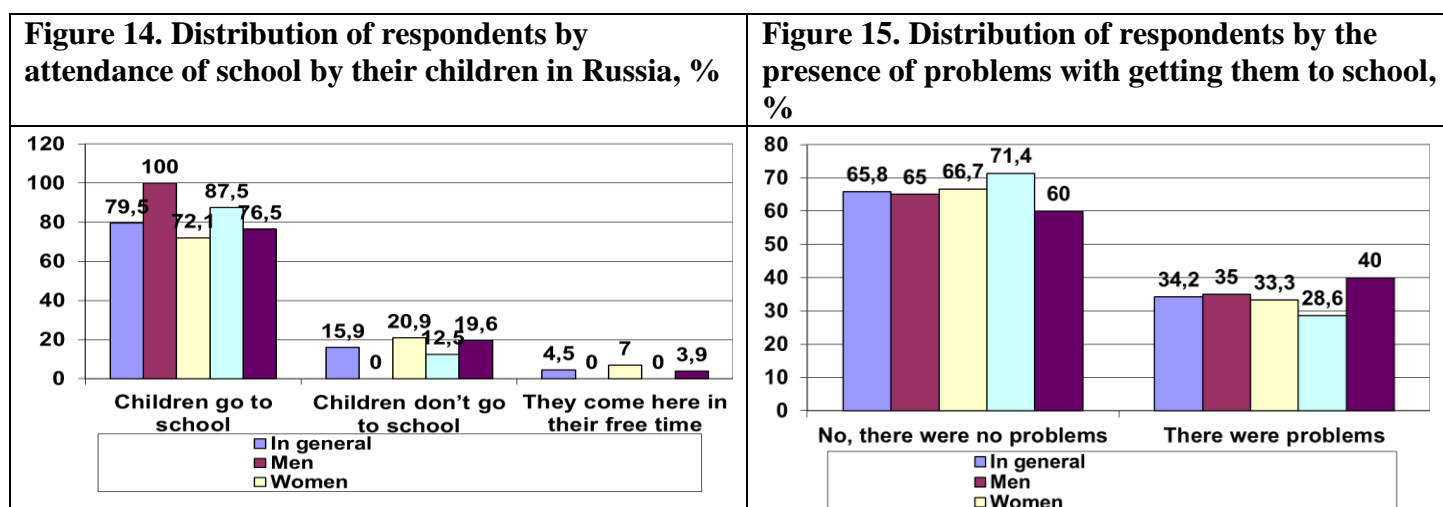
From the interview with the expert, Yekaterinburg

²⁹ Zaionchkovskaya Zh.A., Poletaev D.V., Florinskaya Y.F., Mkrchyan N.V., Doronina K.A. Protection of the rights of Muscovites in conditions of mass migration. M.: The Commissioner for Human Rights in the city of Moscow, the NGO "Center for Migration Studies", 2014.

Regarding the schools - I can not say what is the proportion of those who attend schools. We had a terrible event last year. An eleven-year-old Kyrgyz girl was sent by her mother to help her older sister take care of her child to us in Yekaterinburg. The girl did not attend school, and as a result she disappeared. It was winter. There were many different conversations - and the portraits were hung, and so forth. Then, they found her in the spring. She wandered into the garages and she froze to death. And because she did not go to school, she was not counted - without taking into account, without everything, that is, she was in an illegal position. She cared for her petty nephews. She went to the store to wash the floors, something else, but did not attend school. There are quite a few such cases, this is a common practice. Teenagers do not attend school, especially for girls. And they are engaged in helping their elder brothers, sisters, parents, work. Sad theme.

From the interview with the expert, Yekaterinburg

Unfortunately as in other researches³⁰, we received evidence that some girls in high school are forced to leave school, as they should help in caring for younger children in the family or their parents for work. With boys this happens less frequently.



Basically, the attitude towards children from Kyrgyzstan (Table 23, Figure 16) in Russian schools is good - about 80% of parents noted this. About 5% of the surveyed parents stated that the attitude is unfriendly. It should be noted that parents who are not officially employed reported a higher level of ill-treatment of their children at school (7%).

About half of the parents (47%) take their children to doctors for prevention (Table 24, Figure 17), 45% of parents lead their children in Russia to doctors only when an urgent need arises. This is mainly due to the high cost of a medical policy that covers all necessary medical services for children, and to the fact that not all migrant parents can buy it. The situation is particularly difficult for those Kyrgyz people who have several children in their families, and they all live in Russia.

³⁰ See, for example, Migrant Women from the CIS countries in Russia / ed. Tyuryukanova E.V. - M.: MAKS Press, 2011; Zayonchkovskaya Z. A., Poletaev D.V., Florinskaya Y.F., Mkrtrchyan N.V., Doronina K.A. Protection of the rights of Muscovites in conditions of mass migration. M.: The Commissioner for Human Rights in Moscow, the NGO "Center for Migration Studies", 2014.

Figure 16. Distribution of respondents by the attitude towards their children in Russian school, %

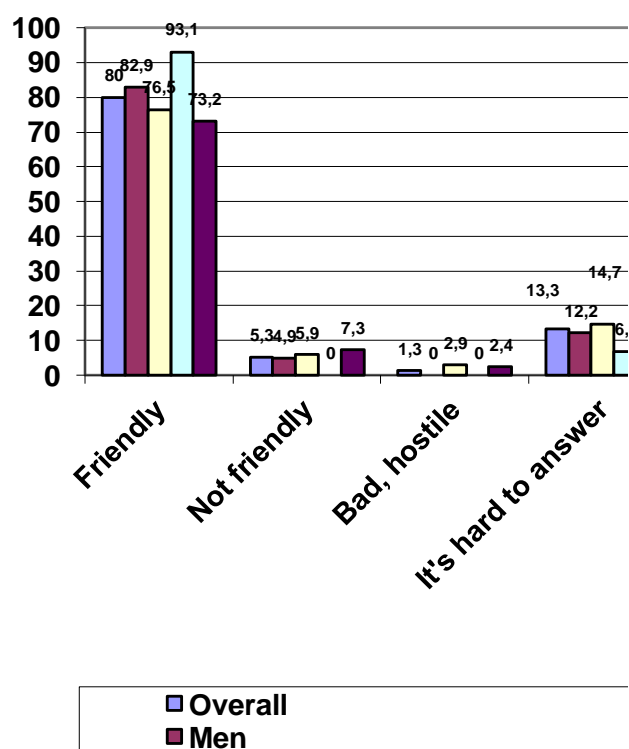
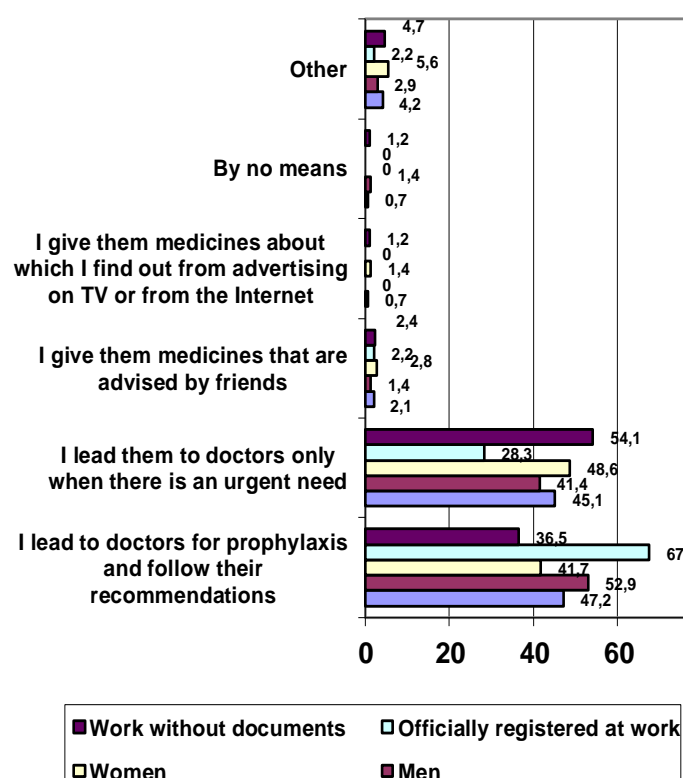


Figure 17. Distribution of respondents by the ways their children are cured from diseases in Russia, %



It can be predicted that in the short and medium term, the number of children from Kyrgyzstan in Russian schools will gradually increase, since migration from Kyrgyzstan to Russia is feminized³¹, and more and more of these migrants come to Russia with their families or create families already in Russia.

There will be an increase in the number of children, especially of schoolchildren, who are in their first year of study in Russia, simply due to a family migration.

From the interview with the expert, St. Petersburg

Kazakhstan

As in Russia, the main obstacle to the access of children of migrants from Kyrgyzstan to schools is the lack of official status of their parents, since registration is required when they enroll in a school.

There is order of the Minister regarding the access of children of migrants. It says so that children of migrants are accepted to school with the settled status of migrants. Settled - even if you have a weekly, monthly registration, they were obliged to accept. But now, over the past 2-3 years, there has been a tightening of the control regime.

From the interview with the expert, Astana

This question is controlled only when accepting children. During the school year, it is not controlled so much. I will add that children from 1 to 4 grade, regardless of their status, are provided with free meals in schools.

From the interview with the expert, Astana

There were no problems with this. It was necessary only to collect the necessary documents and find a nearby school. In Kazakhstan, admission to school is carried out through an electronic portal. In the case of migrants

³¹ Poletaev D.V. Female labor migration from Central Asia to Russia (on the example of Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan) Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Social and Political Studies, Center for Social Demography. Demography. Sociology. Economy. Volume 3, No. 1, 2017. Female migration: forms, trends, consequences, pp. 34-55.

from Kyrgyzstan, difficulties may arise. For example, they do not have an individual identification number (IIN).

From the interview with the expert, Almaty

The situation has improved. They used to say, for example, that the school was full. Or forced the child to get an IIN [individual identification number - DP] and, until the child receives it, they did not accept him to school. So there are such bureaucratic procedures.

From the interview with the expert, Almaty

A Kyrgyz citizen came to work, he has a small child of school age. The following ordinary documents are needed: ID, birth certificate of a child, address certificate, certificate of child's health. If he is not registered in the place where he lives, it will be a violation of the law. Even for the citizens of Kazakhstan, if they do not live at their place of residence, they can be brought to administrative responsibility.

From the interview with the expert, Almaty

As in Russia, in Kazakhstan there is a problem of registering children of migrants from Kyrgyzstan, which does not ensure control by Kazakhstan in obtaining a mandatory minimum education.

And in order for this child to go to school, there is no database in Kazakhstan, there is no control over migrant's children.

From the interview with the expert, Astana

If parents who have difficulties with getting a child to school not at the place of registration, still decide to arrange a child in a school nearby with their real place of residence, this is not so easy to achieve.

If people decide to go to the end with this, they attach it. As a rule, they are refused due to registration. In these cases, not without problems. They attract human rights defenders.

From the interview with the expert, Astana

Nevertheless experts state that minimal statistics on Kyrgyz children and children of Kyrgyz nationality exist.

This figure is somewhere more than four thousand people overall in Kazakhstan. These are children of Kyrgyz nationality. Somewhere 75% of them are children of migrants. The rest are children of Kyrgyz, citizens of Kazakhstan.

From the interview with the expert, Astana

4. The right to work, as well as the degree of fair and favorable working conditions for labor migrants from Kyrgyzstan in Russia and Kazakhstan

Russia

Changes in Russian legislation in 2015 liberalized employment conditions for foreign labor migrants from the EAEU. Since 2015, Kyrgyzstanis should not receive patents for employment in Russia. The example of Kyrgyzstanis make changes in the EAEU labor market clearly visible.

Table 1. Stay of foreign citizens from the EAEU in the Russian Federation, as of the date, person

	02.06.2014	01.06.2015	01.06.2016	01.06.2017	01.06.2018
Armenia	509223	522757	508774	507068	504835
Belorussia	415656	551886	711193	676082	617633
Kazakhstan	567096	664099	555435	552900	459257
Kyrgyzstan	545502	505882	565127	622899	638735

The Source: Migration Board of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russian Federation and the Central Database of Accounting for Foreign Citizens

The expectations of migrant workers associated with the simplification of employment procedures and obtaining permits, basically met, and their life in Russia became easier.

A study conducted by TSPC AUCA in 2016³² showed that, in the opinion of 45% of Kyrgyz citizens, the changes greatly facilitated their employment. According to 31%, it became a little easier for them to find a job. And only 8% of the Kyrgyz respondents thought that the changes almost did not help them to find a job, another 5% noted the absence of changes in employment.

Well, about whether it became easier for Kyrgyz citizens to get a job. I think so, it became easier to some extent. Because, after all, it is easier for employers to register citizens of the Eurasian Customs Union in order to pay less taxes. Exactly, like the citizens of Russia, 13% are retained. Yes it became easier. It became easier for employers to register Kyrgyzstan. It has become easier for the migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan to get a job. Since you do not need a patent, because of saving money, it has become easier. Once arrived, they made registration, also through the employer, on the basis of an employment contract, renew for 1 year. They are easily walking, working, just like me.

Labor migrant from KR, 32 years old, HR Manager in cafe, Moscow, 2016

When we arrived here, we spent about 30,000 on documents immediately upon arrival, it was hard, to be honest. When parents arrived, first they got into debt and spent all this money on documents. And now everything is done much easier, we come, we register - and that's all, without any work permits. It is easier in material terms. But probably finding a job is as hard as it was.

Labor migrant from KR, 25 years old seller of women's clothing in the market, St. Petersburg, 2016

Of course, it has changed, the most important thing is that the documents are being done better, and before the permission and patent were needed. And now no patent ... contract and registration, that's all. It is

³² As part of the study "Analysis of the labor market situation in the Russian Federation in order to effectively employ migrant workers from the Kyrgyz Republic and the Republic of Tajikistan", 1001 migrant workers from Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan aged 15 to 60 years in the Russian Federation were surveyed (from 1 June to 31 August 2016).). 501 respondents were interviewed in Moscow, 250 in St. Petersburg, and another 250 in Yekaterinburg. The sample was arranged according to the following parameters: age (34% - from 15 to 25 years, 33% - from 26 to 35 years, 33% - from 36 to 60 years), gender (70% - men, 30% - women), country outcomes (50% from Kyrgyzstan, 50% from Tajikistan), work experience in Russia (50% - with work experience of 1-2 years, 50% - work experience for 3 years or more) and main areas of employment (maximum possible diversity). Semi-structured interviews with experts were conducted (15 interviews in total: 8 in Moscow, 3 in St. Petersburg, 4 in Yekaterinburg) and in-depth interviews with migrant workers from Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan in Russia (21 interviews in total: 4 in Moscow, 5 - in St. Petersburg, 5 - in Yekaterinburg, 7 - in Kazan, 50% of the interviews were conducted with migrant workers from Tajikistan, 50% - from Kyrgyzstan).

inexpensive. And earlier this was always done through intermediaries. We did not try ourselves, we had no time.

Labor migrant from the Kyrgyz Republic, storekeeper in the store, 36 years old, Yekaterinburg, 2016

Yes, it became easier for sure. Because before it was impossible to get a job without the patent, now it is possible, it became much easier for the Kyrgyz citizens. Now there is a work agreement, and before there was not.

Labor migrant from KR, 27 years old, a cook, Kazan, 2016

Yes much easier. And, it is easier to negotiate with the employers because they are more informed. The patent indicated specific activities that can person do after receiving it. While now there are more choices. That is why it is easier. There are less expenses.

Labor migrant from KR, 24 years old, cashier in café, Kazan, 2016

Yes, are you kidding, it became much easier? Big changes occurred, I am working legally, it became much easier. First of all it is much easier to be hired. You can be officially hired because you have documents. Second, you just like other citizens receive a salary, and all of it is registered, no one will lie to you or betray. You receive your salary on time and work normally. The salary is the same but it became easier to get a job. No problems.

Labor migrant from KR, 26 years old, manager in cafe, Kazan, 2016

According to the 2016 research of the Center of Migration Studies³³ 71% of migrants from Kyrgyzstan in Russia had a written labor agreement with the employer in 2016 (Tables 2, 3, 4). And, this is taking into account that 43% of Kyrgyzstanis received their salaries officially. So, more than half of the written agreements were not registered officially. As the research of the Center of Migration Studies has repeatedly demonstrated,³⁴ lack of agreement with the employer is to certain extent the decision of the migrant himself. So in 2016, 45% of those who did not have an agreement claimed that the employer refused to sign a work agreement, and 48% claimed that they themselves do not need an agreement.

Table 2. Distribution of respondents –Kyrgyzstanis in Russia on the presence of a written contract with an employer, 2016, N= 500, %

	Kyrgyzstan overall	Kyrgyzstan, men	Kyrgyzstan, women
There is a written contract with an employer	70,5	72,2	67,1
There is no written contract with an employer	29,5	27,8	32,9
	100,0	100,0	100, 0

Table 3. Distribution of respondents by the reasons of lack of the labor contract, 2016, N= 500, %

	Kyrgyzstan overall	Kyrgyzstan, men	Kyrgyzstan, women
The employer refuses to enter into a contract	45,0	46,0	43,4
The respondent himself doesn't need a contract	47,9	50,6	43,4
Other	7,1	3,4	13,2
	100,0	100,0	100, 0

³³ Within the framework of the 2016 project, AUCA TSPC "Analysis of the labor market situation in the Russian Federation for the purpose of effective employment of migrant workers from the Kyrgyz Republic and the Republic of Tajikistan"».

³⁴ See. Tyuryukanova E. V. and others. Migrant women from CIS countries in Russia. Series: Migration barometer in the Russian Federation. Moscow: MAX Press, 2011; Zayonchkovskaya Zhanna and others. Domestic workers in Russia and Kazakhstan, Almaty: UN Women, Ex Libris, 2014.

Table 4. Distribution of respondents by the way of receiving the salary, 2016, N= 500, %

	Kyrgyzstan overall	Kyrgyzstan, men	Kyrgyzstan, women
According to the statement,through the bank, to the card	42,9	46,2	36,3
In cash without a statement ("in an envelope")	45,3	42,9	50,0
Partially - so, partially - so	10,2	9,1	12,5
Doesn't receive salary in cash	0,0	0,0	0,0
Other	1,6	1,8	1,2
	100,0	100,0	100, 0

In 2017 already 61% of the interviewed Kyrgyzstanis claimed that they have a written labor agreement with the employer (against 71% in 2016), and 38% claimed that employer refused to sign the agreement. In 2017, 31% Kyrgyzstanis claimed that they receive salary officially, with official statements and through the bank, to the bank card (Table 35, Figure28). Deletion by type of salary shows us the number of fictitious / invalid contracts. As we see, the number of those Kyrgyzstanis who really have agreements is twice less, the number of those who think that such agreement is signed.

So only in one year the number of Kyrgyzstanis legally employed in Russia, lowered to 11%, a number of Kyrgyzstanis who in their opinion had written work agreement lowered to 10%. Such a departure to informal status is a very disturbing trend.

The format of going to work for legally employed is different from informally employed: their labor migration strategies are a bit more often set up for a long stay (Table 25, Figure 18) than for those who work informally.

In the overwhelming majority of cases, legally employed Kyrgyz people work in an organization or firm (93%), whereas among informally employed people only half (51%) (Table 26, Figure 19). At the same time, it is those who do not legalize their labor relations who work mainly for private individuals (45%), a minority of the “legals” of these (6%).

Figure 18. Distribution of respondents by the type of departure for earnings, %

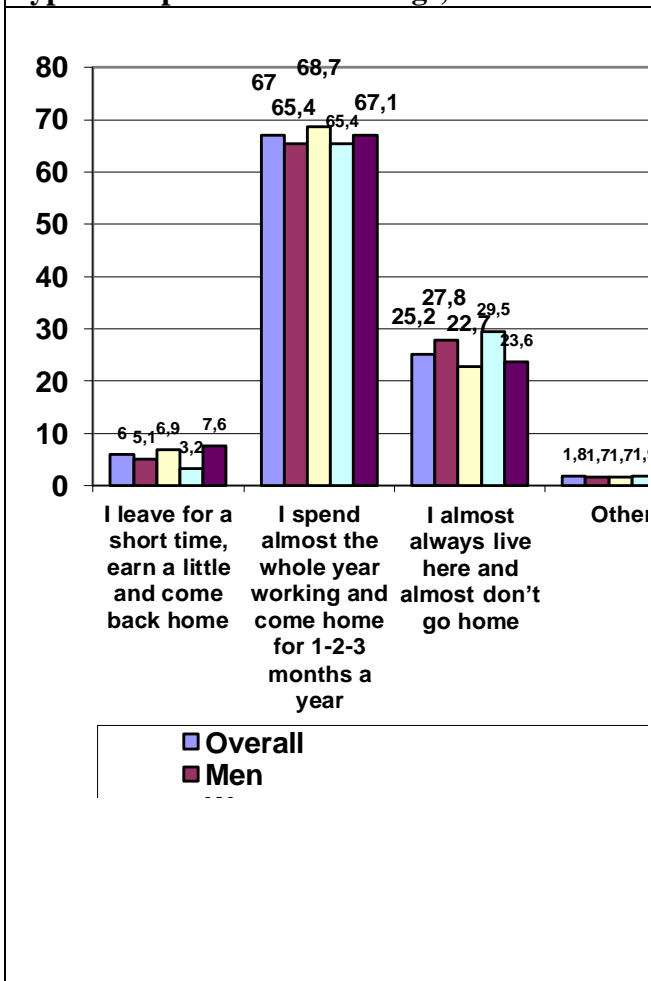
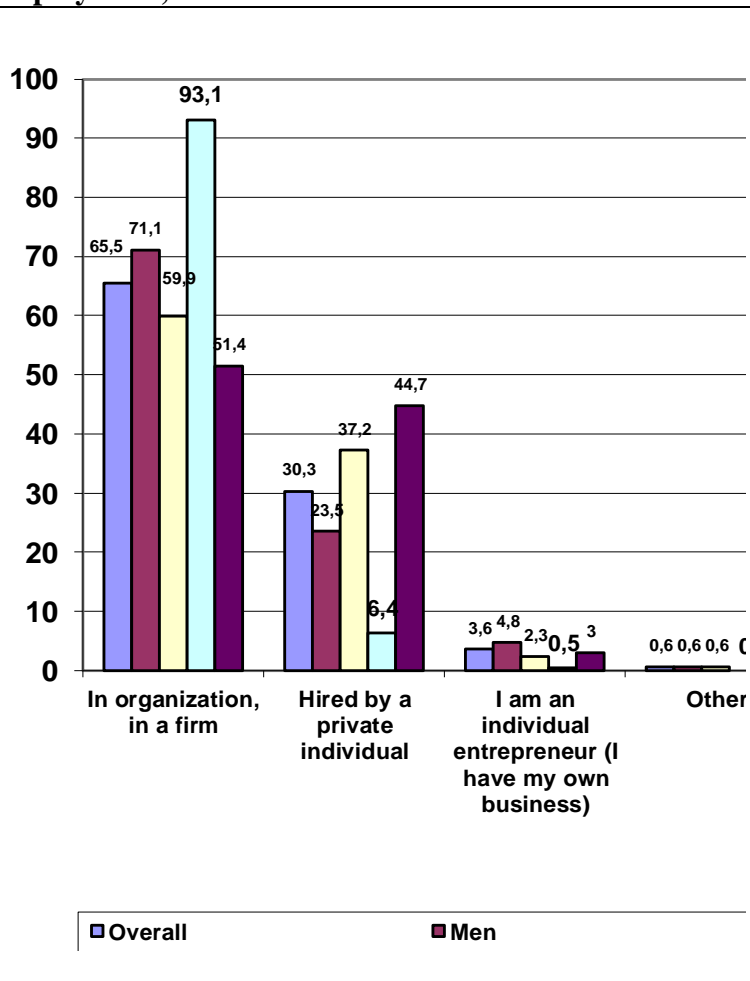


Figure 19. Distribution of respondents by the type of employment, %



The distribution by employment was the following (Table 27, Figure 20). 26% work in the service sector, 29% in trade, about 20% in construction, 12% in transport services and communications, 5% in housing and communal services, 3% in households, 2.4% in industry, 1.3% - in the health care system.

We observe the largest gender gap in the service sector: only 12% of men and 41% (!) of women are employed here.

*Mostly women from Kyrgyzstan are employed by cleaning companies, as cleaners in stores and hotels.
From the expert interview, Yekaterinburg*

Those who are officially registered at work, more often work in industry (4.1% versus 1.2% among those who are not registered legally), in housing and utilities (14.2% versus 0.7%) and in health care (3.2% vs. 0.2%). There are almost no differences in formally and informally employed in the services sector (26.6% versus 25.3%) and trade (26.6% versus 29.5%). But in construction (23.2% versus 12.8%), in the field of transport and communications (13.7% versus 9.6%), as well as in the household (5.3% versus 0.5%) informally busy workers clearly prevail.

We would like to highlight two areas of employment of migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan. These are taxi drivers and the so-called "white collars" - bank employees, clerks. So, drivers from Kyrgyzstan have the opportunity to use their national rights in Russia³⁵ and this is their advantage over migrant workers - taxi drivers from other countries. Regarding the "white collar" expert opinions diverged. Practitioners working in the field of assistance to migrant workers believe that Russians of Kyrgyz origin work in offices and banks rather than labor migrants from Kyrgyzstan.

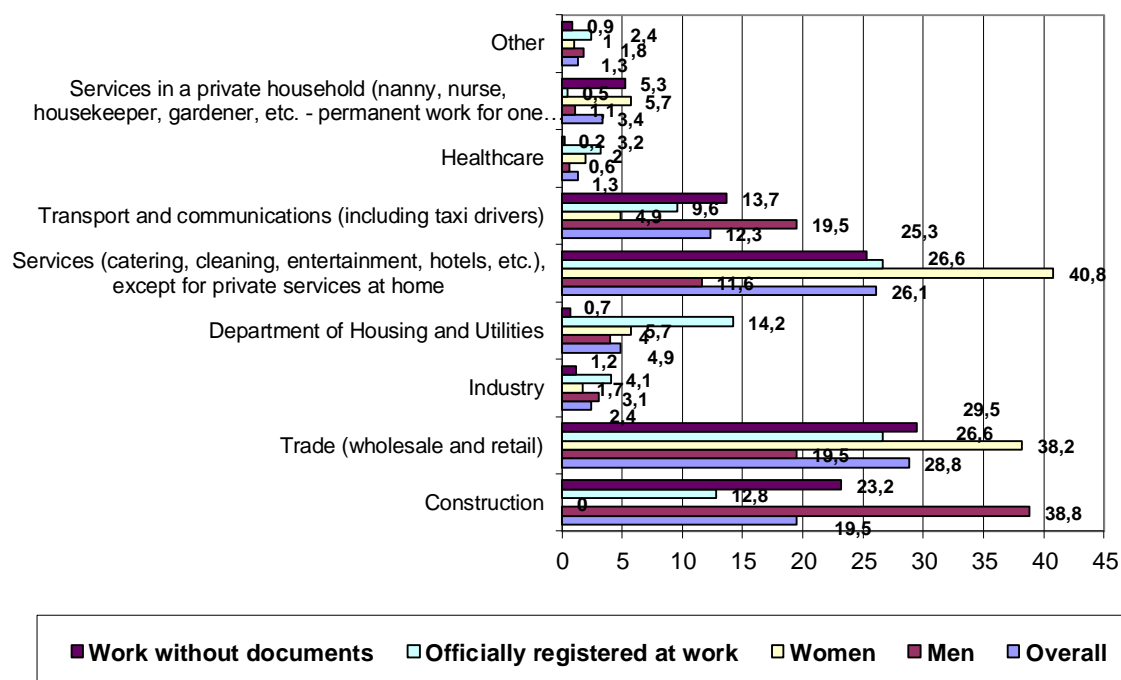
³⁵ Putin allowed Kyrgyz citizens to drive cars in the Russian Federation on national rights. RIA News, 27.07.2017
<https://ria.ru/society/20170727/1499234826.html>

The most protected group is route taxi drivers. Russian is now an official language in Kyrgyzstan, even their foreign documents are appropriate in Russia now.

From an expert interview, Moscow

I have not met the citizens of Kyrgyzstan who work in Russian banks in my practice. Probably, these are former citizens of Kyrgyzstan, and we interpret them purely outwardly as citizens of Kyrgyzstan, thinking that they are citizens of another country. Commercial banks take very seriously the choice of professionals who work at the reception, to serve the public. And, probably, there is a very small number of citizens of Kyrgyzstan. And the citizens of Kyrgyzstan work at the cash desks of the shops, they work in the same chain hypermarkets.

From an expert interview, Moscow

Figure 20. Distribution of respondents by the spheres of employment, %

Migrants from Kyrgyzstan are mostly looking for work through “their own acquaintances” (74%). 9% are looking for a job through an ad in the media, 8% through an ad or online advertisement, 4% through an intermediary. Only about 2% (actually at the level of statistical error!) Applied to state structures (employment services). Among those who work informally, it is much more common to seek work through relatives, friends or acquaintances (81% of them do this) than among those officially employed (60%, Table 28, Figure 21).

The fact that migrant workers prefer to seek work through diaspora ties puts them in risk from time to time when they do not even consider the option of formalizing the contract and become vulnerable to fraud and deception.

Now they use the services of intermediaries from their diaspora and draw up fake employment contracts, only to register. And then they are in the free search. Accordingly, since there are no contracts, no one pays any taxes. And this leads to very bad consequences. They are “thrown” at wages, are not paid a salary. This is a big problem.

From an interview with expert, Ekaterinburg

Organizations that issue fake contracts are associated with the diaspora, directly, with their business.

From an interview with expert, Ekaterinburg

They do not constitute contracts - this is a two-way process. That is, that and the other side are violators. The employer avoids taxes, and Kyrgyz citizens believe that it is easier for them to buy a fake contract for a thousand and a half and get themselves registered for a whole year, and everything else - we are in a free search: I work there where I want.

From an interview with expert, Ekaterinburg

Regarding the illegal work, a terrible picture is obtained. Cleaning companies are the main violators of Kyrgyz. They use this work in a very obscene way. They fire, throw out, do not pay wages and, most importantly, do not pay any social taxes. This is an outsourcing. No one wants to do anything about it.

From an interview with expert, Ekaterinburg

Construction gives rise to the absolute powerlessness of migrants, no worse than cleaning companies. The housing and utilities sector concludes employment contracts, because the money must somehow be settled. They conclude contracts with them, there are a lot of Kyrgyz citizens there, they are easier to draw up. The housing and utilities sector is a significant violation of the labor rights of migrants, but they do have contracts - they cannot take this away from housing and communal services, they sign contracts.

From an interview with expert, Moscow

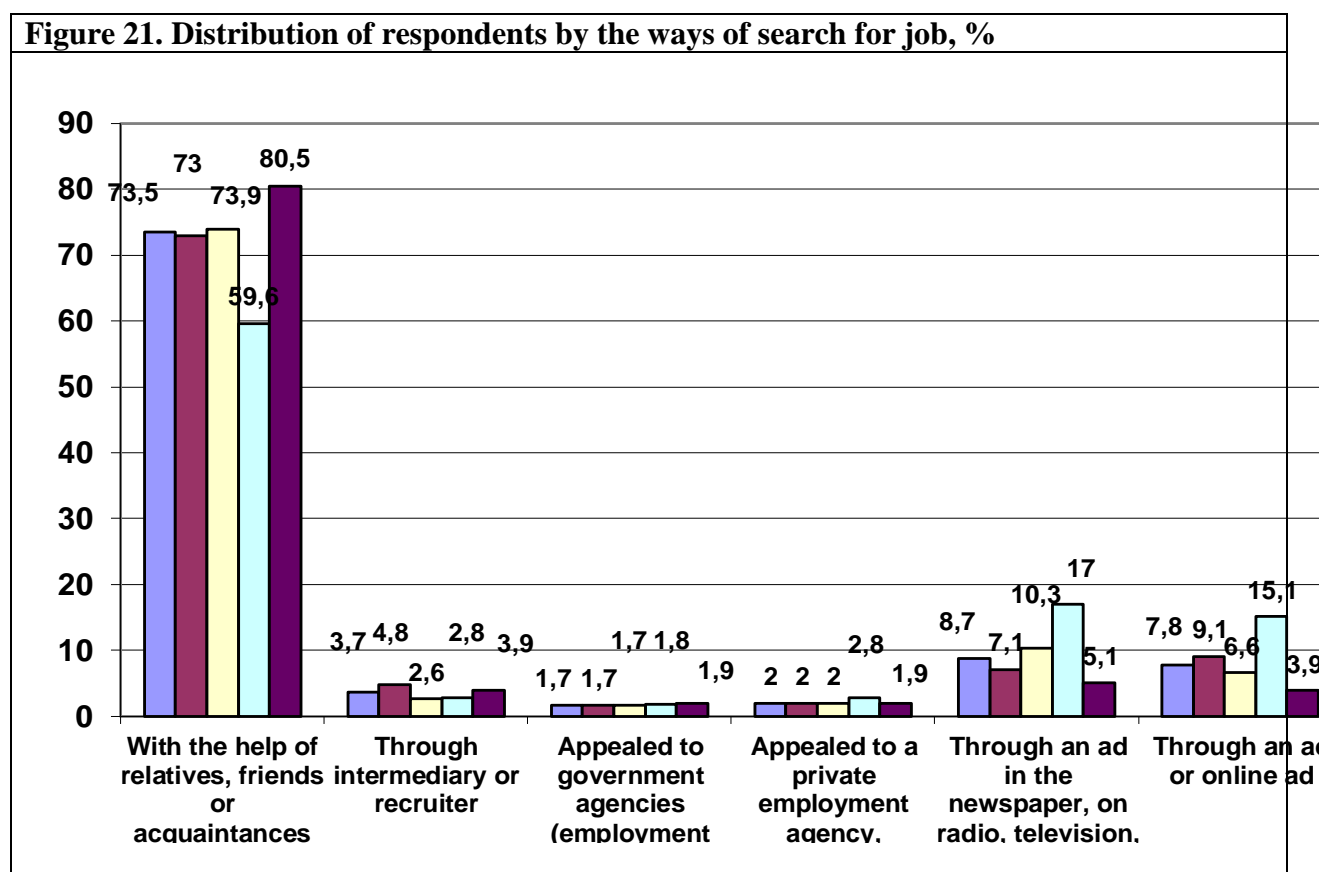
Unfortunately, the situation of mass deception of migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan by their Russian employers does not attract the close attention of Russian law enforcement and supervisory structures. Experts spoke very emotionally about this.

There is no reaction either from the police, the migration service, the Federal Security Service, the Department of the Employment Service, or the Labor Inspectorate. No one takes any action. The Labor Inspectorate says: "These are civil contracts, and we do not react to them at all. They enter into civil law contracts, and they do not fit our competence. "

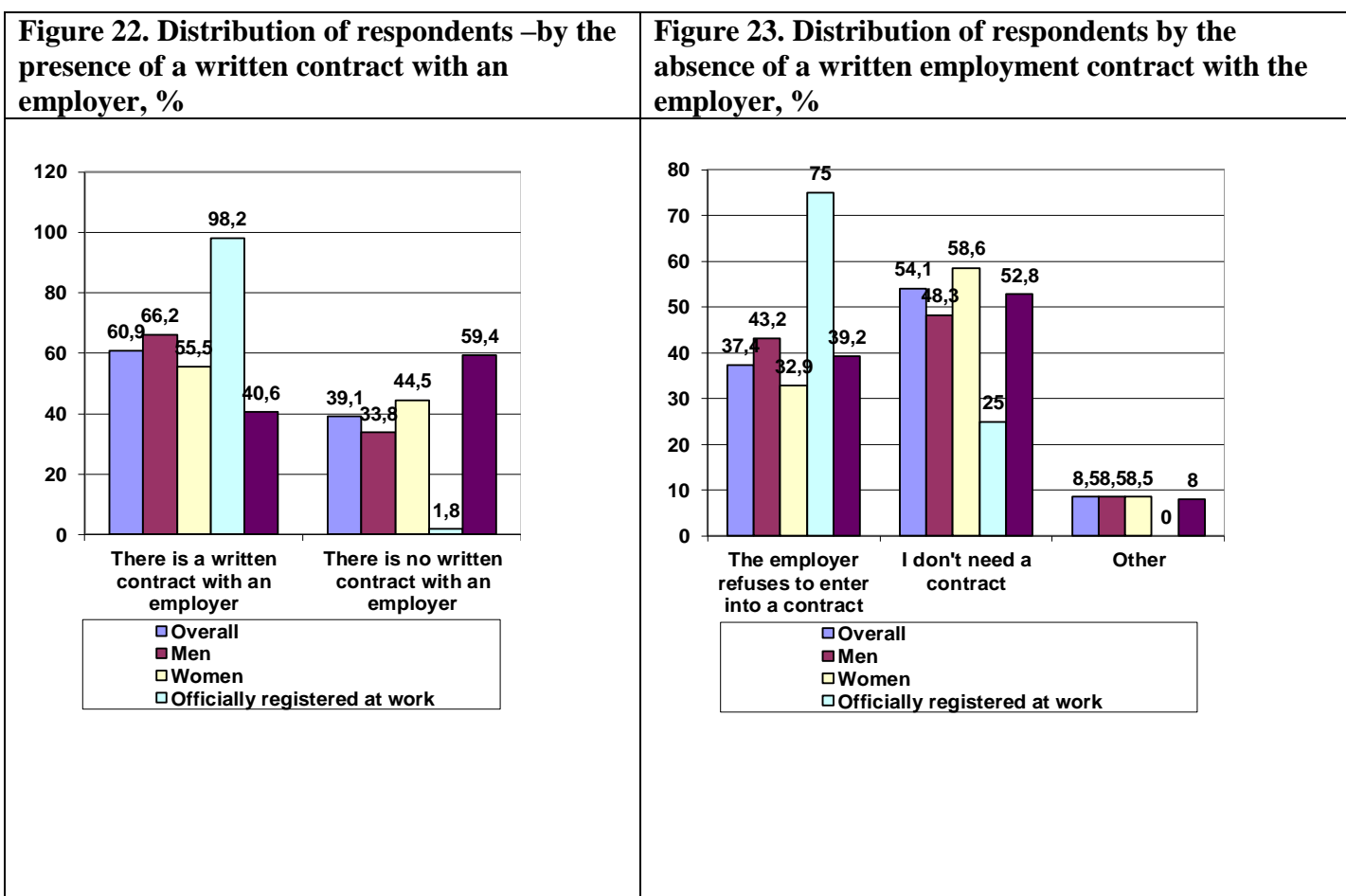
From an interview with expert, Ekaterinburg

They are happy to take them, because they do not need to pay for patents, for them there are practically no penalties. In most cases, the Kyrgyz are to blame for this, that they were deceived with wages, because they work without contracts, or some fake documents in their hands.

From an interview with expert, Ekaterinburg



A written employment contract with an employer has 61% of migrants from Kyrgyzstan. Interestingly, among those who work informally, 41% said they have a written agreement with the employer (Table 29, Figure 22) about working conditions, although in fact such a contract does not have legal force, as evidenced by the "black cash" (Table 35, Figure 29).



Only 38% of respondents answered that the employer refused to sign the contract, 54% said that they themselves did not need the contract (Table 30, Figure 23). Among those who work informally, 53% believe that they themselves do not need an employment contract, and only 39% said that the employer initially refused to enter into an agreement with them.

They buy these employment contracts along with their migration records.

From interview with expert, Moscow

Table 5. Distribution of respondents by the presence of labor contract and ways of receiving salary, taking into account work experience in Russia, %

Work experience in Russia	There is a labor contract	There is no labor contract	Work officially (receive salary according to the statement or through the bank to the card)	Does not work officially (receive salary in cash, without statement)
Up to 3 years	51,4	52,7	45,4	52,1
More than 3 years	48,6	47,3	54,6	47,9
	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

In the course of the study, experts assessed why the number of formal labor contracts with an employer decreased among migrants from Kyrgyzstan. There was a version that the influx of young workers from Kyrgyzstan increased in Russia, who have little knowledge of the rules of working in Russia, do not have experience in obtaining a patent that strictly regulated labor relations in the past, they have little experience in Russia, so they do not care about labor contracts. In addition, there was an assumption that the expansion of employment areas of the Kyrgyz people due to the abolition of the patent played a negative role, and their exit to those workplaces where migrants were always less registered according to all the rules.

The ability to legalize allowed Kyrgyz citizens to move to other employment niches. If earlier they were in certain niches of labor, limited — for example, in construction or a cafe, now they, having received more hands, began to move into other niches. And in these niches less labor contracts are structurally concluded. It seems to me that it is necessary to look for an explanation in the structure of employment and in the increase in the number of people, and not in the fact that some psychological attitudes in the execution of laws have changed. In a short time, many new people have arrived, and they have a greater range of opportunities, because they have no restrictions related to the patent, they can change their profession more often. It, probably, also creates effect, that number of labor contracts became decreased.

From an interview with the expert, St. Petersburg

The study showed (see Table 5) that the presence or absence of a formal contract with the employer is almost independent of the respondent's length of service in Russia. Experts working in NGOs engaged in direct assistance to migrant workers indicated that it was rather employers who were the main culprits of the fact that migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan today are making less and less formal agreements.

Large-scale, large-scale employers, such as chain restaurants of public catering, as a rule, try to arrange migrants legally. But even these large employers, if they used to draw up everything legally, now they are doing everything through intermediary structures. They hire some kind of intermediary organization, which takes on the staff of such employees - citizens of Kyrgyzstan. This layer organization bears all risks, but it no longer fulfills any obligations to migrants. As soon as the Kyrgyz entered the EEU, employers quietly took them in, increasing the financial costs of the staff who should serve foreign citizens. Over time, they realized that it was possible to reduce the risks by transferring all these foreigners, attracting some third, nominal company that takes all these foreign citizens. This company does not fulfill obligations. In general, employers realized that it was not necessary to impose all these obligations on themselves.

From an interview with expert, Moscow

Small businesses do not use outsourcing, do not take them outside the state and do not register. A small organization does not use intermediaries, it simply does not [legalize] them [migrants from Kyrgyzstan - DP] in any way. And larger employers are introduced to the state. All these network hypermarkets, in which there is a cleaning, Kyrgyz citizens work there, a lot. And they do not draw up labor relations with them. When labor disputes begin to arise with them, the directors say: "Guys, they don't work with us, we have a cleaning company, we have a contract in the central office". The cleaning company does not register anybody, does not put them on migration records, respectively, they do not have official labor contracts, and they are forced to acquire these fake employment contracts with a fake migration account, regardless of the length of stay in Russia. I would not share this with experience and lack of migration experience

From an interview with expert, Moscow

99% work in cleaning companies that have an agreement with the main directors in the chain hypermarkets. And these cleaning companies no longer draw up employment contracts with Kyrgyz citizens, because: a) it is not profitable; b) additional social guarantees; c) payroll. In the cleaning network stores a large percentage of non-payment of wages. A significant proportion of foreigners come from such cleaning companies. Often there is the practice that they give an employment contract without signatures, without a seal. Just the name of the organization "Daisy", written with a pen the name of the migrant, and that's all. Migrants nevertheless calm down: "There is an employment contract, which means that I work officially." Although there are no signature and seal of the employer. Purely psychologically, they can satisfy the tranquility of a migrant; there is such a practice too. But the migration registration must be renewed, so they are forced to turn to the intermediary structure and acquire fake contracts, because without them they do not extend migration registration..

From an interview with expert, Moscow

Before entering the Eurasian Union, they had patents, and it was necessary to formalize labor relations. Maybe it was motivating. The motivation with entry into the Eurasian Union was preserved and, possibly, even increased. Now, on the basis of the same employment contract, you can get a lot of useful things not only for yourself, but also for family members (extend your stay, and so on). But, on the other hand, control

over it became less. Less need to go on instances, it all costs cheaper. There is a general impression that now the employment is free. Many of them enter into contracts, but these contracts are fictitious. They make employment contracts or, more often, civil law agreements, simply with outsourcing organizations to register there. And some even pay - monthly or at the same time - the employment contract itself. That is, the employment contract for them has become an analogue of the patent, a kind of paid bonus for those who wish. At the same time, they actually do not work at the place of employment contract. They may have some kind of contract, but they do not work at this work. Most of them have some pieces of paper, but they do not mean anything, that is, they are used as an analogue of a migration document.

From an interview with expert, St. Petersburg

They began to enter into a contract less often. Perhaps the reason for this is that a single space has been formed. But this is not the main reason. More importantly, employers have become less willing to accept invitations for legal work, because this entails the formation of any additional costs, and the maintenance of parallel accounting. So, the owner of several restaurants told me openly that he was not interested in hiring migrants. He accepts them, he has them. But he keeps them illegally, because in order to legalize them, you must pay another personal income tax, you need to do special additional reporting (it is small, but it still exists) and you need to submit some information to the employment service. He also does not like it, because in normal life with normal people (with illegal immigrants) this problem does not arise. This is not a story that migrants wanted to become sharply illegal. It is rather a story about employers who just decided to save money.

From an interview with expert, Yekaterinburg

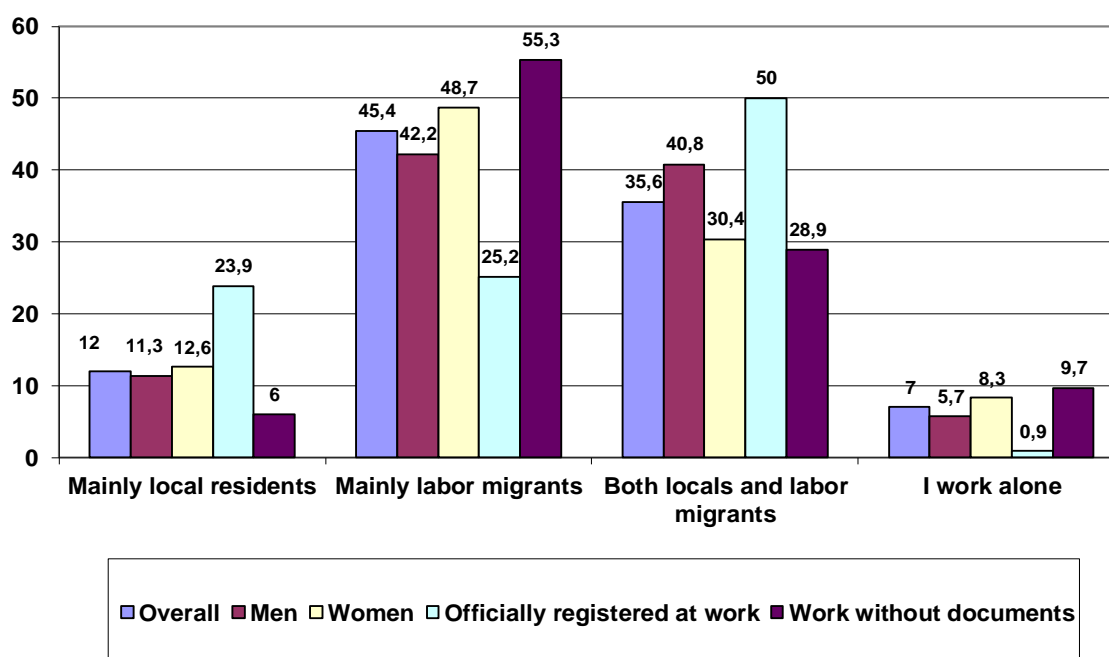
According to experts interviewed, part of the blame lies on the migrants themselves.

There is a moment that employers are saving money this way. But Kyrgyz themselves are not interested in this [design - DP]. You can not say here that some employers are to blame. Both that and that party is not responsible in a question.

From an interview with expert, Moscow

In general, only about 12% work in the same places where only local residents are employed (Table 31, Figure 24), 36% of those surveyed work in workplaces where both migrants and local residents are approximately equally divided. About half (45%) of the interviewed respondents work where mostly migrants are employed.

Figure 24. Distribution of respondents by the type of colleagues, %



41% of Kyrgyz respondents believe (Table 32, Figure 25) that local workers claim their jobs, 32% believe that local workers will not want to work in their workplaces, about a quarter of respondents (27%) found it difficult to answer this question.

Legally registered workers enter into stiffer competition for jobs with local residents: for example, among non-formals, 40% believe that local workers do not claim their place, among “legals,” only 22% think so. And vice versa, 57% of the “legals” believe that they are competing with the local ones in their workplace, whereas among the unformed, only 32% think so officially. This is also confirmed by the distribution of co-workers legally and informally employed (Table 31, Figure 24).

Figure 25. Distribution of respondent by their opinion on if the locals would like to work instead of them, %

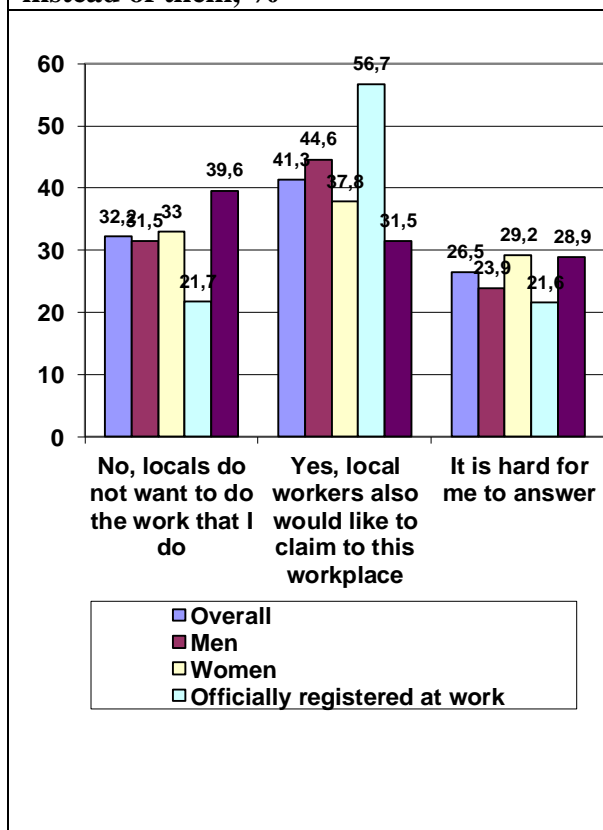
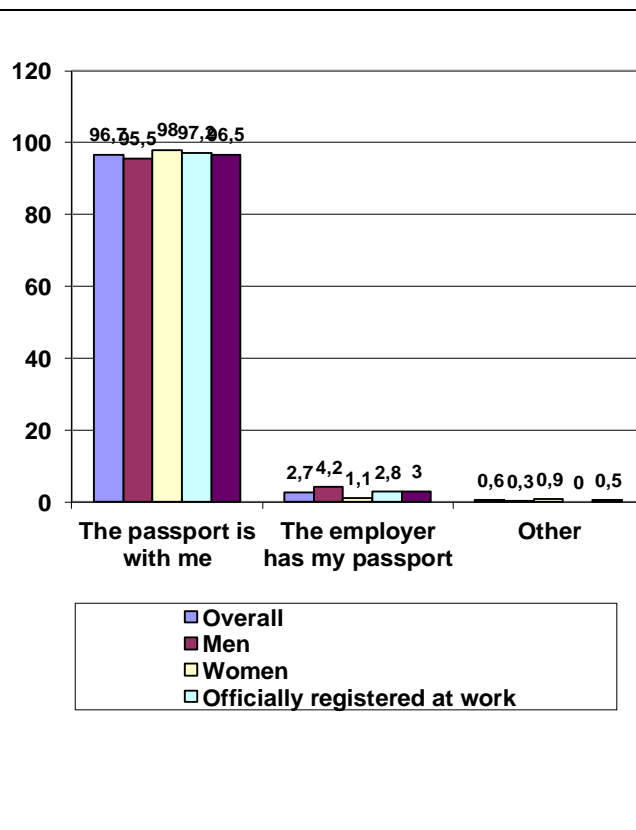


Figure 26. Distribution of respondent by the location of their passports, %



The study confirmed the trend already noted by other Cesenter of Migration Studies researches that weaning of a passport has ceased to be an actively used measure of pressure and even enslavement of foreign workers by Russian employers (Table 33, Figure 26). So, the passport and in general for all respondents, and legally registered workers, and those who work without paperwork, in 97% of cases in both groups is an employee. At the same time, among those who are legally employed, there is a little more (95%) of those who can freely leave their employer for another job (Table 38, Figure 31) than among unformed legally Kyrgyz employees (91%). In general, for all respondents surveyed, this figure reaches 92%.

The salary level (Table 34, Figure 27) as a whole is 29,796 rubles. Moreover, for a legally registered employee, it averages 30,038 rubles per month, i.e. almost 1000 rubles higher than that of a non-formally formal employee (on average 29,103 rubles per month). In the total sample, migrants from Kyrgyzstan work 10.65 hours per day (Table 36, Figure 29) 5.84 days per week (Table 37, Figure 30). Legally executed workers, on average, work almost the same number of hours per day (10.62 hours) as informally employed (10.64 hours), but on average fewer days per week (5.37 days versus 6.09 days) .

Figure 27. Distribution of respondent by their average salary per month, rubles

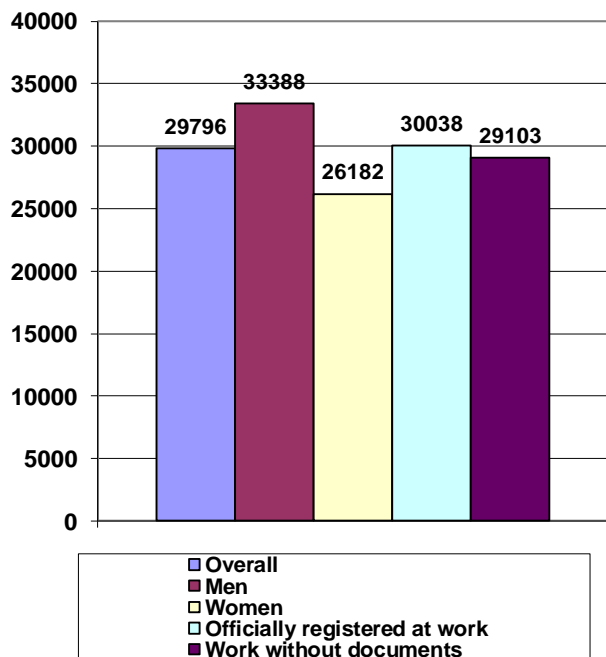


Figure 28. Distribution of respondent by the ways to receive salary, %

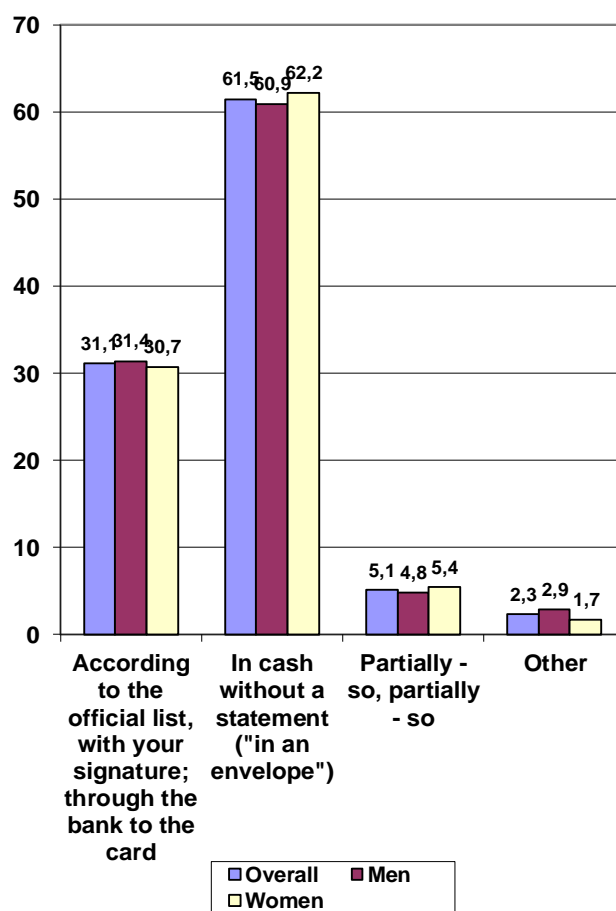


Figure 29. Distribution of respondents by the duration of the working day, hours

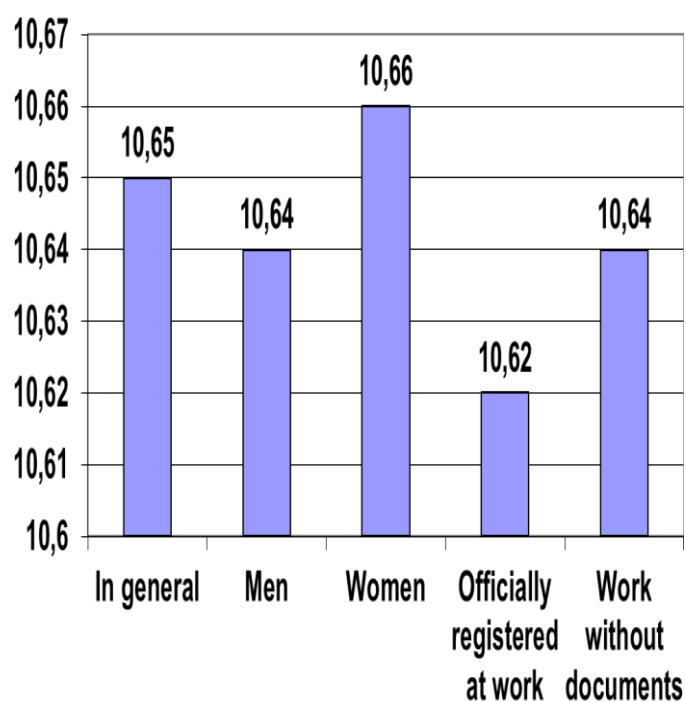


Figure 30. Distribution of respondents by the duration of the working day, days

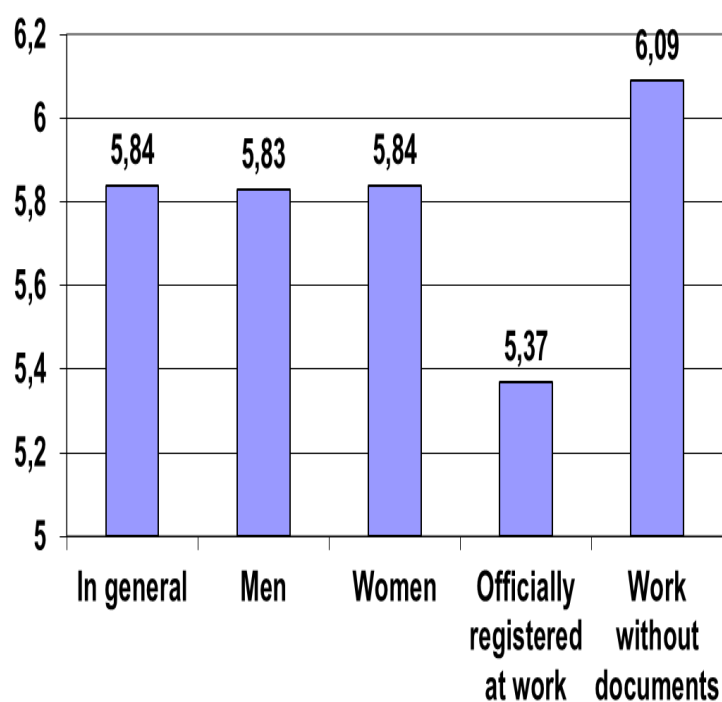
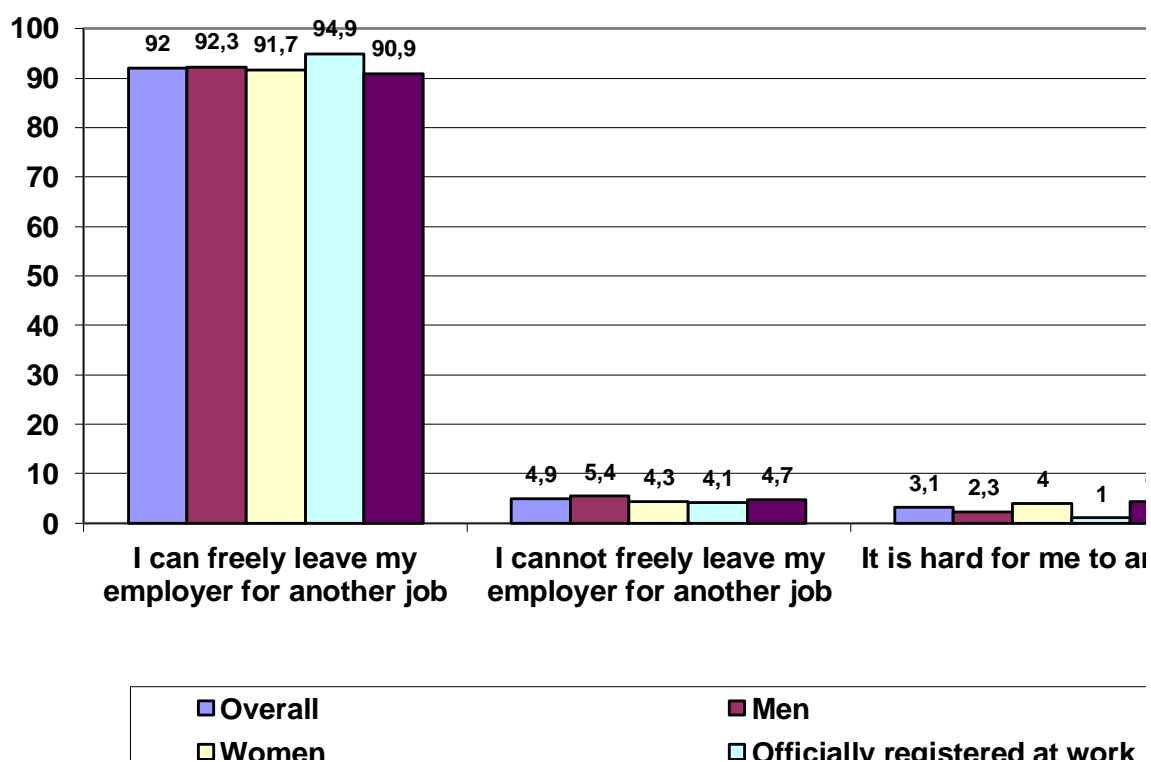


Figure 31. Distribution of respondents by possibility to leave the employee to another job, %



The study showed that migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan do not consider an employment contract as a means of protection against employer's unfair actions, although it is precisely within the

framework of the EAEU that mechanisms for protecting workers in such situations are provided, but they are rarely used.

It is absolutely real to defend their rights. If they understand this better, they will enter into more normal employment contracts. I would like this to have an effect, but I'm not sure, because they are integrated into our society too well to understand that in our society labor contracts mean nothing.

From an interview with expert, St. Petersburg

Another important aspect for the protection of the labor rights of migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan may be the use of trade union opportunities. In fact, this possibility exists, although it is not applied in practice. A good example in this case is the Trade Union of Migrant Workers in Moscow³⁶, which is in the form of a Russian NGO, but uses the format of trade union work in its activities.

The moment of living trade unions that work with citizens of the Eurasian Union will be crucial. We don't have these living unions. According to the agreement, the Eurasian Union has an excellent article that citizens of the Eurasian Union have the right to join trade unions and enjoy certain trade union support. Formally, at the level of international law, at the level of the law of the Eurasian Union, such guarantees exist. But do they really use them? I think not. The unions would revive this business. Just through some word of mouth. In order for Kyrgyz citizens to appeal to any organization more with the protection of their rights. As soon as they begin to do this more often, they will understand that, having an employment contract and guarantees of the Eurasian Union, much can be achieved. Since there are legal tools, they should be used. By itself, it is good, but it is meaningless if nobody uses it. Now, if the citizens of the Eurasian Union do not want to mobilize it, it means that it will not work.

From an interview with expert, St. Petersburg

Kazakhstan

As in Russia, in Kazakhstan, migrants from Kyrgyzstan work without obtaining any permits, but must register a formal labor contract and registration.

After the accession of Kyrgyzstan to the EAEU at the legislative level, all questions on migration from Kyrgyzstan to Kazakhstan were removed. That is, they can come, register, conclude an employment contract. Based on this agreement, the migration police register them. They can register up to a year. For any term. And there is the payment of taxes by the employer as an employee.

From interview with the expert, Almaty

Nevertheless, in reality, there are serious problems due to the fact that migrants from Kyrgyzstan do not always formalize labor contracts.

All the same, such inertia of legal nihilism remains. Not many know how to register. This is even more true for employers themselves, who are accustomed to hiring without formalizing labor relations. Why? Because there is a corruption component. Therefore, often these managers of facilities are hired without a labor contract.

From interview with the expert, Astana

Of course, this has serious risks for migrants.

One of the main problems for Kyrgyz people is non-payment of wages. The real problem. I am not talking about intentional violations of immigration laws, overdue or something. The main reason for non-payment of wages is non-execution of contracts.

From interview with the expert, Astana

Migrants whose status is not regulated fall under the zone of risk of becoming victims of trafficking in the future. An employer here can take advantage of the fact that they do not enter into an employment contract. In

³⁶Trade Union of Migrant Workers, <http://www.profmigr.com/index.php>

the future, it is very difficult to prove your rights. It is also practiced when the employer takes the documents allegedly for registration.
From interview with the expert, Almaty

On the other hand, experts said that the demand for legal labor increased from the part of the migrants themselves, but this does not always agree with the interests of employers.

The demand for concluding treaties from Kyrgyz citizens has increased. People understand that tomorrow for them is a certain legal basis, when they can directly defend their rights.
From interview with the expert, Almaty

They are now more interested in how to protect their rights. And they can now, have the opportunity to work here legally.

From an interview with expert, Almaty

The most problematic now in Kazakhstan is the legal employment of workers in Kyrgyzstan. Legalizing one's status in Kazakhstan is the most sensitive issue.

From an expert interview, Shymkent

There is a whole stratum of migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan who live outside the existing rules governing labor migration.

The bulk of the people of Kyrgyzstan in Kazakhstan are engaged in trade, not construction.

From an interview with expert, Almaty

In terms of employment contracts there have been no major changes. The overwhelming majority of migrants from Kyrgyzstan are not employees. They are like individual entrepreneurs. It is much easier to do this and without greater risks than when a migrant worker is hired. Kyrgyz labor migrants themselves are often employers when they hire workers to sell goods.

From the interview with expert, Almaty

As noted earlier, the issue of pensions and pensionable service of migrant workers at the level of the EAEU has not yet been resolved, and migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan in Kazakhstan almost never raise this issue for themselves.

Any foreign citizen who has been in Kazakhstan for a long time, has a residence permit, can come to the pension fund and voluntarily make pension contributions. In the case of departure from the country, he has the right to withdraw his pension savings. And the implementation of this right is a difficult question. How much trust do migrant workers have in pension funds? Do they have the desire and financial ability to set aside 10 percent of income for contributions to the pension fund? From 2018 in Kazakhstan, the retirement age of women will increase annually for half a year, and by 2027 there will be 63 years. And in Kyrgyzstan, the retirement age is less.

From an expert interview, Shymkent

In itself, labor migration from Kyrgyzstan to Kazakhstan, in the opinion of interviewed experts, has stabilized, almost no changes occur and are not foreseen in the short term.

This will be the border trade, agricultural enterprises of some kind at the border In Kyrgyzstan. The women of Kyrgyzstan long ago formed some niches, they do not grow much and do not decrease, there is some stability in this.

From expert interview, Almaty

In general, experts estimate the number of migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan in Kazakhstan to about 70 thousand people, and this figure has not changed over the past few years.

40 thousand citizens of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz - 40 thousand, probably, all kinds of GNP, residence permit. And all of them together 150 thousand is obtained, and there is no growth. The explosive growth was in the 2000s, now everything is as it is, as it is. Again, suddenly Russia will push Kyrgyzstan out, then everything will change. If they do not let the Kyrgyz. Then there will be some new ways. Or if the black lists increase. Overflow, it was from the Kyrgyz [from Russia to Kazakhstan - DP], but not so significant.

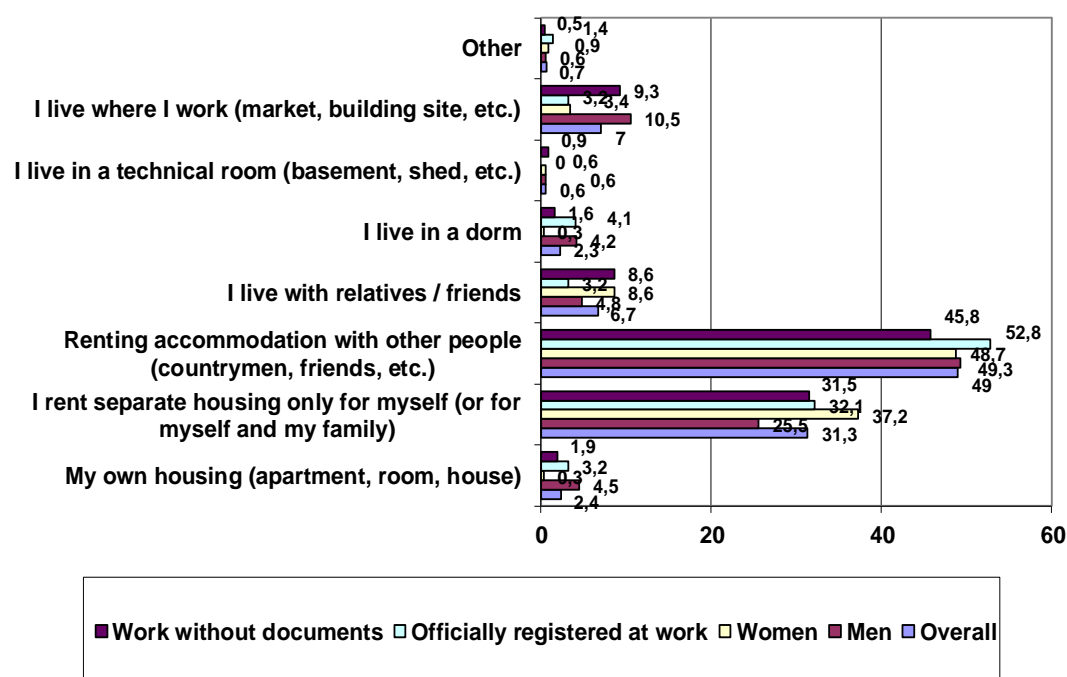
From an interview with expert, Astana

5. The right to an adequate standard of living. Living conditions of migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan in Russia and Kazakhstan

Russia

The living conditions of migrants from Kyrgyzstan (Table 39, Figure 32) are mainly limited to rental housing for several people / families. As a rule, they rent housing either with other people (countrymen, friends, etc.) (49%), or only for themselves / for their family (31%). Only about 2% of respondents have their own housing (mostly men - 4.5%). About 7% of respondents live in the same place where they work (market, construction site), men predominate among them (11% versus 3% among women) and working without documents (9% versus 3% among those who are officially registered).

Figure 32. Distribution of respondents by the type of living conditions in Russia, %



On average, about three people still live in the same room with the respondents (Table 40, Figure 33). As a rule, men live in more constrained conditions (an average of 3.2 people live in the same room as the respondent) than women (an average of 2.72 people live in the same room as the respondent).

Monthly payment for housing averages 7,748 rubles (Table 41, Figure 34). Moreover, on average, housing fees are higher for women (8,382 rubles per month) than for men (7,121 rubles per month). This is due to somewhat more comfortable conditions and fewer people living with them in the same room, as described above.

Figure 33. Distribution of respondents by people living with them in one room, %

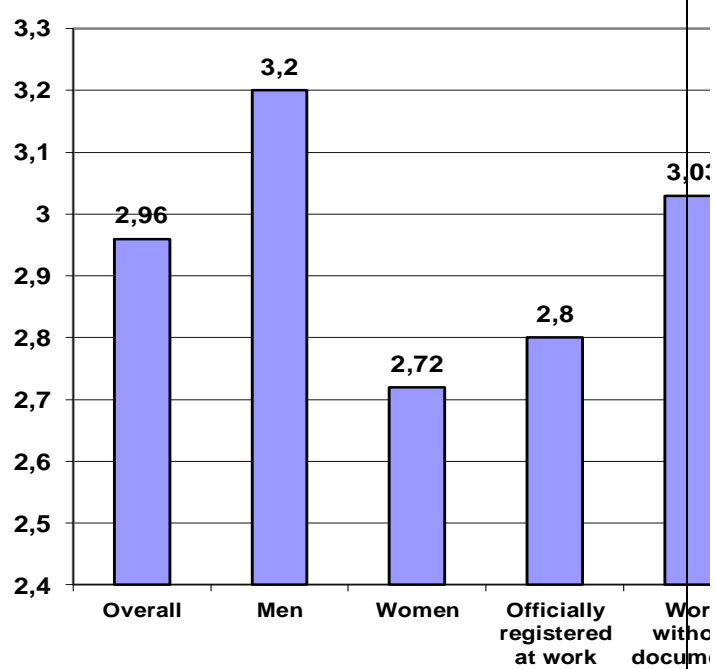
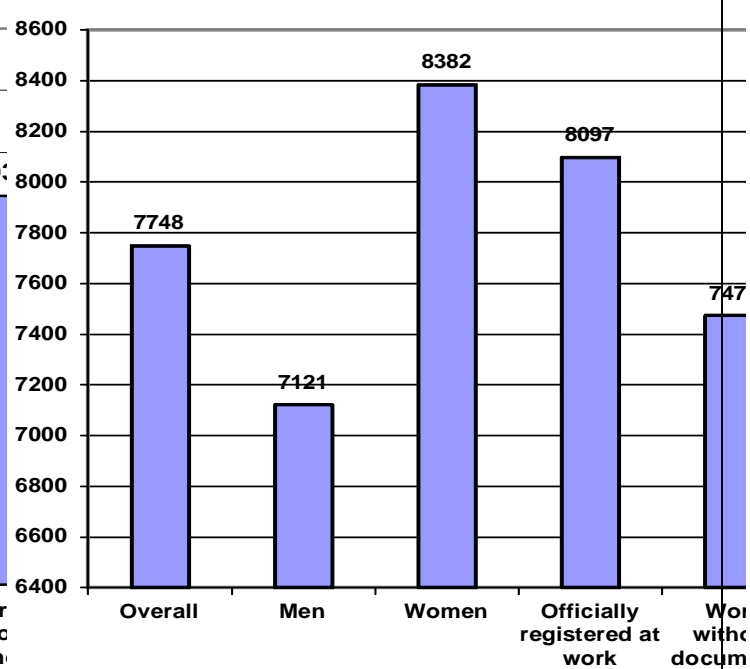


Figure 34. Distribution of respondents by the amount of payment for housing per month, %



6. The right to health of migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan in Russia and Kazakhstan. Pregnancy and childbirth in women

Russia

Most of the surveyed migrants from Kyrgyzstan rate their health (Table 42, Figure 35) as good (75%), which is understandable, since mostly healthy workers who are ready for difficult working conditions leave for work. 23% of respondents admitted their health was satisfactory, about 2% were bad. At the same time, there are almost no particular differences in gender and legal employment, with the exception of those who have declared their health to be poor. Among them, there are more women (3.2% versus 0.8% among men) and legally registered at work (3.2% versus 1.4% working without documents).

The dynamics of changes in health is as follows (Table 43, Figure 36): in 78% it has not changed over the last year, in 15% it has worsened, in 7% it has improved. Improvement of health was mainly reported by men (10% versus 3% among women) and officially registered migrants (14% versus 4% among those who work without documents)

Judging from the whole sample as a whole, there is a gradual deterioration in the health of migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan in Russia.

In general, the problem of negligent attitudes toward their health among migrants from Kyrgyzstan is similar to the attitude to their health among the majority of Russians. Experts in the survey paid attention to this.

This is a very big problem, not to mention migrants. People are practically not treated to the last moment even in Russia. I have been working with the population for a long time - even among Russians, there is such a kind of informal tradition that, until the wife drags her husband to the doctor, he is never examined until he gets complications. And for migrants, this is difficult twice, because they save money, send it to their homeland, so that there they can keep their families, money for an apartment, for the police, for all kinds of documents, and there is nothing left for health. And it turns out that this poor migrant who feeds the country of residence also builds the country where he arrived and gives everything, and helps everyone, and he is left alone with his poor state of health. Since there is no access to state institutions, and this migrant cannot afford the paid clinics, and this picture is a stereotype of our poor migrant.

From an interview with expert, Moscow

Regarding the routine care, both routine and outpatient. The fact is that they are generally not very accustomed, in principle, to seek medical assistance, except in cases where everything becomes very bad. The fact of attitude to their health must be understood too. Health is an expendable material, until you spend it, you will not pay attention to it, unfortunately. This is so. As long as the batteries of your mobile phone don't go low, you won't charge it. As long as you do not lose your health, you do not restore it.

From an interview with expert, Moscow

They do not come with a heartache, because migrants are a generation of a working age. And as we know, people get sick with their hearts at a later age. They come with general questions. For them, this specificity of the separation of doctors does not exist. For them, the doctor is a doctor who is a kind of mediator, assistant for explanation, enlightenment, clarification. There are different cases, mostly emergency. When someone hurts urgently, they panic: "What is to be done?" They are even afraid to call an ambulance. It happens that they do not know where the institution is, how to find access to the institution.

From an interview with expert, Moscow

Figure 35. Distribution of respondents by the assessment of their health %

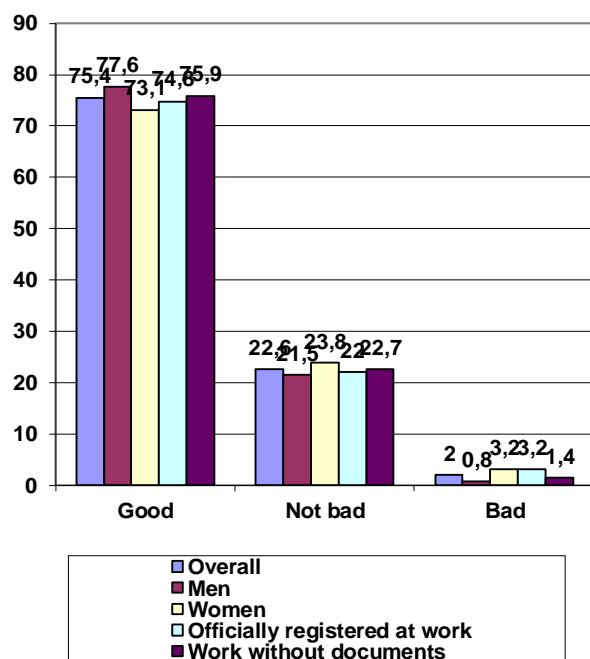
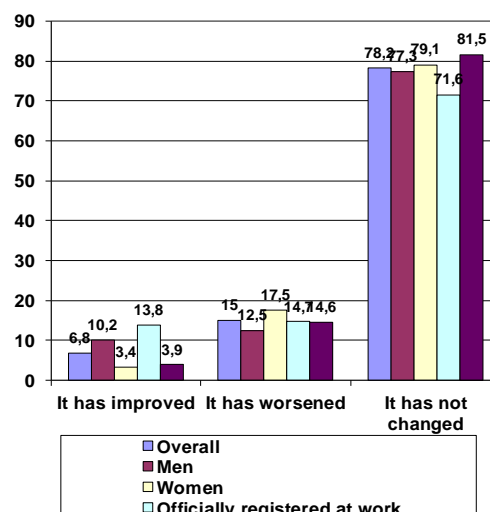


Figure 36. Distribution of respondents by the assessment of the dynamics of changes in their health (for a year), %



13% of respondents have the paid medical insurance (Table 44, Figure 37). They are either not treated at all (24%), or go to doctors only when an urgent need arises (39%). 17% take medicine on the advice of friends.

The study showed that migrants from Kyrgyzstan are poorly aware of their right to get a Required Medical Insurance policy in Russia if they have a legal labor contract and the employer pays all taxes for them.

The Required Medical Insurance policy is provided for those who are officially employed. Virtually no one knows about the availability of this policy for formal employment, although there is such an opportunity. It is provided for both by Russian law and international law, and is valid in the territory of the Eurasian Union.

Practice shows that they [migrants from Kyrgyzstan - DP] do not enjoy this boon, and the work that was carried out by the Eurasian Economic Union was carried out in vain.

From an interview with expert, Moscow

Migrant comes to the insurance company with a signed employment contract. And he must issue a policy. But in the process of registration, they request documents from the tax authority regarding the calculation of all mandatory payments. Those check information on the availability of a valid employment contract. This is verified for sure. Maybe they [Kyrgyz migrants - DP] have some kind of fear of Russian structures, but they don't go.

From an interview with expert, Moscow

Migrants from Kyrgyzstan can be attached to the clinic. I've done echocardiography for several pregnant patients from Kyrgyzstan. They are very satisfied; they are being examined on a par with the Russians. It is very nice, and I hope that it will spread throughout the post-Soviet space. They simply come, attach themselves to the clinic and receive free medical care. No problem.

From an interview with expert, Moscow

Here probably still awareness suffers. We must work in this direction. But Kyrgyz have fewer problems. They have about 30 clinics, 3 of them are very large, leading. Such multidisciplinary clinics in Moscow exist, so they have a much better situation compared to Tajiks and Uzbeks, and are more and more advanced.

From an interview with expert, Moscow

In the course of the study, experts said that information about the free Required Medical Insurance policy is not advertised and is not distributed among the EEU migrants by government agencies either systemically or on a large scale. Already available experience suggests that information about free medical services in the past spread to the migrant community fairly quickly, but so far we have not seen this.

As I remember, from 2003 to 2008 or 2009, all pregnant and migrant children could safely use the services of public clinics. There were pink coupons. And when this spread among the migrants, such a wave immediately began - apparently, that is why it was banned later.

From an interview with expert, Moscow

In this regard, it is surprising that, for their part, Russian insurance companies do not inform the EEU migrant workers who are legally working in Russia about the possibilities of free medical care. This was emphasized by interviewed experts.

Insurance companies are business structures. They should be interested in an additional number of clients, an additional amount of calculations from the Medical Insurance Fund to them on the accounts. Why they do not do this is a big question. They must be interested. But they do not conduct information campaigns. Practically all medical organizations have a line: "Labor migrant", "Migrant +". For them, migrants are part of the business, and they direct their activities towards them. Why they do not work within the framework of the Required Medical Insurance is a big question.

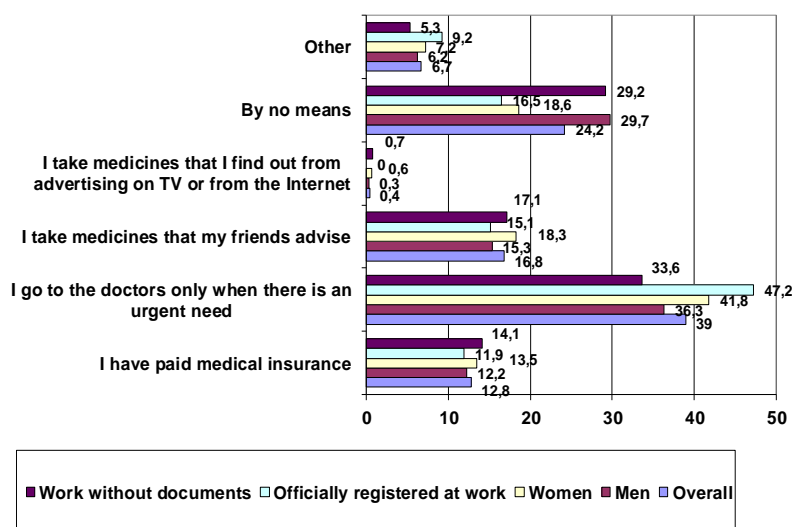
From an interview with expert, Moscow

If the migrants themselves who are legally registered at work have the right to access to the Required Medical Insurance, then their family members do not have such access.

Access to healthcare for Kyrgyz people has improved. Maybe, not everything but many are aware and use it. They have absolutely legitimate questions. For example: "I came with my family, I extended the registration of my family members for the duration of my contract. I myself, if I have a contract of employment, are entitled to Required Medical Insurance policy. But what about my family?" Unfortunately, at the level of law enforcement, there are no opportunities to get, for example, a child, a citizen of the Eurasian Economic Union, a policy of the Required Medical Insurance; a family member who does not work; even the citizen himself, who works under a civil law contract, is not given the Required Medical Insurance policy.

From an interview with expert, St. Petersburg

Figure 37. Distribution of respondents by type of treatment in Russia, %



Due to the fact that since 2015, migrants from Kyrgyzstan do not need to receive a patent for employment in Russia, it was not necessary for them to undergo a physical examination, including fluorography and testing for HIV infection. Research shows that this has already affected³⁷, the coverage of migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan with HIV testing and fluorography, which certainly demonstrates the need to strengthen medical monitoring of the health of migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan. The experts interviewed by us also spoke about this.

Kyrgyz generally dropped out of sight on HIV and tuberculosis, migrants from the EAEU also dropped out of sight of law enforcement agencies and structures. No one knows what to do about it.

From an interview with expert, Yekaterinburg

We have an opportunity to compare, on one hand, Kyrgyz and Tajik migrants according to the results of a study conducted in 2016, on the other hand, to compare the results of 2016 and 2017 for the Kyrgyz respondents.

So, in 2016, 60% of Tajiks and 49% of Kyrgyzstanis did fluorography. In 2015, 30% of Tajiks and 37% of Kyrgyzstanis underwent fluorography. Until 2015, fluorography was done by 9% of Tajiks and 14% of Kyrgyzstanis. It is obvious that the level of awareness of the state of their health among Kyrgyz people who are not obliged to undergo a medical examination is lower than that of Tajiks who are obliged to do so.

When comparing the results of the survey of Kyrgyz citizens in 2016 and 2017, we see an obvious decrease in their awareness of their health status. So, if in 2016 about half (49%) of Kyrgyz people were checked for tuberculosis, then in 2017 (Table 6, Figure 38) there were already about a third (32%).

Moreover, when considering data by gender, we see that among women, awareness drops much faster: in 2017, only 32% of them were tested for tuberculosis, whereas in 2016, 55% were checked. For men, a drop in awareness occurred from 45% to 33%.

³⁷ Project of AUCA TSPC in 2016 “Analysis of the labor market situation in the Russian Federation for the purpose of effective employment of migrant workers from the Kyrgyz Republic and the Republic of Tajikistan”

If in 2016 Kyrgyz citizens who were never tested for tuberculosis were no more than 1%, and there were only men among the unverified, then in 2017 every tenth (11%) with a small margin in the direction of men (11.6% against 10.6% among women). Especially those Kyrgyzstanis working without documents stand out: among them those who have never been tested for tuberculosis- 14%, while among those who work officially -7%.

Unfortunately, the passing of the HIV test is no better. We compared the results of the survey of Kyrgyz citizens in 2016 and 2017 (Table 7, Figure 39).

There are 51% of Kyrgyz citizens who have been tested for HIV in 2016, compared to 63% among Tajiks. Those who passed the HIV test in 2015 were 34% among Kyrgyz people and 29% among Tajiks. Until 2015, 13% of Kyrgyz people and 7% of Tajiks were tested for HIV.

Comparing the results of the survey of Kyrgyz citizens in 2016 and 2017 on their testing for HIV infection, we see an obvious decrease in the level of awareness of health as in the case of testing for tuberculosis. It is especially alarming that this is happening against the backdrop of the HIV epidemic in Russia.³⁸ If in 2016, about half (51%) of Kyrgyz people were checked for HIV, then in 2017 there were already 29%.

When we look at the data by sex, as in the case of tuberculosis, we see that among women, awareness of HIV infection decreases much faster than among men: in 2017, 32% of them took an HIV infection test, while 2016 was 57% verified. For men, the decline occurred from 48% to 26%. If in 2016 Kyrgyz citizens who never tested for HIV were no more than 2%, then in 2017 almost every fifth (17%) never tested for HIV infection with a slight margin towards women (18% vs. 16% among men). Especially here, Kyrgyzstanis working without documents stand out: among them those who have never done an HIV test is 21%, while among those who work, 12% are officially recruited.

These data are of a great concern, as the emerging trend is fraught with an increase in the risk of late diagnosis of both HIV infection and tuberculosis, which can significantly complicate the treatment process in case of infection of Kyrgyz people with these dangerous diseases in the Russian Federation. Given the crowdedness of their residence, these risks become even more alarming.

Table 6. The distribution of respondents by the time of the last fluorography (chest x-ray),%

	This year	Last year	More than a year ago	Never	Overall
<i>2017 Survey</i>					
Overall for the sample (Kyrgyzstan)	32,4	24	32,5	11,1	100
Kyrgyzstan, men	32,9	24,6	30,9	11,6	100
Kyrgyzstan, women	31,9	23,3	34,2	10,6	100
Registered officially at work (Kyrgyzstan)	42,4	18,9	32,3	6,5	100
Work without documents (Kyrgyzstan)	27,3	27,3	31,5	13,9	100
<i>2016 Survey</i>					
Overall for the sample (Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan)	54,3	33,3	11,4	1	100
Tajikistan	60	29,5	9,2	1,3	
Kyrgyzstan	48,7	37,1	13,6	0,6	
Tajikistan, men	58	29,7	10,7	1,6	100, 0
Kyrgyzstan, men	45,3	37,8	16	0,9	100
Tajikistan, women	65,6	28,9	4,7	0,8	100
Kyrgyzstan, women	55,4	35,7	8,9	0	100, 0

Table 7. Distribution of respondents by prescription for HIV infection, %

	This year	Last year	More than a year ago	Never	Overall
<i>2017 Survey</i>					
Overall for the sample (Kyrgyzstan)	28,8	24,8	29,2	17,1	100
Kyrgyzstan, men	26,1	28	29,7	16,1	100
Kyrgyzstan, women	31,6	21,6	28,7	18,1	100

³⁸ Malysheva E, Romanova K., Netebeba P. HIV on an African scale. The UN has called Russia the epicenter of the global HIV epidemic. Newspaper.15.07.2016 <https://www.gazeta.ru/business/2016/07/14/9689903.shtml>

Registered officially at work (Kyrgyzstan)	32,7	24	31,8	11,5	100
Work without documents (Kyrgyzstan)	26,9	25,7	26,9	20,6	100
<i>2016 Survey</i>					
Overall for the sample (Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan)	57,2	31,3	9,9	1,6	100
Tajikistan	63,1	28,7	6,6	1,6	100
Kyrgyzstan	51,3	33,9	13,2	1,6	100
Tajikistan, men	62,8	28,1	7	2,1	100
Kyrgyzstan, <i>men</i>	48,3	34,7	15,1	1,9	100
Tajikistan, women	64	30,5	5,5	0	100
Kyrgyzstan, <i>women</i>	57,1	32,1	9,5	1,3	100

Figure 38. Distribution of respondents by prescription of fluorography (chest X-ray),%

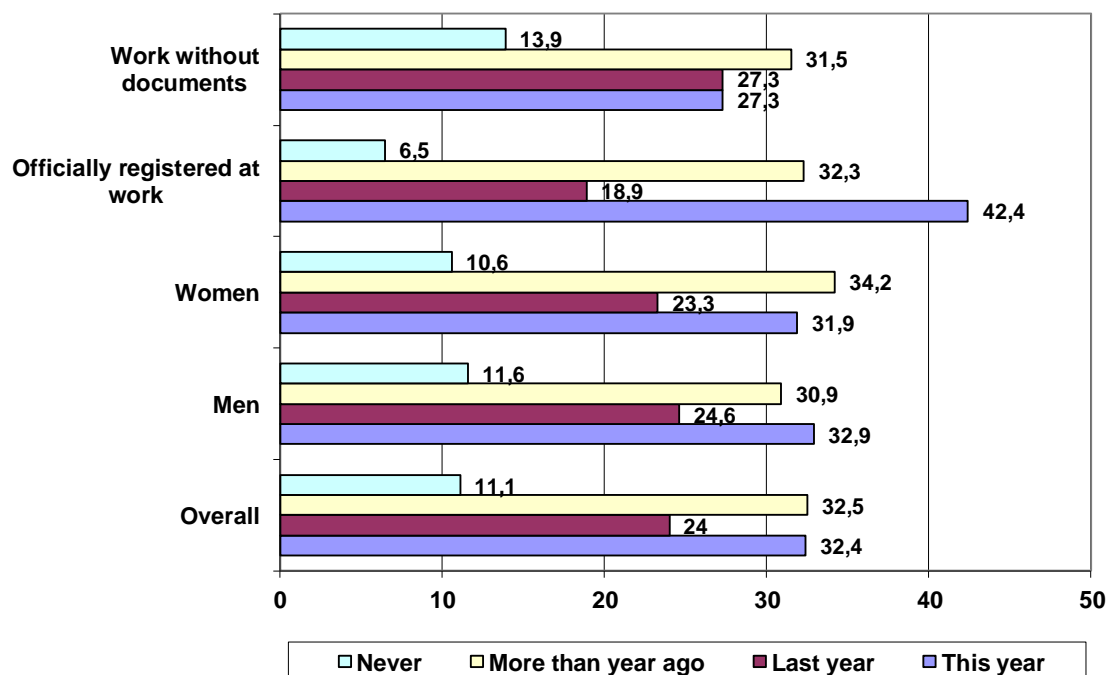
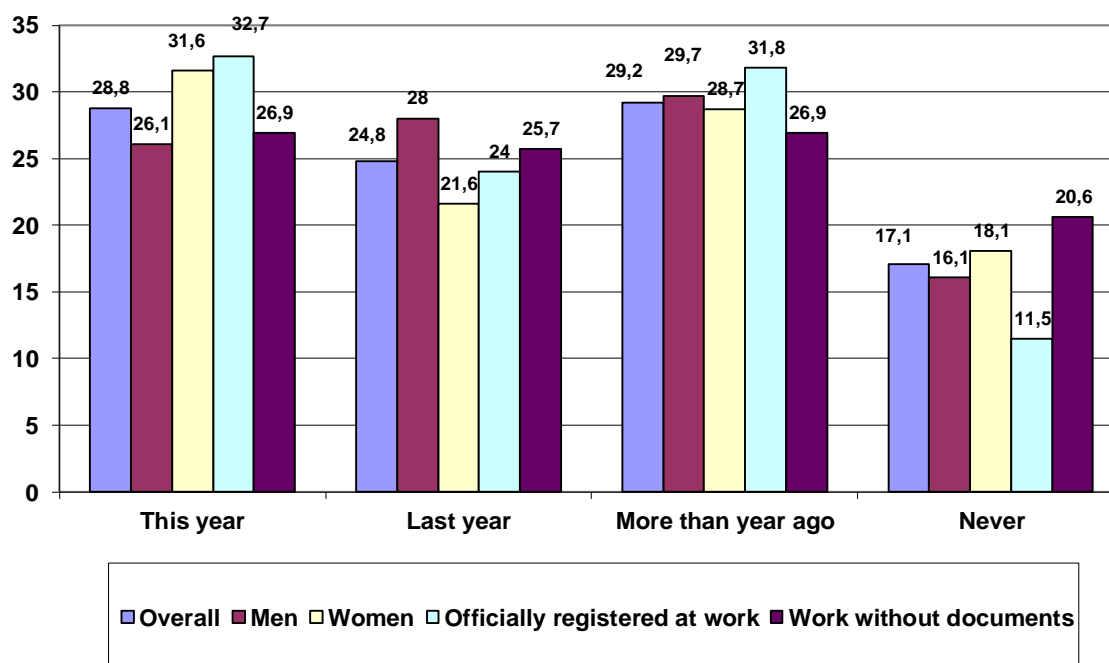


Figure 39. Distribution of respondents by prescription for HIV infection, %



The research revealed that there was a practice when immigrants from Kyrgyzstan organize medical clinics in Russia that have received the unofficial name of “Kyrgyz”. People from Kyrgyzstan work in such clinics, and medical services are focused on Kyrgyz-speaking patients. Most of these clinics are located in Moscow, but they are also found in other Russian cities for example, in Yekaterinburg.

I only know the gynecological clinic. It was organized by a migrant from Kyrgyzstan. She herself is a doctor, her husband is also a doctor. And she organized a private gynecological clinic here. There is a dental clinic. It was also founded by immigrants from Kyrgyzstan. They were oriented immediately to ensure that migrants were treated - Kyrgyz above all.

From an interview with expert, Yekaterinburg

But such clinics are not in all major cities of Russia. For example, such clinics were not found in St. Petersburg. This was also testified by interviewed experts

Kyrgyz clinics in Petersburg have never come across this. If everyone in Moscow talks about it, then in Petersburg I did not come across this. There are few migrants from Kyrgyzstan.

From interview with an expert, St. Petersburg

Kazakhstan

Experts in Kazakhstan differently evaluated the actual access of migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan to medical services in Kazakhstan.

Some experts believe that there are no problems with obtaining medical services within the EAEU.

There are no barriers to not receiving this assistance.

From interview with an expert, Almaty

On the other hand, in the practical application of their right to medical care provided for in the framework of the EAEU, according to experts migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan in Kazakhstan, receive a very limited set of medical services and are poorly aware (as in Russia) of their rights in this area .

There is a free registration to the clinics. Those whose wives are from Kazakhstan if they strongly insist they are more or less aware. Those are trying. But not in such a way that they were called upon in droves, no, it is not. There is a very limited set of free help, not even emergency. One-time visit to the therapist. This is purely symbolic and, frankly, does not change the situation.

From interview with an expert, Almaty

It is important that among migrant workers, quite a few work in trade and have the opportunity to spend weekends in Kyrgyzstan, where they prefer to receive medical care.

The fact is that migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan working in the South Kazakhstan region are pendulum migrants. This allows them to receive medical care at home, especially as they themselves say it is cheaper in Kyrgyzstan.

From interview with an expert, Almaty

In general, the attitude towards their health among labor migrants from Kyrgyzstan in Kazakhstan is not very prudent.

The principle of taking care of my health is this: I have health problems, but I will be treated only at home.

From interview with an expert, Almaty

In Kazakhstan, unlike in Russia, there are no so-called “Kyrgyz” clinics where people from Kyrgyzstan work and medical services are focused on Kyrgyz-speaking patients.

There are separate doctors, but there are no clinics that position themselves as Kyrgyz.

From interview with an expert, Almaty

Pregnancy and childbirth

Among the women surveyed, more than a quarter (Table 47, Figure 40) had pregnancy during their stay in Russia (27.2%), and 6% of them had several pregnancies. Among those women who work without documents, there were more women who became pregnant in Russia than among those officially registered at work (27.3% vs. 22.6%). Also among those who worked without documents there were more women who had several pregnancies (7.4% vs. 2.8%).

Mostly women prefer to give birth to a child in Russia (Table 48, Figure 41): 43% of them do this, while 30% of them go to give birth to their motherland. Among those who are officially registered at work, there are more people who give birth to a child in Russia (47.8%) than among those who work without documents (39.7%).

Figure 40. Distribution of respondents by the presence of pregnancy during their stay in Russia, %

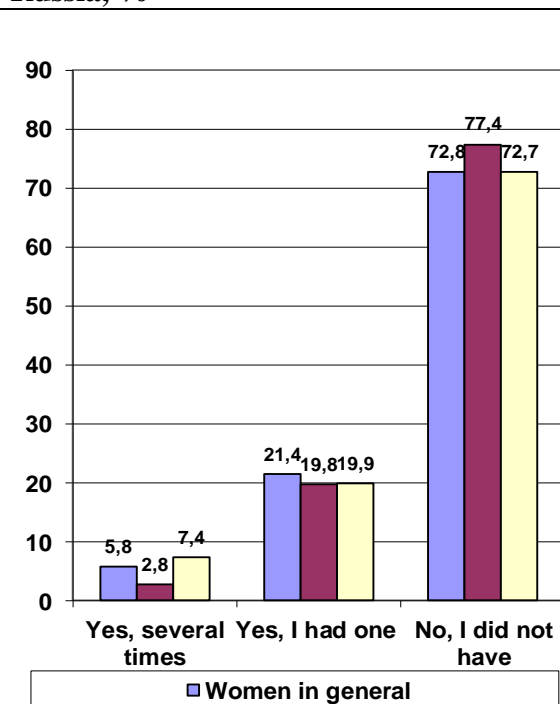
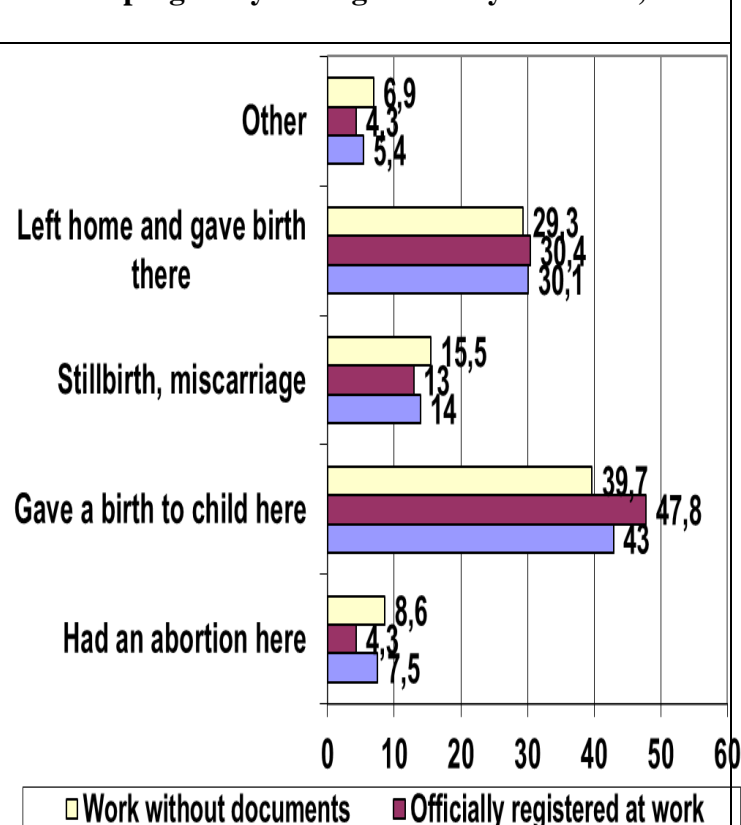


Figure 41. The distribution of respondents on the basis of pregnancy during their stay in Russia, %

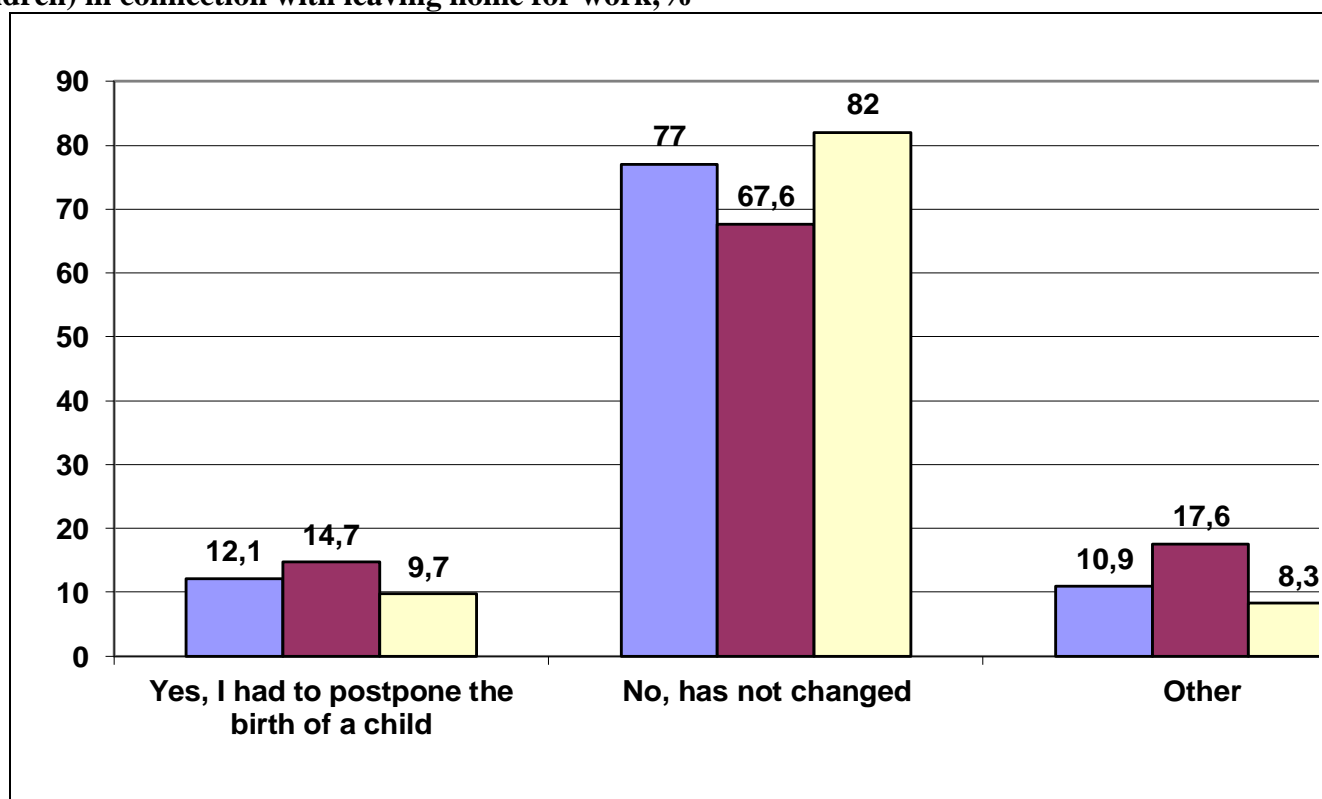


It is very disturbing that the number of women who lost their child due to miscarriage and stillbirth (14%) is almost twice the number of abortions (7.5%). This speaks both about the poor conditions in which women bear a child, and about the unsatisfactory state of their women's health. The study showed that the majority of women before childbirth are not observed in the antenatal clinic, so during the childbirth they immediately go to the infectious diseases department of maternity hospitals. As you can see, the consequences of the fact that pregnancy is not carried out under the supervision of doctors, the necessary treatment is not made during pregnancy, and there is no diagnosis, can be very sad.

Among those who work without documents, the number of abortions (8.6%) is almost two times higher than among those officially registered at work (4.3%).

The study showed that 12% of surveyed women (Table 49, Figure 42) postpone the birth of a child, moreover, there are more such women among those registered at work (14.7%) than those who work without documents (9.7%).

Figure 42. The distribution of respondents by changing reproductive plans (plans for the birth of children) in connection with leaving home for work, %



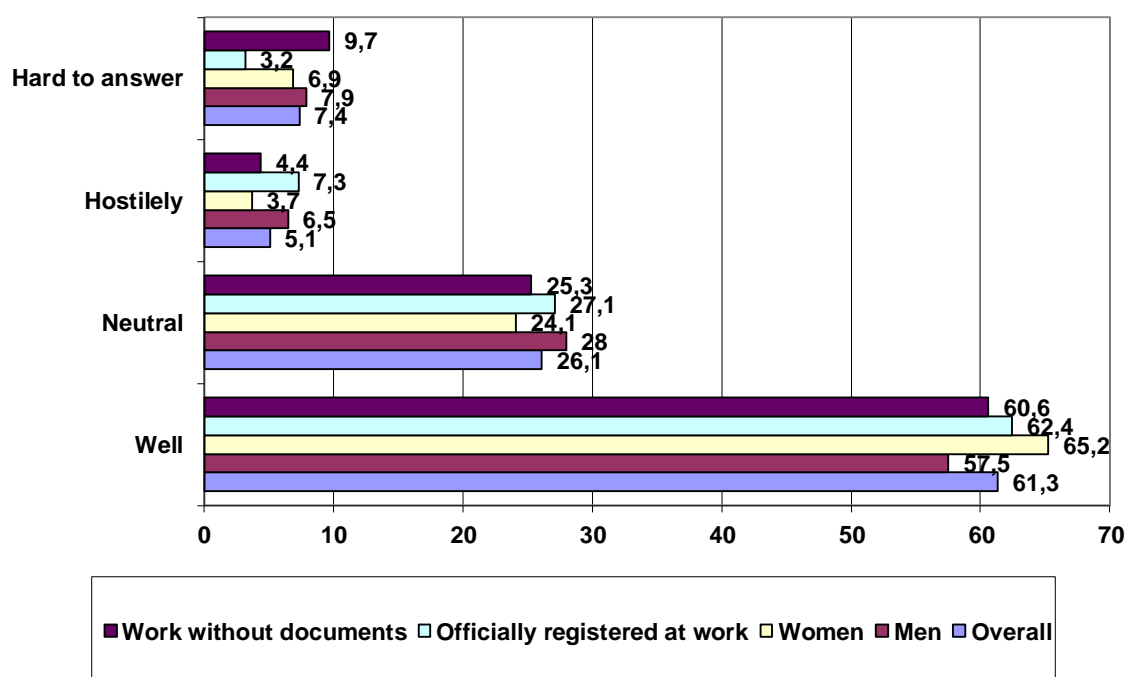
7. The right to non-discrimination. Attitude of local residents in the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan to migrants from Kyrgyzstan and integration of migrants from Kyrgyzstan in Kazakhstan and Russia

In general, the local population in the Russian Federation, according to the interviewed migrants (Table 50, Figure 43), is positive towards Kyrgyzstan. Thus, almost two thirds (61%) of the respondents stated that they were well treated by the local population, and a quarter (26%) indicated a neutral attitude. 5% of respondents said they were hostile to themselves by the local population, among them there are more men (6.5%) than women (3.7%), and also more of those who are officially registered at work (7.3%) than those who work without documents (4.4%). The latter seems to be related to the fact that officially registered Kyrgyz citizens, more often than working unofficially, work alongside local residents, enter into direct competition with them for jobs, therefore they often feel unkind towards themselves.

In general, the attitude towards migrants from Kyrgyzstan has slightly improved, as well as towards all migrants in general. This is shown by the measurements of the Levada Center³⁹.

*There is a lull in the media. Very little migration is being discussed, and therefore the level of xenophobia is not very high. Is not changing for the worse, no.
From interview with an expert, Yekaterinburg*

Figure 43. Distribution of respondents according to the attitude of the local population towards them in the city of their stay, %



Migrants from Kyrgyzstan (Table 51, Figure 44) in a critical situation most often seek help from relatives or countrymen in Russia (in 75% of cases), while only about 5% of them seek help from local residents, and relatives or countrymen in the homeland - 9%. Among those who work officially in Russia, there are more people who turn to relatives or countrymen at home (12%) than among those who work without documents (8%).

Such a tendency to act “through acquaintances” leads to the fact that the mechanisms for the protection of labor rights, which became available to Kyrgyzstanis after Kyrgyzstan joined the EEU, remain unclaimed. In addition, the lack of large-scale information activities also reduces the level of use of such mechanisms.

³⁹ Levada Center. Attitudes towards migrant workers. 28.04.2017 <http://www.levada.ru/2017/04/28/otnoshenie-k-trudovym-migrantam/>

Even if there is a system that will protect them, they still need to be convinced that it really works. Some critical mass of such appeals should come to us or to any public organizations — to the labor inspectorate, trade unions, and so on — so that people can understand. In the meantime, there is no such critical mass. There are separate appeals - successful, not very successful and completely unsuccessful. It's just that we need to act, the state, the trade unions, so that this critical mass will come as soon as possible, and these rules that are new and strange for people would start working for them, making real that the labor rights can be protected and work under an employment contract. Some understand this and begin to demand a contract of employment. I don't think that everyone is doing this, but I know Kyrgyz people who require labor contracts and, by the way, do not receive them.

The videos on Kyrgyz television and reminders will not be superfluous. I would also introduce active actions on the part of the Kyrgyz state or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: to report specific cases on their resources. For example: "N. turned to the embassy to us. He had bad with labor relations, we this to change it." Just to report these cases on the official sites.

From interview with an expert, Saint-Petersburg

The integration processes are going with great difficulty by all indications, and even the mechanisms for the protection of labor rights created by entering the EAEU do not yet give very noticeable positive results.

We are dominated by Uzbek-speaking Kyrgyz-southerners in St. Petersburg. They mostly migrate to us, to the North-West region, than northern Kyrgyz. This trend will somehow be maintained. Petersburg will remain predominantly Uzbek, Moscow will remain predominantly Kyrgyz with reference to migration from Kyrgyz-speaking Kyrgyzstan. But they mothballed their positions in this sense, in terms of the country of departure. If they, having established themselves in these positions, will now take up influence on the Russian and Eurasian political reality, if they recognize themselves as some very serious social force, only in this way can they receive their pensions in the future. Such a serious integration formation means that it is necessary to allow the integration logic to develop further. The next step towards social integration, legal integration is pension issues. There is a barrier here. The next step is a unified Labor Code, unified social guarantees, worked out in detail throughout the Eurasian space. But here you need to use the tools that exist. It is convenient enough for sending countries. The fact that all decisions are made by consensus, the Eurasian Economic Commission, makes it a mouthpiece of sending countries. And let them use it - more often, more and better. But they, of course, need more serious public support.

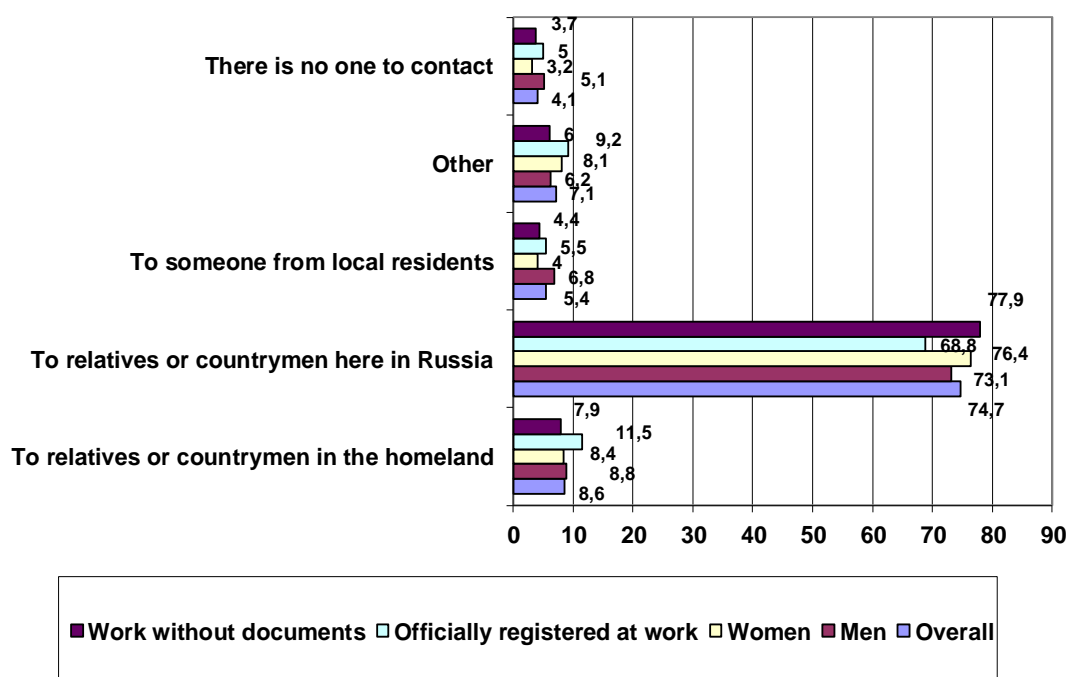
If they applied more and were more assertive, perhaps, in terms of mobilizing their own rights and guarantees, which they have written on paper ... But since this is in conflict with the established life practice, they are not very actively used.

From interview with an expert, Saint-Petersburg

There is less and less active work being in the framework of the Eurasian Union. Even the work that is now going on is very stalled. For example, projects of convergence of pension systems, tax systems, etc. It needs to be reanimated.

From interview with an expert, Saint-Petersburg

Figure 44. Distribution of respondents by preferred source of assistance in a critical situation, %



Casual communication, as well as the search for help in a critical situation, clearly shows us that the concept of a “parallel community” is fully applicable to Kyrgyz people in Russia. So, the main communication (Table 52, Figure 45) is focused on colleagues⁴⁰ also migrants (81% of respondents said this), countrymen (80%), relatives (70%), and more often women (76%) communicate with relatives, not men (64%). 28% of respondents communicate with local residents, 41% with their neighbors, and 43% with local colleagues. Officially registered Kyrgyz citizens (30% versus 27% of workers without documents) and men (30% versus 26% among women) communicate with local residents a little more often. Men also rather often communicate with local colleagues (45% vs. 40%) and, more often, Kyrgyz people who are officially registered at work (57% vs. 35% of those who work without documents).

In most cases, word of mouth and personal connections help. It is connected more to mentality, you know. It is Middle Asia. People tend to address their countrymen or relatives in difficult moments, they turn to their own people, and a chain reaction is obtained.
From interview with an expert, Moscow

Basically, those who want to register, they will not turn to government agencies, they will better contact their fellow countrymen and make it much easier than the state. First, cheaper, and secondly, there is no language barrier. So there are fewer questions.
From interview with an expert, Moscow

Those who come from abroad act only through their connections, through informal connections.
From interview with an expert, Yekaterinburg

At the time of arrival from Kyrgyzstan, no diaspora organization, no other interested subjects talk about their rights. They come here, they have a loyal regime of stay, but they are not aware of their rights and obligations.

Nobody works with them. Some kind of information campaign should be carried out. This whole situation suggests the idea of a deliberate reduction of budget expenditures in the Russian Federation: there was a team not to advertise much, not to conduct large campaigns on this issue.

From interview with an expert, Moscow

⁴⁰ When answering the question about everyday communication, respondents could choose several answers, so the total of answers is more than 100%.

Interviewed officials rather talk about the lack of awareness of the migrants themselves and the responsibility to them of their state of origin.

If we take Kyrgyzstan as an example, person comes from some hinterland. He may not really know that Kyrgyzstan has entered into an alliance. There must be some informational work inside Kyrgyzstan to be carried out among such population. If you want to go to Russia, you shall do that and that. You come, sign a contract, register. Everything can be done legally. A person who goes to work should not only know his duties, should respect the culture of the country of residence and the laws, but he should also know his rights. Whoever wants - he finds out, who does not want, the person will simply not know even if you publish everywhere. If you go to work for a period of time, you should know these things. Countries should do this too, and as far as I know, they do it.

From interview with an expert, Moscow

The Kyrgyz Migration Service has an application for migrant workers. But in fact, unfortunately, this is somehow ineffective, and people don't know in the end. Maybe it is not advertised in Kyrgyzstan.

From interview with an expert, Moscow

For migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan, migration to Russia often involves the use of quasi-liberalization mechanisms, and, unfortunately, this is systemic.

All these structures along with the migration registration, automatically sell them a fake employment contract. In my opinion it does not even depend on the experience of these migrants: a new one is a migrant or an experienced migrant, does not matter, this is such a vital necessity. Appealed to the fellow countrymen who are engaged in migration registration and sale of these documents in order to legally stay in Russia, through diaspora organizations. This is the only opportunity to really be on the territory of Russia, because business has no social responsibility. A business does not want to assume separate responsibilities for the registration of migration. If we officially employ a migrant, then we are charged with the responsibility and obligation under the law on migration registration. If we have to put on migration registration, then we need a separate specialist or additional time for employees who could deal with migration registration, removal from migration registration or extension of migration registration. These are additional financial costs that the business does not want to bear.

From interview with expert, Moscow

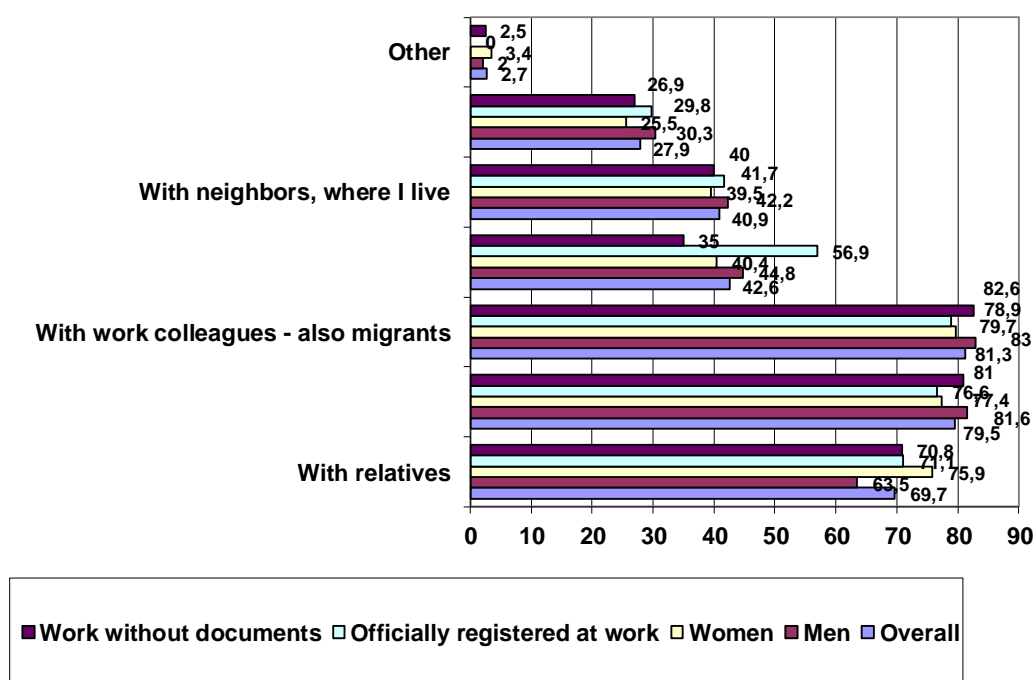
Migration registration, most likely, this corruption schemes work tightly and well, and every mediation structure that puts on record has its own inspectors - they just turn a blind eye to such contracts and documents. They are suitable from a formal point of view. Are documents submitted? Submitted. Is there a kit? There is. Is there a contract? There is. There are no verification procedures, and it is very costly - after all, it is every migrant to check whether he or she really performs labor activity there. Maybe a formal attitude plus corruption schemes - they collectively do what we have in our market.

From interview with expert, Moscow

Their intermediaries give them fake employment contracts, and they even partially inform them (the migration service) that they have been hired by some of the organizations. Based on this, they go, register, extend the registration for a year and calmly hang out here.

From interview with expert, Yekaterinburg

Figure 5. Distribution of respondents according to the preferences of everyday communication in the city of their stay, %



Migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan are not equally distributed over the territory of Russia, therefore the infrastructure they create is also different in different regions of Russia.

Here, they are less visible and, apparently, less organized. Have not heard of that there were Kyrgyz cafes, clubs, clinics in Moscow no.
From interview with an expert, Saint-Petersburg

What really manifests itself is the creation of social infrastructure facilities by migrants. Such for example, as beauty salons. They have appeared. Especially nail salons. This is a very popular story. In our city there is the former House of Culture of the All-Russian Society of the Blind. It is located in a place where the Tagansky Ryad and Sorting markets are near. There are a lot of sites there, where migrants (not only Kyrgyz, Uzbeks, Chinese, Vietnamese, many who) arrange their trays. They sell tickets (air, railway), provide services related to tailoring (studio), cut nails (manicure history). "Owns" work there. There is no story about the fact that some local woman paints her nails there. No its for their "owns". This is not a closed story: you cannot say that there is no access there, and if you are from the outside, you will not be served. This is not true. But it is clear that the locals will not go there. Although, I repeat, this is not like the Chinese who are closed, and in general there is no access. This is not the city center. The area is called Staraya Sortirovka. The market "Tagansky series" is nearby. It is traditionally a place of attraction for migrants, there works quite a lot there. The Chinese, Vietnamese, Kyrgyz, Uzbeks, people from the Caucasian republics - the palette there is quite wide. The district, itself since it is adjacent to this place, there are also quite a lot of migrants living there. Now it began to build new high-rise buildings on the edges, housing complexes with a claim to a high class. This housing is bought by foreigners and migrants too. This is a place in which there are more migrants than in other parts of the city.

From interview with expert, Yekaterinburg

The research revealed that the representative offices of Kyrgyzstan, which can assist migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan in Russia, do not work equally openly everywhere. So, when conducting research in Yekaterinburg, we faced a rather detached approach.

The Kyrgyz representation in Yekaterinburg has become even worse if you are doing migration research. Previously, they explained that they did not want to put their citizens in a bad light. They interacted in some way. Now they have moved to Chapaeva Street, now they have a bigger and more comfortable playground. But all attempts to get in touch with them were not crowned with anything at all - phones do not

work there. Usually, at least, the cultural attache at other consulates, they will still talk, tell you something - at least they will observe some polity. But these are not at all. They are not. They seem to be there, but they are not there. An incomprehensible story. How citizens of Kyrgyzstan cope with this, I can't even imagine. I got the impression that they had absolutely bad relations with this consulate. Citizens of Kyrgyzstan do not know when this institution works. Those who work there also do some business of their own, they are not at all up to these ordinary citizens of Kyrgyzstan. There was such an impression. This story is well superimposed on the expansion of the Eurasian Union. By and large, the need for this institution has become less, in terms of documents and other things.

From interview with expert, Yekaterinburg

A slightly reduced, but still persisting xenophobia, violation of the labor rights of migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan reinforces the challenges and risks of extremism on the part of migrants, which to a large extent appear in response to unworthy working and living conditions. Experts spoke about this directly.

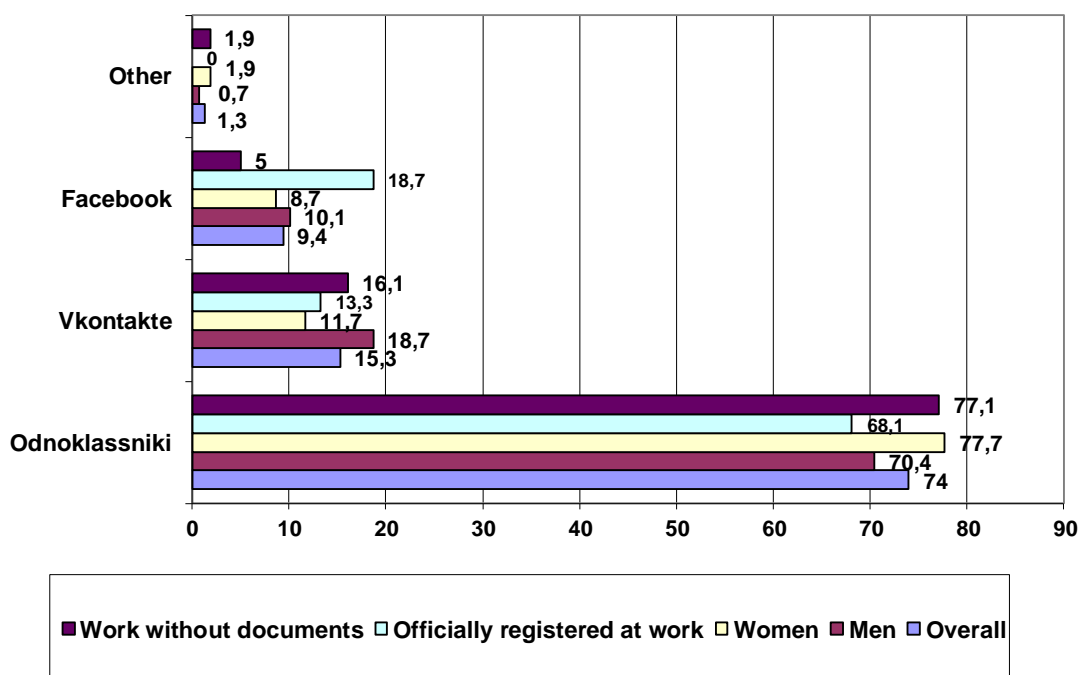
A security issue will arise. We have the World Cup literally coming and who works under what conditions? The same problem of the south of Kyrgyzstan. If you remember those who made the last explosion in St. Petersburg, come from the south of Kyrgyzstan. And no one pays any attention to this, unfortunately. What can this lead to?

Until the thunder clap, the peasant does not cross. But thunder can come out at any moment. It will be used without fail, and there will be attempts to use it all. And since everything happens uncontrollably among migrants, and the attitude of the employer towards these migrants: you can throw them out on the street, do not pay the salary. There are many of those who are offended. And offence can lead to revenge. I think this should attract more attention from law enforcement. Clean up the labor market of recruitment companies, because they will be the main attendants of all these activities. And from there comes the very threat.

From interview with expert, Yekaterinburg

The study showed that the absolute leader among the used social networks (Table 53, Figure 46) among the respondents is the Odnoklassniki network — three out of four respondents (74%) use it to communicate, and more often women (77%) than men (70%), and more often working informally (77%) than officially registered (68%). The VKontakte network ranks second in popularity - it is used by 15% of respondents, more often men (19%) than women (12%), and more often unofficially employed (16%) than officially working migrants (13%).

Figure 46. Distribution of respondents by the preferred use of the type of social network for everyday (most frequent) communication in Russia, %

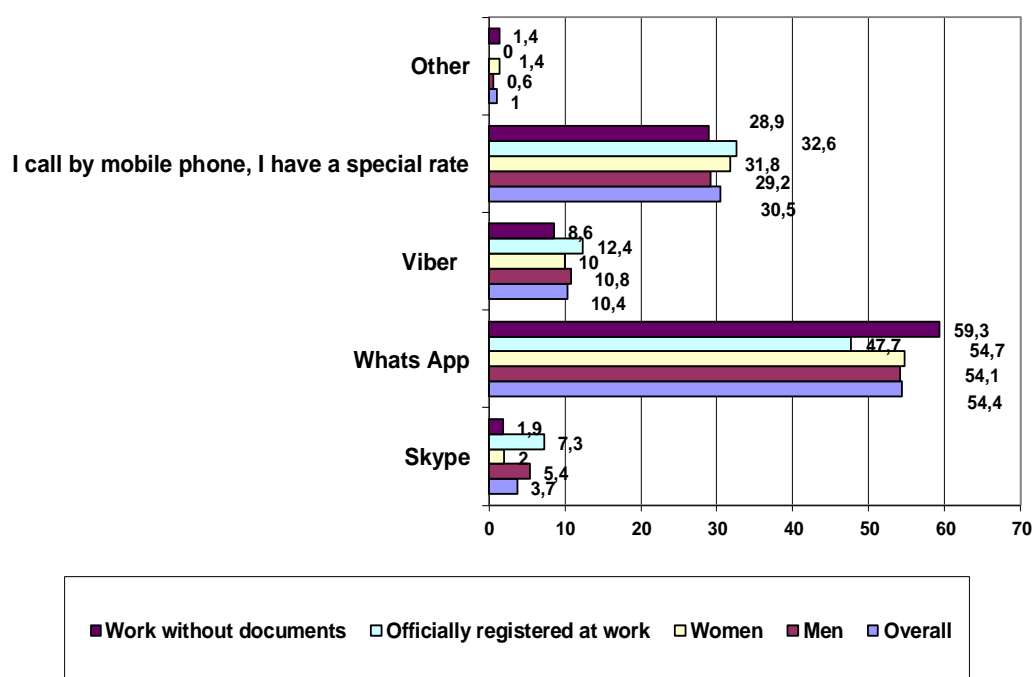


The overwhelming majority of migrants for calls to their relatives (Table 54, Figure 47) use the WhatsApp application - in the sample as a whole, more than half of the respondents use it (54%). This program is equally popular among men and women (54% of men surveyed and 55% of women surveyed use it), but more often it is used by those who work in Russia informally than those who are formalized at work (59% and 48% respectively).

The second most popular way of communication with relatives among the interviewed migrants is mobile phone calls at a special rate - just under one third of the respondents (31%). It is also about equally popular with both men and women (29% and 32%), however, officially, this way of communication is more popular among workers than among those without documents (33% against 29%)

Viber is in third place in popularity - every tenth respondent uses it, and more often officially registered workers (12%) than informally employed (9%). Completes the list of popular ways to communicate with family program Skype, which is used by only about 4% of surveyed migrants. This program is more often used by men than women (5% versus 2%), and more often formalized workers than informally employed (7% versus 2%).

Figure 47. Distribution of respondents by the preferred use of the type of communication for calls to relatives from Russia, %

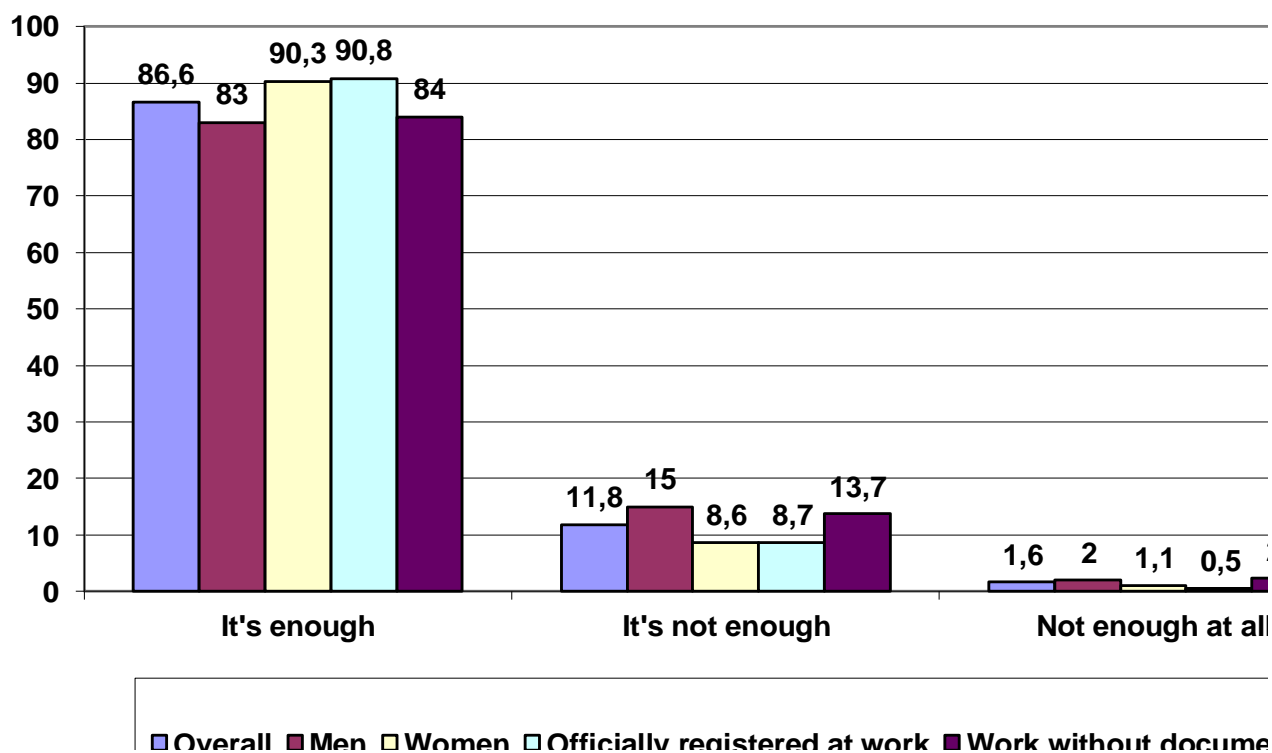


As research shows⁴¹, migrants from Kyrgyzstan know Russian better than other migrants from Central Asia. Our study confirmed this thesis. So, for communication at work (Table 55, Figure 48), 87% of the respondents surveyed are sufficient in their knowledge of the Russian language. At the same time, women think that men use their language skills better than men (90% of them think so, while among men only 83% think so). Also, citizens of Kyrgyzstan who are officially registered at work, in their opinion, have better knowledge of Russian for communication at work (91%) than those who work without documents (84%). Among those who lack Russian language skills (12% of the sample as a whole), there are almost two times more men than women (15% versus 9%), and those working without documents - than officially registered (14% versus 9%). Those who do not have enough knowledge of Russian for communication at work are only about 2%.

From these data it can be concluded that migrants from Kyrgyzstan, as a rule, work in jobs for which they have the necessary level of knowledge of the Russian language.

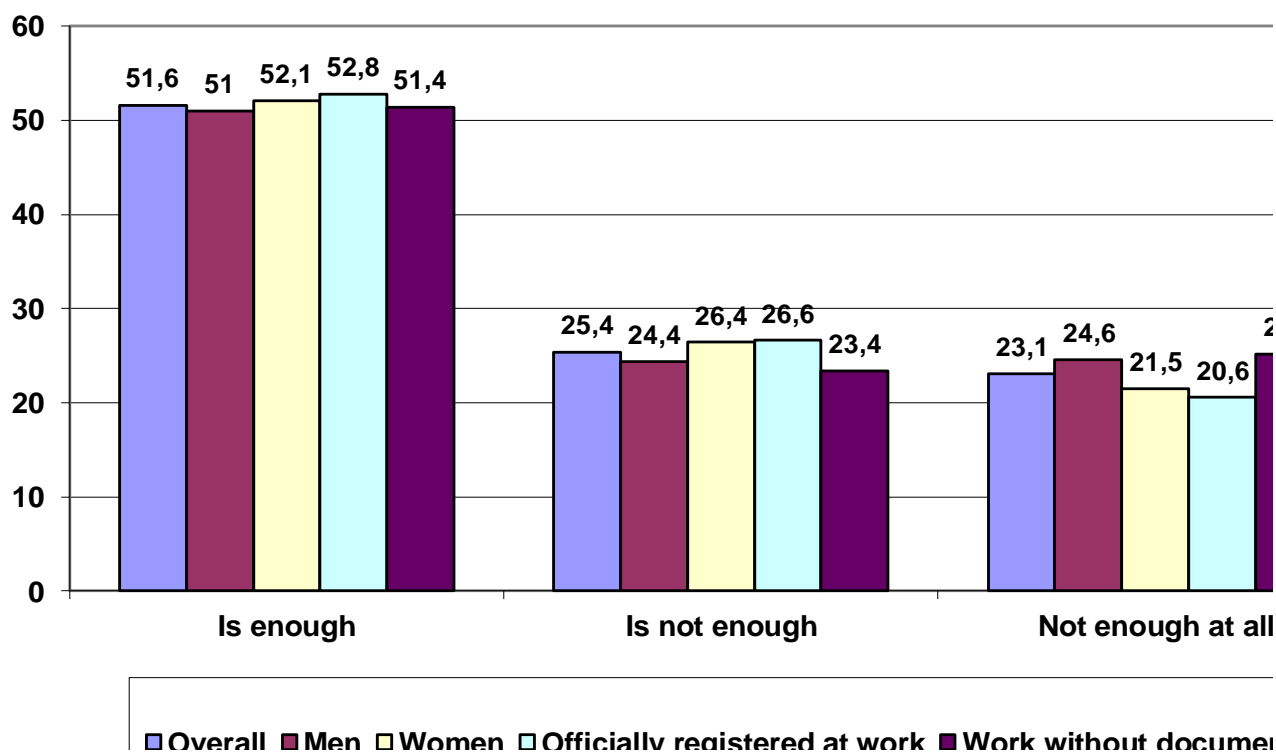
Рисунок 48. Distribution of respondents by self-assessment of knowledge of the Russian language For communication at work, %

⁴¹ Project of AUCA TSPC in 2016 “Analysis of the labor market situation in the Russian Federation for the purpose of effective employment of migrant workers from the Kyrgyz Republic and the Republic of Tajikistan”



At the same time, the study showed (Table 56, Figure 49), only about half of the respondents (52%) have good written Russian language skills, so comfortable communication in Russian at work and actual knowledge of the Russian language by migrants from Kyrgyzstan are not the same thing. About a quarter (23%) of the interviewed migrants from Kyrgyzstan stated that their knowledge of the Russian language is not enough to fill out the documents. Among those who responded in this way, there were more people who work without documents (25%) than those who are officially registered at work (21%), as well as more men (25%) than women (22%).

Figure 49. Distribution of respondents by self-assessment of knowledge of the Russian language to fill in the documents, %



When self-assessing the knowledge of the Russian language for communication in a store, pharmacy, at the post office (Table 57, Figure 50), about three quarters of the respondents (77%) noted that their knowledge of the Russian language is enough, 15% - that their knowledge is not enough 8% - that their knowledge is not enough at all. This question clarifies the ability of migrants from Kyrgyzstan to integrate into everyday life in Russia, and, as we see, these opportunities are quite satisfactory.

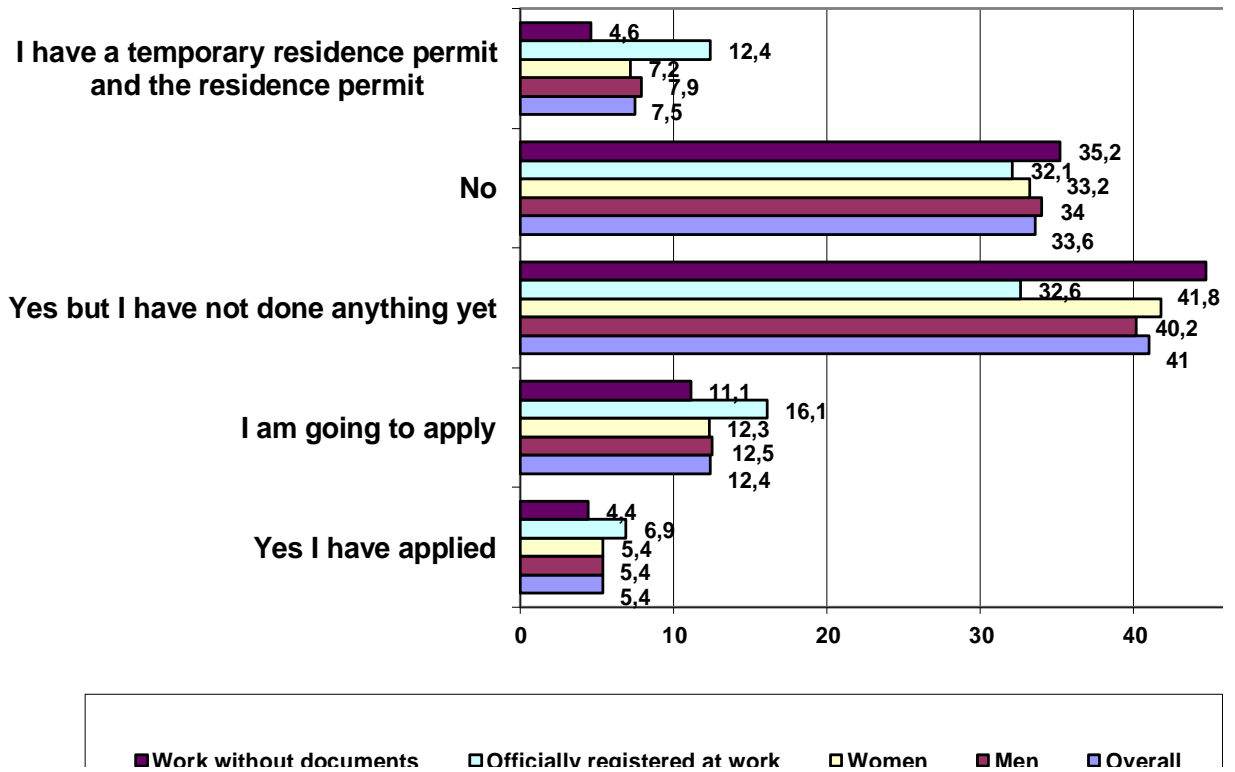
Figure 50. Distribution of respondents by self-assessment of knowledge of the Russian language for communication in the store, pharmacy, in the mail, %



Among the respondents, only about a third (34%) do not have the desire to obtain Russian citizenship (Table 58, Figure 51). About 5% have already applied for citizenship, 12% are going to apply, and 41% would like to receive Russian citizenship, but so far they have not done anything for it.

Among those who have already submitted documents for citizenship of the Russian Federation, there are more officially employed (7%) than informally employed (4%), as well as among those who are going to apply (16% against 11%). But among those who would like to have Russian citizenship, but haven't done anything yet, they are more unofficially employed (45% vs. 33%), as well as among those who are not going to get Russian citizenship (35% vs. 32%). There are almost no differences in gender among those who want to acquire Russian citizenship and those who do not have such intentions..

Figure 51. Distribution of respondents according to their intentions to get Russian citizenship, %



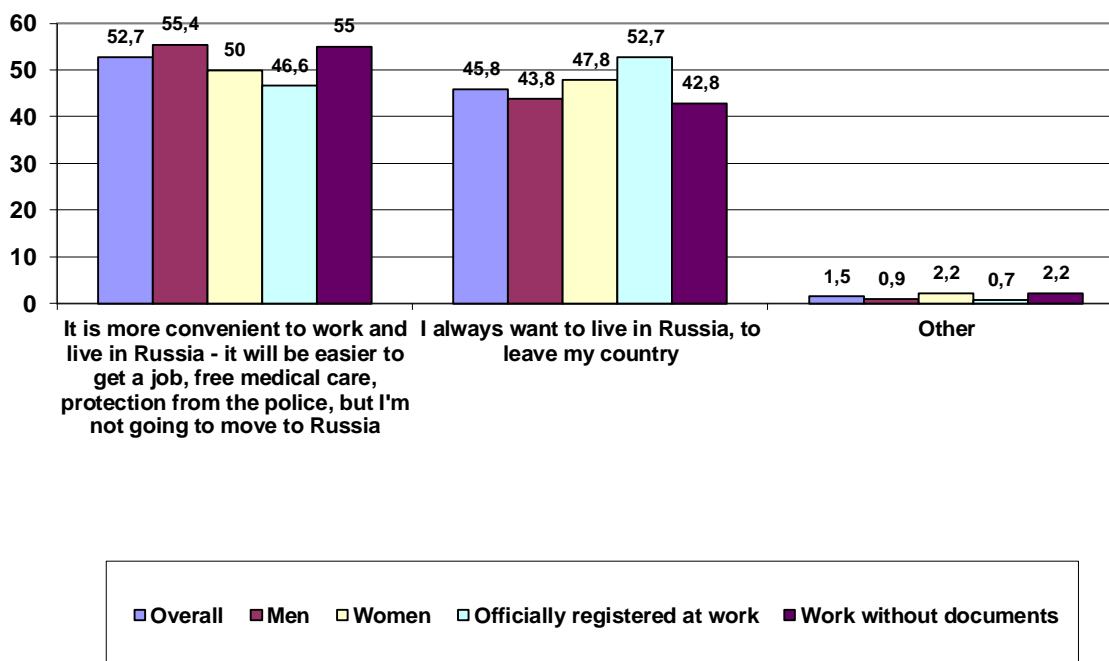
Interestingly, the desire to acquire Russian citizenship (Table 59, Figure 52) is mainly connected not with moving to Russia for permanent residence and the desire to live in Russia (only 46% said so), but with the fact that having Russian citizenship it is more convenient for Kyrgyz citizens to work in Russia - it is easier to get a job, to receive medical care, to be protected from the police, but at the same time not to live permanently in Russia.

It is possible that it is precisely the periodical tightening of migration policy in Russia that pushes labor migrants to acquire the Russian passport “just in case” by any means possible, although this does not always mean for them to move from labor migration to settling in Russia for permanent residence.

Such steps of Russia as prohibitions, raids will force people to finally leave the country [Kyrgyzstan-DP]. I think this causes a backlash. The more such instability in politics, the more people will acquire permanent residence, Russian citizenship.

From interview with expert

Figure 52. The distribution of respondents by reasons of their desire to get Russian citizenship, %



Kazakhstan

Just like in Russia, migrants from Kyrgyzstan in Kazakhstan, when obtaining Kazakhstani citizenship, often try to retain Kyrgyz citizenship, neglecting the laws of the Republic of Kazakhstan, since this, in their opinion, can simplify their lives.

This is not a dual citizenship, but a different citizenship. After receiving the documents on Kazakhstan citizenship, the passport of Kyrgyzstan is handed over to the migration police of Kazakhstan and then passed through special channels to the embassy. But they try not to do this, and it turns out that a person has two documents.

From interview with expert, Astana

The process of taking citizenship is a responsibility. If you bring to the point of absurdity, citizenship is who you will vote for, in which army you will go to serve. Citizenship is in whose direction your gun will fire. And one can say that if tomorrow this Kirghiz is taken to the Russian army, he will take the oath. And they will put him in a helicopter and will say: "Fly to the landing party in Kyrgyzstan". Conditionally. No one ever thinks about this, it seems to me. And the motivation for taking citizenship is "to make it easier for me to work."

From interview with expert, Astana

There is a very low level of legal awareness. Some of those who came, they did not know and, even knowing, did not observe this immigration legislation. They sometimes do it intentionally.

From interview with expert, Astana

According to experts, this position of "legal nihilism" is applied even in a situation when it is easier for Kyrgyz citizens than other migrants from Central Asia to comply with the laws of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

After joining the EEU, migrant workers leaving Kyrgyzstan to work in Kazakhstan did not have more opportunities to protect their rights. More opportunities appeared not to violate existing immigration laws and regulations. This means that they have less reason to protect their rights.

From interview with expert, Astana

The effects of Kyrgyzstan's accession to the Eurasian Economic Union are there, migrant workers have felt them and regard them as positive. First of all, they are now less likely to violate immigration laws, as the time

spent in Kazakhstan has increased. For migrants who come to the South Kazakhstan region, this was one of the most pressing issues.
From interview with expert, Shymkent

In general, in Kazakhstan, the issue of xenophobia towards migrants from Kyrgyzstan is not so acute, but this xenophobia is perceived a little differently - from the standpoint of relations between close neighbors.

For the citizens of Kyrgyzstan, it is not so humiliating, if they take money from them in Moscow, but if it happens in Astana, it is not acceptable at all. This reflects the fact that Kazakhstan is not perceived by them as a separate country, just as Russia is perceived as a country of the north.

From interview with expert, Astana

Experts, assessing the growth prospects of xenophobia in Kazakhstan, expressed fears that such a potential exists.

While the power in Kazakhstan is such that it can calm everything down, nationalism will be restrained. But when this will stop... People feel this too. In Russia, even if the nationalist movement has started, you can still go to another region. And where will you go in Kazakhstan, if not to Astana and Almaty? Then there are no places to go.

From interview with expert, Astana

Kazakhs can have quite nationalistic views. They want to consolidate oralmans much more than attract the Kyrgyz. This is not Russia. There is no imperial, let's say, idea that there are connections with the former republics. In general, there is no such solidarity. And Kyrgyz feel it. A Kyrgyz who has come to Russia, if he speaks good Russian, he can assimilate if he wants. And in Kazakhstan, you just do not assimilate, because the second question when meeting you is whether you are Kazakh, and the third is which zhuz.

From interview with expert, Astana

The xenophobia against the Kyrgyz is the same - not much has changed. Kazakhs think of Kyrgyz as smaller brothers, but this is not a very strong xenophobia. All wariness is against the Chinese.

From interview with expert, Astana

Protecting the rights of migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan in Kazakhstan depends most of all on their personal awareness of their rights and obligations, and this knowledge is not that high. There are quite a few NGOs in Kazakhstan that are engaged in such work, as well as direct assistance to migrant workers.

Few organizations work in the field of assistance to migrant workers. There is a network of shelters that work with victims of trafficking. But nothing for labor migrant.

From interview with expert, Astana

Today, in addition to non-governmental organizations, they are not directly assisted. A foreign citizen may contact a lawyer in case of violation of rights on a fee basis.

From interview with expert, Astana

In order to effectively defend the rights of migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan to Kazakhstan, it is necessary for them to be well informed about their rights. If they themselves do not defend their rights, then individual officials or organizations will not be able to do this effectively. Therefore, the first and most effective method is to increase the migration literacy of migrant workers. Also important is the role of consular missions. For example, in Russia there are more Kyrgyz consulates than Uzbekistan. In many cities where a large number of migrant workers work, there are consulates. There is also a representative office of the State Migration Service of Kyrgyzstan in Russia. That is, there are ways for migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan to go in order to be given legal or other assistance. And in this regard, Kyrgyzstan has experience of representation.

From interview with expert, Almaty

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

Before Kyrgyzstan joined the EEU, limited attention was paid to long-term strategic measures to manage migration processes, but the accession of Kyrgyzstan in 2015 gave a powerful impetus to adjusting the migration policy of the EEU as a whole and each of its member countries individually. The increasing complexity of migration management in the EAEU due to the accession of Kyrgyzstan sharply actualizes the risks of violation of labor rights and causes the search for new forms and measures to protect the rights of migrant workers within the EAEU in general and in Kazakhstan and Russia in particular.

The study showed that there was a clear differentiation for legally and informally employed Kyrgyz people in terms of employment in the host countries of the EAEU. Informally employed more often work on physically harder work, receive less money for it and spent more time on it (by the number of hours and days a week), which increases the risks of “waste of competencies” that exist in such migrant workers as in Russia and in Kazakhstan.

By all indications, it is clear that integration processes is moving with great difficulty and even the mechanisms for protecting the labor rights of migrant workers created in the EAEU are still functioning with limited efficiency.

Russia

Unfortunately, today, the uncertainty of the functions of the departments of the Russian Federation regarding the integration and adaptation of migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan leads to blurred boundaries of powers and responsibilities of these departments, which entails the emergence of barriers to creating an adaptation and integration system: from the lack of comprehensive migration statistics and long-term migration policy strategies until the efforts of individual public institutions (schools, NGOs, social services, medical organizations) involved in adaption and integration of migrants and their families in the Russian Federation. It does not take into account the experience already gained on this issue, which is available both from research organizations that monitor labor migration processes and from specialized NGOs that work directly with migrant workers.

The study showed that among the working informally in Russia, Kyrgyzstanis are more residents of small cities and rural areas (30% and 28%, respectively - against 28% and 22% among the "legal"). They have a lower level of education (mainly secondary education - 44% against 30% among the “legal”), among them there are fewer of those who have families (49% against 59%), a third of them come from poor families (34% of them have money only enough for the most necessary against 21% among those who work officially). Obviously, this group of migrant workers is in a more vulnerable position and has increased employment risks, and their access to services such as medical care and education (including for their children) may be seriously limited.

As can be seen from the results of the study, those who work legally, on average, live longer in Russia than those who work without proper documentation (an average of 4.81 years for legals versus 4.08 years for unformed employees), and among them it is more than those who are aimed at settling in Russia or for a longer stay in Russia.

Not all migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan took their children to Russia: about 60% left all their children at home, and only about a third (32%) took them with them on a trip. Adequate statistics, allowing to estimate the number of children of migrants from Kyrgyzstan in Russia, are not enough to manage in this area, as well as its planning and forecasting.

Only slightly more than a third of young children (35%) go to kindergarten. A quarter of young children (25%) do not attend kindergarten, since it was difficult for parents to arrange them in kindergarten, another 15% of parents take care of children at home. As a rule, when a child is sent to kindergarten, the main obstacles are the lack of registration with parents and the lack of places in kindergartens. Access to schools for children of school age is much better: 80% of children go to school. Children do not go to school with 16% of parents. Problems with schooling occurred in 34% of school-age children. Basically, this was also due to the lack of registration of parents at the place of residence, which is necessary for electronic registration of a foreign child at school, and empty seats at schools nearby. The situation with access to school for children from Kyrgyzstan has a positive trend.

Basically, the attitude towards children from Kyrgyzstan in Russian schools is good - about 80% of parents noted this. About 5% of the surveyed parents noted the unfriendly attitude.

About half of the parents (47%) take their children to doctors for prevention, but 45% of parents lead their children in Russia to doctors only when an urgent need arises. This is mainly due to the high cost of a medical policy covering all necessary medical services for children, and the fact that not all migrant parents can buy it.

In the short and medium term, the number of children from Kyrgyzstan in Russian schools will gradually increase, as migration from Kyrgyzstan to Russia is feminized, and also family migration is increasing.

In just one year (from 2016 to 2017), the number of Kyrgyz citizens legally employed in Russia decreased by 11%, while the number of Kyrgyz citizens who, in their own opinion, had a written employment contract, decreased by 10%. This increases the risks of their labor exploitation and deterioration of working conditions. Such dynamics of decreasing legality inspire serious concerns in consolidating the trend of expanding the shadow employment of Kyrgyzstanis for the long term, which causes great concern for the future of the EAEU and the harmonious development of the common labor market.

In the overwhelming majority of cases, legally employed Kyrgyzstanis work in an organization or firm (93%), whereas among informally employed people, only half (51%). Migrants who do not legalize their labor relations (45%) mainly work on private individuals, while a minority (6%) are among the legal persons.

In Russia, 26% of migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan work in the service sector, 29% in trade, about 20% in construction, 12% in transport services and communications, 5% in housing and public utilities, 3% in households, 2, 4% - in industry, 1.3% - in health care. We observe the largest gender gap in the service sector: only 12% of men and 41% (!) of women are employed here.

Those who are officially registered at work, more often work in industry (4.1% versus 1.2% among those not registered legally), housing and communal services (14.2% versus 0.7%) and health care institutions (3.2 % vs. 0.2%). There are almost no differences in formally and informally employed in the services sector (26.6% versus 25.3%) and trade (26.6% versus 29.5%). But in the areas of construction (23.2% versus 12.8%), transport services and communications (13.7% versus 9.6%), in the households (5.3% versus 0.5%), informally employed clearly dominate .

Migrants from Kyrgyzstan are mostly looking for work through “their owns” (74%). Another 9% are looking for work through advertisements in the media, 8% - through ads or online advertising, 4% - through an intermediary. Only about 2% (actually at the level of statistical error!) applied to state structures (employment services). Among those who work informally, it is much more common to seek work through relatives, friends or acquaintances (81% of them do this) than among those who are officially employed (60%). The fact that migrant workers prefer to seek work through diaspora ties puts them in risk from time to time when they do not even consider the option of formalizing an employment contract and become vulnerable to fraud and deception.

For migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan, migration to Russia often involves the use of quasi-legalization mechanisms with the help of diaspora ties, and, unfortunately, this is systemic.

The situation of the massive deception of migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan by their Russian employers does not attract the close attention of Russian law enforcement and supervisory structures.

If we consider the situation as a whole (the answers both of those who work officially and unofficially), 61% of Kyrgyz migrants have a written contract with the employer. Only 38% of respondents answered that the employer refused to sign the contract, 54% said that they themselves did not need the contract. The study showed that the presence or absence of a formal employment contract with an employer is almost independent of the respondent’s length of service in Russia. It is the employers who are the main culprits of the fact that today migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan conclude formal agreements in Russia less and less. Migrant workers do not consider an employment contract as a means of protection against employer's unfair actions, despite the fact that the EAEU has just provided mechanisms for protecting workers in such situations, although these opportunities are rarely used.

41% of Kyrgyz respondents believe that local workers claim their jobs, 32% believe that local workers will not want to work in their workplaces. Legally registered workers enter into tougher competition for jobs with local residents: for example, among non-formals, 40% believe that local workers do not claim their place, and among “legals” only 22% think so. And vice versa: 57% of the “legals” believe that they are competing with the local ones in their workplace, whereas among the unformed, only 32% think so officially.

The study confirmed the trend already noted by other Center of Migration Studies researches that weaning of a passport has ceased to be an actively used measure of pressure and enslavement of foreign workers by Russian employers.

The level of wages as a whole is 29,796 rubles, and for a legally registered employee it is (on average 30,038 rubles per month) almost 1,000 rubles higher than that of an unformed official worker.

Living conditions for migrants from Kyrgyzstan are mainly limited to rental housing: as a rule, they either rent housing together with other people (countrymen, friends, etc.) (49%), or rent separate housing only for themselves / for their family (31%). On average, about three people still live in the same room with the respondent. As a rule, men live in more constrained conditions (an average of 3.2 people live in the same room as the respondent) than women (an average of 2.72 people live in the same room as the respondent).

Most of the surveyed migrants from Kyrgyzstan assess their health as good (75%), which is understandable, since mostly healthy workers, who are ready for difficult working conditions and leave for work. 23% of respondents admitted their health was satisfactory, only about 2% were bad. According to their own estimates, 78% of health has not changed over the past year, 15% has deteriorated, and 7% has improved. Improvement of health was mainly announced by men (10% versus 3% among women) and officially registered migrants (14% versus 4% among those who work without documents).

In general, the problem of negligent attitudes towards their health among migrants from Kyrgyzstan is similar to the attitude to their own health among the majority of Russians.

The study showed that migrants from Kyrgyzstan are very poorly aware of their right to get an Required Medical Insurance policy in Russia, if they have a legal labor contract and the employer pays all taxes for them. Information about the free Required Medical Insurance policy is not advertised and is not distributed among the migrants from the EEU by government agencies either systematically or on a large scale. Already available experience suggests that information about free medical services in the past was spread fairly quickly through the migrant community through word of mouth, but so far we have not seen this either. For their part, the Russian insurance companies do not inform the EEU migrant workers who are legally working in the Russian Federation about the possibilities of free medical care. Migrants legally registered at work have access to the Required Medical Insurance policy their family members do not have such access.

Risks to the health of migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan to Russia increased due to reduced concerns about their health. In connection with the cancellation of obtaining patents by Kyrgyz citizens in the Russian Federation and the mandatory test for infection with tuberculosis and HIV in this regard, citizens of Kyrgyzstan have become less likely to take a test for these dangerous diseases. In the conditions of Russia, where an HIV epidemic has been declared, this is fraught for migrants with an increased risk of late diagnosis of this disease.

There is a practice in Russia when people from Kyrgyzstan organize medical clinics that have received the unofficial name of "Kyrgyz". People from Kyrgyzstan work in such clinics and medical services are focused on Kyrgyz-speaking patients. Most of these clinics are concentrated in Moscow.

Among the women surveyed, more than a quarter had a pregnancy during their stay in Russia (27.2%), and 6% of them had several pregnancies. It has become a mass phenomenon.

Women rarely change their reproductive plans in connection with migration (in 77% of cases they do not change), which indirectly confirms that for most of them **migration has become a lifestyle, a life strategy**, and not an accidental life event.

Mostly women prefer to give birth to a child in Russia (43%), only 30% of them go to give birth to their motherland. Among those who are officially registered at work, more are those who give birth to a child in Russia (48%) than among those who work without documents (40%).

The data on the number of women who lost their child due to miscarriage and stillbirth (14%) is very disturbing which is about twice the number of abortions (7.5%). This speaks both about the poor conditions in which women bear a child, and about the unsatisfactory state of their women's health. The study showed that the majority of women are not observed in the antenatal clinic before the childbirth, so during childbirth they immediately go to the infectious diseases department of maternity hospitals. As you can see, the consequences of the fact that pregnancy is not carried out under the supervision of doctors, the necessary treatment is not made during pregnancy, and there is no diagnosis, can be very sad.

Among those who work without documents, the number of abortions (8.6%) is almost two times higher than among those officially registered at work (4.3%). 12% of women surveyed postpone the birth of a child due to migration.

In general, the local population, in the opinion of the interviewed migrants, is positive towards the Kyrgyz people. Thus, almost two thirds (61%) of the respondents declared good attitude towards them from

the local population, a quarter (26%) - about a neutral attitude. Only 5% of respondents said they were hostile to themselves by the local population.

Everyday communication, as well as the search for help in a critical situation, clearly show us that the concept of a “parallel community” is fully applicable to the Kyrgyz people in Russia. So, the main communication is focused on colleagues – who are also migrants (81% of respondents said this), countrymen (80%), relatives (70%), and more often women (76%) communicate with their relatives (64%). 28% of respondents communicate with local residents, 41% with their neighbors, and 43% with local colleagues.

Such a tendency to communicate only with “their owns”, to act “through their owns” leads to the fact that the mechanisms for the protection of labor rights, which became available to Kyrgyzstanis after Kyrgyzstan joined the EAEU, remain unclaimed. In addition, the lack of large-scale information activities also reduces the level of use of such mechanisms.

Migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan are not equally distributed over the territory of Russia, therefore the infrastructure they create is also different in different regions of Russia (the presence / absence of “Kyrgyz” clinics, cafes, clubs, hairdressing salons, nail salons, etc.).

The absolute leader among the used social networks among the respondents is the Odnoklassniki network - it is used by three out of four respondents (74%), and more often women (77%) than men (70%), and also working informally (77%), than formalized (68%). The VKontakte network is in second place - it is used by 15%, and more often men (19%) than women (12%) and unofficially employed (16%) than officially working migrants (13%).

The vast majority of migrants use the WhatsApp application for calls to relatives in the general, more than half of the respondents of the sample use it (54%). This program is equally popular among both men and women (54% of men surveyed and 55% of women surveyed use it). However, those who work in Russia informally use it more often than those who are formalized at work (59% and 48%, respectively). The second most popular way of communication with relatives among the surveyed migrants is mobile phone calls at a special rate - a little less than a third of the respondents call this way (31%). Viber is in third place in popularity - every tenth respondent uses it.

The study showed that just over half of the respondents (52%) have good written Russian language skills, so comfortable communication in Russian at work and real knowledge of the Russian language by migrants from Kyrgyzstan are not the same thing. About a quarter (23%) of the interviewed migrants from Kyrgyzstan stated that their knowledge of the Russian language is not enough to fill out the documents. Among those who responded in this way, there were more people who work without documents (25%) than those who are officially registered at work (21%), as well as more men (25%) than women (22%).

When self-assessing the knowledge of Russian for communication in a store, pharmacy, in the mail, about three-quarters of respondents (77%) noted that their knowledge of Russian is enough, 15% noted that their knowledge is not very enough, and 8% of those surveyed stated that it is not enough at all. This question clarifies the ability of migrants from Kyrgyzstan to integrate into everyday life in Russia, and, as we see, these opportunities are quite satisfactory.

Among the respondents, only about a third (34%) do not have the desire to obtain Russian citizenship. About 5% have already applied for citizenship, 12% are going to apply, and 41% would like to receive Russian citizenship, but so far they have not done anything for it.

The desire to acquire Russian citizenship is mainly connected not with moving to Russia for permanent residence and the desire to live in Russia (only 46% said so), but because it is easier for Kyrgyz citizens to work in Russia because of Russian citizenship, it's easier to get a job, get medical care, to be protected from the police, so only to work, and not to live permanently in Russia.

Periodic tightening of migration policy in Russia pushes labor migrants to acquire the Russian passport “just in case” by any possible means, although this does not always mean for them to move from labor migration to settling in Russia for permanent residence.

Kazakhstan

Labor migration from Kyrgyzstan to Kazakhstan has several specific features that distinguish it from migration to Russia: a rather high level of family migration and the presence of a large number of “pendulum” migrants who are engaged in trade and constantly move across the border of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. The impact of Kyrgyzstan’s accession to the EEU on “pendulum” migrant traders turned out to be rather weak. They do not change the strategy of their behavior, trying to maintain their semi-legal position.

Labor migration to Kazakhstan is currently only a small alternative to labor migration to Russia, and in the short and medium term the probability of changing this situation is minimal.

Just as in Russia, the main obstacle to the access of children of migrants from Kyrgyzstan to Kazakhstan's schools is their parents' lack of official status, since registration is required when they enroll in a school. As in Russia, in Kazakhstan there is the problem of registering children of migrants from Kyrgyzstan, which does not ensure control by Kazakhstan in obtaining a mandatory minimum of education.

As in other countries of the EEU, in Kazakhstan, migrants from Kyrgyzstan can work without obtaining any permits, but must register a formal labor contract and registration. In reality, there are serious problems due to the fact that migrants from Kyrgyzstan do not always formalize labor contracts. This has serious risks for migrants - mainly it concerns the non-payment of wages. There is a whole stratum of migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan who live outside the existing rules governing labor migration - these are small traders, individual entrepreneurs.

According to the experts interviewed, labor migration from Kyrgyzstan to Kazakhstan has stabilized, almost no changes occur and are not foreseen in the short term.

Experts estimate the number of migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan to Kazakhstan to about 70 thousand people, and this figure has not changed over the past few years.

In the practical application of their right to medical care provided for in the framework of the EAEU, migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan in Kazakhstan, according to experts, receive a very limited range of medical services and are poorly aware (as in Russia) of their rights in this area. Among migrant workers, quite a few work in trade and have the opportunity to spend weekends in Kyrgyzstan, where they prefer to receive medical care.

In general, the attitude towards their health among labor migrants from Kyrgyzstan in Kazakhstan is not very prudent. In Kazakhstan, unlike in Russia, there are no so-called "Kyrgyz" clinics where people from Kyrgyzstan work, and medical services are focused on Kyrgyz-speaking patients.

Just as in Russia, migrants from Kyrgyzstan in Kazakhstan, when obtaining Kazakhstani citizenship, often try to retain Kyrgyz citizenship (ignoring the laws of the Republic of Kazakhstan), since this, in their opinion, can simplify their lives. This position of "legal nihilism" is applied even in a situation when it is easier for Kyrgyz citizens than for other migrants from Central Asia to comply with the laws of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

In Kazakhstan, the issue of xenophobia in relation to migrants from Kyrgyzstan is not acute, but this xenophobia is perceived a little differently - from the standpoint of relations between close neighbors. There are tangible growth prospects for xenophobia in Kazakhstan.

Protecting the rights of migrant workers in Kazakhstan is most dependent on their personal awareness of their rights and obligations, and this knowledge is not up to par. There are quite a **few NGOs in Kazakhstan that are engaged in such work, as well as direct assistance to migrant workers.**

Recommendations

To KR Government:

1. To establish systemic interdepartmental interaction of ministries and departments of the Kyrgyz Republic, the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation to solve the problems of labor migrants and members of their families; to develop principles, practices and mechanisms of work on the most urgent issues: clarification of the importance of legal employment of migrant workers from the Kyrgyz Republic in Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation, informational work on medical care, including the prevention of socially dangerous diseases such as HIV and tuberculosis, stimulating the creation of a pre-departure training system in the Kyrgyz Republic for migrant workers;

2. To strengthen interaction with NGOs providing direct assistance to migrant workers in the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation who are conducting practical work on the adaptation and integration of migrant workers, including children of migrant workers from the EEU countries; initiate the provision of grant financial support to such NGOs at the EAEU level, as well as the institutional inclusion of such NGOs in the system of interstate cooperation at the EAEU level;

3. To monitor labor migration, including from a gender perspective, with an analysis of working conditions, protection of labor rights, access to legalization of employment and stay, access to medical services and education (including for children and young people), and the housing market;

4. To improve informing through the media about labor migration processes in the EAEU, its positive effects and current problems; to create periodic television and radio programs on migration processes in the EAEU on the central TV and radio channels of the Kyrgyz Republic, on the MIR TV channel, using social networks (primarily Odnoklassniki) and their messengers (primarily What's App) to advertise them.);

5. To initiate the creation of a network of special situational centers at the EAEU level for citizens of the EAEU who find themselves in a difficult life situation, for example, taking as a basis the infrastructure of the MFC already operating in Russia. The study showed that sometimes migrant workers who find themselves in a difficult life situation cannot independently find a way out of it and are not aware of the resources that can help them in this situation.

The Ministry of Healthcare of the Kyrgyz Republic needs:

1. To strengthen the work on the prevention of infectious diseases among the working-age population in the Kyrgyz Republic (with particular attention to young people), especially such dangerous diseases as HIV and tuberculosis. To adopt a special action plan during epidemics of diseases, including providing assistance both to those returning to the Kyrgyz Republic from the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan, and to potential labor migrants;

2. To consider the issue of developing guidelines for explaining the algorithm of actions for obtaining medical services for labor migrants from Kyrgyzstan legally employed in the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan and to monitor Russian and Kazakh insurance organizations providing medical insurance services; to promote the development of a line of special medical insurance for members of families of migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan to the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan and informing potential migrant workers about such insurances;

3. To conduct informational work among women who are potential labor migrants, to explain the importance of providing a minimum of pregnancy management services and a minimum of postnatal care services to prevent and reduce infant mortality, to help in the birth of healthy children and to reduce the cases of refusal of female citizens of the Kyrgyz Republic from their children after their birth. It is also necessary to establish state partnerships with Russian and Kazakhstani non-governmental organizations working in the field of patronage and assistance to migrant mothers, including to increase attention to such work at the interstate level and provide financial support to such NGOs in Russia and Kazakhstan, including EEU level.

4. At the EAEU level, to consider the issue of medical care for the families of migrant workers in the EAEU countries, especially minor children who are staying with the migrant workers in the country of their departure.

To the Ministry of Interior Affairs of RK:

It is necessary to strengthen centralized support through embassies and consulates of the Kyrgyz Republic in the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan to solve the problems of migrant workers from the Kyrgyz Republic to the Russian Federation⁴² and Republic of Kazakhstan; collecting, summarizing, analyzing and identifying best practices for dealing with such problems; to support public initiatives (including from Russian and Kazakhstani NGOs); to strengthen information support of public projects in the field of assistance to migrant workers and their families in the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan.

To Trade Unions of KR:

To protect the labor rights of labor migrants from Kyrgyzstan, you can use the opportunities of the trade unions of the Kyrgyz Republic and to strengthen their cooperation with the Russian and Kazakhstan trade unions. In fact, this possibility exists, although it is not yet applied in practice, since, for example, Russian trade unions previously considered foreign workers as competitors to local Russian workers.

With the entry of Kyrgyzstan into the EAEU and the unification of the Kyrgyz and Russian labor markets into a single space, the argument about competition no longer appears consistent, and the practice of de facto discrimination of foreigners by Russian trade unions can be changed. A good example in this case is the

⁴² The study showed that, for example, in Yekaterinburg, the consulate of Kyrgyzstan does not conduct active work and is minimally present in the public space.

Trade Union of Migrant Workers in Moscow, which is in its form a Russian NGO, but uses the format of trade union work in its activities.

To the National Statistics Committee of KR:

1. To establish a centralized collection and analysis of statistics and research results (carried out both within the Kyrgyz Republic and in Kazakhstan and in the Russian Federation) for migrant workers from the Kyrgyz Republic to Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation, including members of the families of migrant workers;
2. To provide public access to the collected information (open data) and its popularization in the media.

To the State Service of Government on Migration of KR:

1. To consider the issue of conducting an informational campaign aimed at conveying information to potential labor migrants in the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan about the possible negative consequences of working under invalid employment contracts and without contracts;
2. To conduct explanatory work on the danger of “legal nihilism” among migrant workers and its long-term consequences (problems with pensions, etc.).

The Ministry of Education in the Kyrgyz Republic, the State Migration Service under the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic, NGOs in the Kyrgyz Republic, the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan:

Children from Kyrgyzstan staying in the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan should be given special attention. If you do not take any action and leave the situation to develop as it is happening now with school-age children from Kyrgyzstan who are in the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan without access to schooling and kindergartens, then in the future this can lead to serious problems.

If children have not received education and if they return to the Kyrgyz Republic or if they settle in the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan, they will be able to work only in the shadow economy, they will become a risk group vulnerable to labor slavery and human trafficking. Such children who are not integrated into Russian and Kazakhstan society and not fully part of Kyrgyz society, may become victims of recruiting extremist organizations.

1. It is necessary to strengthen cooperation with non-governmental organizations working in the field of assistance to children of migrants from Kyrgyzstan in the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan, especially to support the most vulnerable categories of such children.
2. To reduce the number of children - citizens of the Kyrgyz Republic working in the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan until they reach the age of 18, it is necessary to include in the career guidance programs for high school students of the Kyrgyz Republic blocks explaining the legislative prohibition of such work in the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan on the one hand getting a full education regardless of the host country, on the other hand.
3. It seems appropriate at the level of the EAEU to initiate the issue of adopting a legal act regulating the procedure for registering children - citizens of the EAEU countries who do not have residence registration or migration registration at the place of stay in schools of the EAEU countries where such children are currently .
4. The study showed that migrants from Kyrgyzstan, in case of need to improve the Russian or Kazakh languages, mainly can learn them independently. Therefore, it seems rational to develop a special Internet service for the study of Kyrgyzstanis, including children, traveling with their parents - migrant workers in the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan, Russian and Kazakh languages. Such a resource, for example, when studying the Russian language (especially with children) may include fragments of Soviet and Russian cartoons, films, songs and fairy tales, which will allow to simultaneously study the Russian language and get acquainted with Russian culture. It seems appropriate to create such an application for mobile phones (smartphones) and personal computers.

The study showed that the social circle of migrant parents from the Kyrgyz Republic to the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan is often limited to their compatriots and relatives, therefore, through adaptation and subsequent possible integration, as well as teaching their children Russian and Kazakh languages and culture, it is possible to integrate all these families as a whole.

Prospects for the modernization of migration policy in the EAEU area⁴³

In the short term it is rational to take the following measures:

1. In the field of protection of the rights of migrant workers in the EAEU countries

The protection of the rights of migrant workers of the EAEU member countries, organized recruitment, the exchange of data on vacancies, the licensing of private employment agencies (PEA), the development of the rental market with a focus on migrant workers are still on the agenda. The problem of “blacklists” for a part of Kyrgyz migrants has not been resolved yet, the threat of inclusion of migrant workers from the EEU into such lists for two administrative offenses remains. These issues need to be addressed in the short term.

The subject of negotiations should be the protection of the rights of citizens of the EAEU who are in labor migration, including those rights that provide agreements between the EAEU countries: social protection, access to basic social services, social security, social insurance, etc. It is necessary to involve NGOs that have experience in working with migrant workers, including human rights NGOs, and to promote their networking interstate work, with legislative support for their role in this process. The protection of the rights of migrants in the territory of the EAEU countries outside the legal field is particularly relevant.

Solving the problem of migrant-phobia is a long-term goal, but it is necessary to begin work in this direction in the short-term period: through training among journalists of the EAEU countries, special cultural and educational programs covering the entire space of the EAEU and aimed at countering migrant-phobia, including inclusion in this process Media and public institutions.

2. In the area of solving problems with paperwork for migrant workers

With the expansion of the EAEU, the problem of paperwork for migrant workers is becoming more acute. In particular, in Russia, the residence registration system, which replaced the Soviet residence permit, not only seriously hampers the development of migration processes within the EAEU, but also complicates the free flow of labor within the Russian Federation itself.

This problem can be solved by changing the registration system: to make it a notification, while at the same time strengthening control over the payment of taxes by migrants through the personal identification number. This can become a universal tool for other countries of the EAEU and will translate the migration flow management system into an economic plane. In this context, public understanding of the economic benefits of migration and its positive effects should be important.

3. In the field of medical care for migrants

Medical insurance within the EAEU, with the creation and support by the EAEU member states of the practice and effective operation of special insurance programs for members of families of migrant workers, will improve the quality of medical care and the gradual elimination of the informal market of medical services for migrants.

Today, there are already special insurance programs for members of families of migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan. In particular, large insurance companies in Russia have already begun to work in this market segment, but coordination of efforts in their promotion in all EAEU countries has not yet been observed. Making strategic decisions to implement effective measures within the framework of the EAEU for the development of the health insurance market, including for members of the families of migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan, seems to be a necessary step.

4. In the field of protection of abandoned families of migrant workers

It is advisable to create a mechanism for the legal and social protection of the most vulnerable members of the families of migrant workers, for example, women in unregistered and / or early

⁴³ Including materials used working paper Poletaeva D.V. “Analysis of the results of the work of the EAEU in the field of migration”, written for the Russian Council on International Affairs (INF).

marriages (through the provision of free legal and lawyer services); regularly monitor the compliance of the legislation of the EAEU countries with existing international standards for the protection of vulnerable categories of the population; to involve representatives of civil society in the development of mechanisms for the prevention of early and forced marriage and to institutionalize social partnership between governmental and non-governmental organizations of the EAEU working in this field; provide equal educational opportunities for boys and girls in the EAEU; take all measures to prevent gender-based violence, to protect women and girls from social and domestic violence accompanying early marriage, as well as to respect their rights, interests and security.

5. In the field of implementation of the migration monitoring system in the EAEU

Despite the fact that the EAEU has already gained some experience in the study of migration processes between member states, the statistical support in the field of migration is still poorly established. Migration statistics on temporary labor migration, study migration in the EAEU are almost not represented in statistical collections on the EEC website, and already existing research in the field of labor migration within the EAEU has a limited circle of users and is not widely popularized in the media.

In the medium term, it is rational to take the following measures:

1. Establishment of the EAEU Financial Fund

It is necessary to create an EAEU fund that would finance the solution of problems relevant to the EAEU in the field of labor migration. Such a fund could also quickly solve the problems of monitoring migration processes, interaction of the labor markets of the EAEU countries and EAEU partner countries, and promoting the harmonization of professional and educational standards within the EAEU.

2. Harmonization of pension legislation for migrants within the EAEU

An important medium-term task for the EAEU is to harmonize the procedure for calculating pensions in member countries and to record the work experience worked out by migrant workers from the EAEU outside their country of origin.

It is advisable to create a single mechanism that integrates the EAEU pension legislation system, especially with regard to migrant workers. It is necessary to agree on common documentation for the EAEU, for example, a form of a certificate of pension contributions from the place of work and the procedure for issuing it in the EAEU countries. You can offer as a control document a special labor passport or a single workbook for the EAEU, where the work record and pension payments would be recorded. It will be necessary to develop a standard form for this document, a special register of accounting for monitoring records of work activities, a procedure for providing forms of such documents for all economic entities in the EAEU, a system for monitoring this document flow and the authenticity of the information in these documents.

The work on the harmonization of pension funds and pension legislation in the EAEU has already begun⁴⁴. The difficulty of building a pension system for migrant workers is also seen in the fact that decision-makers prefer to solve problems in the short term, believing that other officials will deal with future problems. Such an approach, on the one hand, is difficult to overcome, on the other hand, for those who will promote the solution of this issue, the task of its deferred relevance makes it easier and for the time being available.

1. Retraining and educational migration

As part of the strategic policy to strengthen joint economic projects within the EAEU, the most important component of the educational migration policy can be the active involvement of primary and

⁴⁴ A draft Agreement on the provision of pensions to workers of the Eurasian Economic Union member states (in development), a draft Agreement between the authorized bodies of the member states on the implementation of the Treaty on the provision of pensions to workers of the member states of the Eurasian Economic Union, the Regulations for Informational Cooperation on the Implementation of the Pension Agreement of the Eurasian Economic Union's member states and the Agreement between the authorized bodies of the member states on the implementation of the Treaty on the provision of pensions to the workers of the Eurasian Economic Union member states.

secondary vocational education institutions in the process of training and retraining personnel for new joint projects within the EAEU.

For example, we are talking about the training and retraining of professional workers in the EAEU countries. When financing from a special fund, new specialties could be included in the educational programs, training and retraining in work with new technologies, new materials, etc. could be organized. As studies show⁴⁵, 17-18% of labor migrant in RF would like to increase their qualification in Russian colleges and professional courses. In addition, remittances of labor migrants whose families at home spend on children's education could also be redirected to training relevant for the EAEU labor market professions, and coordination of structural changes in the educational market of the EAEU and reorientation to training personnel in the professions in demand could would take over the EAEU Financial Fund.

It seems expedient to create a special pre-departure training program for migrants, including language training, a short legal course, a course in cultural studies, regional studies and a course in essential life skills for a comfortable stay in the EEU country selected for migration.

For a long-term period for the EAEU, it is important to determine the prospects for the maximum possible integration of the labor markets, education, medical services, migration registration and statistics, labor rights protection systems and pensions for member countries.

It is necessary to take strategic steps that go beyond the short-term response, and plan the long-term prospects as carefully as the short-term ones, using a system of continuous monitoring and analysis of the implementation of the planned actions. Such actions will depend on the completeness of the implementation of measures in the short and medium term, some of the actions to implement these measures will be transferred to the long term.

Migration problems related to labor migration within the EAEU cannot be solved without comprehensive monitoring, analysis of both successes and failures in the implementation of the tasks set in the short, medium and long term.

Efficient and resource saving practice in the future could be a time-tested decision-making scheme in the field of migration policy, including comprehensive studies (including selective sociological research), their expert and public discussion, pilot implementation, integrated research based on the results of the pilot implementation, assessment effects from implementation and finally full implementation with monitoring the effectiveness of actions taken.

⁴⁵ The results of the study “Analysis of the labor market situation in the Russian Federation for the effective employment of migrant workers from the Kyrgyz Republic and the Republic of Tajikistan”, carried out with the support of the AUCA Tian-Shan analytical center in 2016, and the results of the study “Study of the impact of Kyrgyzstan’s possible entry into the Customs Union on migration processes », Implemented with the support of the AUCA Tian-Shan analytical center in 2014

Annex 1. Tables

Table 8. Distribution of respondents by gender, %

Gender	%
Male	50,3
Female	49,7
Overall	100,0

Table 9. Distribution of respondents by nationality, %

Nationality	%
Kazakh	0,1
Kyrgyz	94
Russian	0,1
Tajik	0,8
Turk	0,1
Uzbek	4,8
Uighur	0,1
Overall	100,0

Table 10. Distribution of respondents by age, %

Grouping by age	%
From 18 to 25 years old	34,5
From 26 to 35 years old	33,6
From 36 to 60 years old	31,9
Overall	100,0

Table 11. Distribution of respondents by type of settlement in the place of permanent residence, %

	In general	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
In the capital	13,8	13,3	14,3	11	14,1
In a big city (more than 100 000 residents)	31,8	28,3	35,2	39,4	27,8
In a small town (less than 100 000 residents), urban village, district center	30,1	32,3	27,8	27,5	30,3
In the countryside	24,3	26,1	22,7	22,1	27,8
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 12. Distribution of respondents by education, %

	In general	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
Higher education (graduated from university)	21,1	19	23,2	26,6	17,1
Incomplete higher education (entered and did not graduate from university)	7	6,5	7,4	9,6	4,9
Secondary education (graduated from college, college, technical school)	30,1	30,6	29,5	28,4	30,1
High school (graduate from high school, gymnasium)	38,2	39,1	37,2	30,4	44,4
Incomplete high school or lower (didn't graduate from high school)	3,6	4,8	2,7	5	3,5

Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
----------------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------

Table 13. Distribution of respondents by marital status%

	In general	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
In registered marriage	52,6	54,7	50,4	59,2	49,8
In non-registered marriage	7	7,4	6,6	4,1	7,4
Not married	32,3	34	30,7	27,5	35,6
Divorced	6,6	3,1	10	7,8	6
Widower/widow	1,5	0,8	2,3	1,4	1,2
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 14. Distribution of respondents by the material situation of the family at present,%

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
We can buy everything we need and make savings	21,8	22,7	20,9	22,1	21,3
We can buy everything we need, but can't make savings	43,8	42,6	45	47,9	41,9
There is enough money only for the essentials (food, clothes, etc.)	29,5	30,1	28,9	21,2	33,6
There is not enough money only for the essentials (food, clothes, etc.)	4,9	4,6	5,2	8,8	3,2
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 15. Distribution of respondents by time spent in Russia (not counting short visits, indicate), years

Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
4,42	4,87	3,97	4,81	4,08

Table 16. Distribution of respondents according to further plans for their stay in Russia,%

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
To stay here forever, permanently	32,4	31,3	33,5	37,6	30,2
To live here for a long time (several years), and then to return home	30,5	28,7	32,4	30,3	29,5
To come for a while, to earn money and than to go home	28,8	35,5	22,1	27,1	31,3
Not to come here anymore, to finish with working trips	4,1	2,6	5,7	2,8	4,4
To move to another country	1,6	1,1	2	0,9	2,1
Other	2,6	0,8	4,3	1,3	2,5
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

17. Distribution of respondents by the presence of children under 17 years old (inclusive),%

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
--	----------------	------------	--------------	--------------------------------------	-------------------------------

Yes	52,6	51,8	53,3	59,2	50,2
No	47,4	48,2	46,7	40,8	49,8
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 18. Distribution of respondents by the current location of children, %

	In general	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
All children under 17 arrived with me	31,5	32,8	30,2	34,6	30,2
Some of the children under 17 stayed at home	9,2	8,3	10,1	3,1	11,3
All children under 17 stayed at home	58,2	58,3	58,1	62,2	57,1
Other	1,1	0,6	1,7	0	1,4
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 19. Distribution of respondents for the reasons for the absence of children (some children) up to 17 years old in Russia, %

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
Expensive to keep them here	13,2	12,9	13,6	14,1	14,2
There is no way to care for them here	35,8	33,7	37,9	31,3	38,6
I came to make money, it will be more difficult with them	22,1	21,8	22,3	20,3	23,6
Do not want to interrupt them from school	17,2	14,9	19,4	20,3	13,4
Children do not want to live with me	4,9	5,9	3,9	3,1	5,5
Other	6,9	10,9	2,9	10,9	4,7
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 20. Distribution of respondents in kindergarten attendance by their preschool children in Russia, %

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
Yes, all of them go	34,9	47,2	23,2	46,2	24,6
Yes, not all of them go	2,8	1,9	3,6	0	3,3
No, because it is difficult to arrange a child in the kindergarden	24,8	13,2	35,7	25,6	24,6
No we don't need a kindergarden	4,6	5,7	3,6	2,6	6,6
He is taken care of at home	14,7	13,2	16,1	7,7	19,7
It too early for them, they don't go	14,7	15,1	14,3	15,4	16,4
Other	3,7	3,8	3,6	2,6	4,9
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 21. Distribution of respondents by school attendance by their schoolchildren in Russia, %

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
Yes	79,5	86,7	72,1	87,5	76,5

No	15,9	11,1	20,9	12,5	19,6
They used to study earlier, now they don't	0	0	0	0	0
They come here in their free time	4,5	2,2	7	0	3,9
Other	0	0	0	0	0
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 22. Distribution of respondents by the presence of problems in the placement of schoolchildren in schools in Russia, %

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
No, there were no problems	65,8	65	66,7	71,4	60
There were problems	34,2	35	33,3	28,6	40
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 23. Distribution of respondents in relation to their children in the Russian school, by their own estimation, %

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
Friendly	80	82,9	76,5	93,1	73,2
Not friendly	5,3	4,9	5,9	0	7,3
Bad, hostile	1,3	0	2,9	0	2,4
It's hard to answer	13,3	12,2	14,7	6,9	17,1
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 24. Distribution of respondents by the type of treatment of their children in Russia, %

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
I lead to doctors for prophylaxis and follow their recommendations	47,2	52,9	41,7	67,4	36,5
I lead them to doctors only when there is an urgent need	45,1	41,4	48,6	28,3	54,1
I give them medicines that are advised by friends	2,1	1,4	2,8	2,2	2,4
I give them medicines about which I find out from advertising on TV or from the Internet	0,7	0	1,4	0	1,2
By no means	0,7	1,4	0	0	1,2
Other	4,2	2,9	5,6	2,2	4,7
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 25. Distribution of respondents according to the form of going to work, %

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
I leave for a short time, earn a little and come back home	6	5,1	6,9	3,2	7,6
I spend almost the whole year working and come home for 1-2-3 months a year	67	65,4	68,7	65,4	67,1
I almost always live here and	25,2	27,8	22,7	29,5	23,6

almost don't go home					
Other	1,8	1,7	1,7	1,9	1,7
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 26. Distribution of respondents by type of employment, %

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
In organization, firm	65,5	71,1	59,9	93,1	51,4
Hired by a private individual	30,3	23,5	37,2	6,4	44,7
I am an individual entrepreneur (I have my own business)	3,6	4,8	2,3	0,5	3
Other	0,6	0,6	0,6	0	0,9
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 27. Distribution of respondents by employment, %

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
Construction	19,5	38,8	0	12,8	23,2
Trade (wholesale and retail)	28,8	19,5	38,2	26,6	29,5
Industry	2,4	3,1	1,7	4,1	1,2
Department of Housing and Utilities	4,9	4	5,7	14,2	0,7
Services (catering, cleaning, entertainment, hotels, etc.), except for private services at home	26,1	11,6	40,8	26,6	25,3
Transport and communications (including taxi drivers)	12,3	19,5	4,9	9,6	13,7
Healthcare	1,3	0,6	2	3,2	0,2
Services in a private household (nanny, nurse, housekeeper, gardener, etc. - permanent work for one or several individuals)	3,4	1,1	5,7	0,5	5,3
Other	1,3	1,8	1	2,4	0,9
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 28. Distribution of respondents by job search method, %

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
With the help of relatives, friends or acquaintances	73,5	73	73,9	59,6	80,5
Through intermediary or recruiter	3,7	4,8	2,6	2,8	3,9
Appealed to government agencies (employment services, migration services)	1,7	1,7	1,7	1,8	1,9
Appealed to a private employment agency, employment company, etc.	2	2	2	2,8	1,9
Through an ad in the newspaper, on radio, television, etc.	8,7	7,1	10,3	17	5,1
Through an ad or online ad	7,8	9,1	6,6	15,1	3,9
Other	2,6	2,3	2,9	0,9	2,8

Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
----------------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------

Table 29. Distribution of respondents by the presence of a written employment contract with employer, %

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
There is a written contract with an employer	60,9	66,2	55,5	98,2	40,6
There is no written contract with an employer	39,1	33,8	44,5	1,8	59,4
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 30. Distribution of respondents by the reason of the absence of a written employment contract with the employer, %

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
The employer refuses to enter into a contract	37,4	43,2	32,9	75	39,2
I don't need a contract	54,1	48,3	58,6	25	52,8
Other	8,5	8,5	8,5	0	8
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 31. Distribution of respondents by type of colleagues, %

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
Mainly local residents	12	11,3	12,6	23,9	6
Mainly labor migrants	45,4	42,2	48,7	25,2	55,3
Both locals and labor migrants	35,6	40,8	30,4	50	28,9
I work alone	7	5,7	8,3	0,9	9,7
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 32. Distribution of respondents according to the opinion that local residents would like to work in their place, %

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
No, locals do not want to do the work that I do	32,2	31,5	33	21,7	39,6
Yes, local workers also would like to claim to this workplace	41,3	44,6	37,8	56,7	31,5
It is hard for me to answer	26,5	23,9	29,2	21,6	28,9
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 33. Distribution of respondents at the location of their passport, %

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
The passport is with me	96,7	95,5	98	97,2	96,5
The employer has my passport	2,7	4,2	1,1	2,8	3
Other	0,6	0,3	0,9	0	0,5

Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
----------------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------

Table 34. Distribution of respondents by their average earnings per month, rubles

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
	29796	33388	26182	30038	29103

Table 35. Distribution of respondents according to the method of receiving wages,%

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
According to the official list, with your signature; through the bank to the card	31,1	31,4	30,7	100	100
In cash without a statement ("in an envelope")	61,5	60,9	62,2	0	0
Partially - so, partially - so	5,1	4,8	5,4	0	0
Other	2,3	2,9	1,7	0	0
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 36. Distribution of respondents by the duration of the working day, hours

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
	10,65	10,64	10,66	10,62	10,64

Table 37. Distribution of respondents by the duration of the working week, days

	In general	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
	5,84	5,83	5,84	5,37	6,09

Table 38. Distribution of respondents to freely leave their employer for another job,%

	In general	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
I can freely leave my employer for another job	92	92,3	91,7	94,9	90,9
I cannot freely leave my employer for another job	4,9	5,4	4,3	4,1	4,7
It is hard for me to answer	3,1	2,3	4	1	4,4
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 39. Distribution of respondents by type of housing in Russia,%

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
--	----------------	------------	--------------	--------------------------------------	-------------------------------

Own housing (apartment, room, house)	2,4	4,5	0,3	3,2	1,9
I rent separate housing only for myself (or for myself and my family)	31,3	25,5	37,2	32,1	31,5
Renting accommodation with other people (countrymen, friends, etc.)	49	49,3	48,7	52,8	45,8
I live with relatives / friends	6,7	4,8	8,6	3,2	8,6
I live in a dorm	2,3	4,2	0,3	4,1	1,6
I live in a technical room (basement, shed, etc.)	0,6	0,6	0,6	0	0,9
I live where I work (market, building site, etc.)	7	10,5	3,4	3,2	9,3
Other	0,7	0,6	0,9	1,4	0,5
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 40. Distribution of respondents by the number of people living with them in the same room, people

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
	2,96	3,2	2,72	2,8	3,03

Table 41. Distribution of respondents according to the size of payment for housing per month, %

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
	7748	7121	8382	8097	7473

Table 42. Distribution of respondents by self-assessment of their health, %

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
Good	75,4	77,6	73,1	74,8	75,9
Not bad	22,6	21,5	23,8	22	22,7
Bad	2	0,8	3,2	3,2	1,4
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 43. Distribution of respondents by self-assessment of the dynamics of changes in their health status (per year), %

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
It has improved	6,8	10,2	3,4	13,8	3,9
It has worsened	15	12,5	17,5	14,7	14,6
It has not changed	78,2	77,3	79,1	71,6	81,5
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 44. Distribution of respondents by type of treatment in Russia, %

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
I have paid medical insurance	12,8	12,2	13,5	11,9	14,1
I go to the doctors only when there is	39	36,3	41,8	47,2	33,6

an urgent need					
I take medicines that my friends advise	16,8	15,3	18,3	15,1	17,1
I take medicines that I find out from advertising on TV or from the Internet	0,4	0,3	0,6	0	0,7
By no means	24,2	29,7	18,6	16,5	29,2
Other	6,7	6,2	7,2	9,2	5,3
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 45. Distribution of respondents by prescription of fluorography (chest X-ray),%

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
This year	32,4	32,9	31,9	42,4	27,3
Last year	24	24,6	23,3	18,9	27,3
More than year ago	32,5	30,9	34,2	32,3	31,5
Never	11,1	11,6	10,6	6,5	13,9
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 46. Distribution of respondents by prescription for an HIV infection,%

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
This year	28,8	26,1	31,6	32,7	26,9
Last year	24,8	28	21,6	24	25,7
More than year ago	29,2	29,7	28,7	31,8	26,9
Never	17,1	16,1	18,1	11,5	20,6
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 47. Distribution of respondents by the presence of pregnancy during their stay in Russia,%

	Women overall	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
Yes, several times	5,8	2,8	7,4
Yes, I had one	21,4	19,8	19,9
No, I did not have	72,8	77,4	72,7
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 48. Distribution of respondents at the end of pregnancy during stay in Russia,%

	Women overall	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
Had an abortion here	7,5	4,3	8,6
Gave a birth to child here	43	47,8	39,7
Had a stillbirth, miscarriage	14	13	15,5
Left home and did an abortion there	0	0	0
Left home and gave birth there	30,1	30,4	29,3
Other	5,4	4,3	6,9
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 49. Distribution of respondents by changing reproductive plans (plans for giving birth to children) in connection with leaving home for work, %

	Women overall	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
Yes, I had to postpone the birth of a child	12,1	14,7	9,7
No, has not changed	77	67,6	82
Other	10,9	17,6	8,3
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 50. Distribution of respondents according to the attitude of the local population towards them in the city of their stay, %

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
Good	61,3	57,5	65,2	62,4	60,6
Neutral	26,1	28	24,1	27,1	25,3
Not friendly	5,1	6,5	3,7	7,3	4,4
Hard to answer	7,4	7,9	6,9	3,2	9,7
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 51. Distribution of respondents by preferred source of help in a critical situation, %

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
With relatives or countrymen at home	8,6	8,8	8,4	11,5	7,9
With relatives or countrymen in Russia	74,7	73,1	76,4	68,8	77,9
With locals	5,4	6,8	4	5,5	4,4
Other	7,1	6,2	8,1	9,2	6
There is no one to contact	4,1	5,1	3,2	5	3,7
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 52. Distribution of respondents by the preferences of everyday communication in the city of their stay, %

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
With relatives	69,7	63,5	75,9	71,1	70,8
With countrymen	79,5	81,6	77,4	76,6	81
With work colleagues - also migrants	81,3	83	79,7	78,9	82,6
With colleagues at work - local people	42,6	44,8	40,4	56,9	35
With neighbors, where I live	40,9	42,2	39,5	41,7	40
With locals	27,9	30,3	25,5	29,8	26,9
Other	2,7	2	3,4	0	2,5

Table 53. Distribution of respondents by the preferred use of the type of social network for everyday (most frequent) communication in Russia, %

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
«Odnoklasniki»	74	70,4	77,7	68,1	77,1

«Vkontakte»	15,3	18,7	11,7	13,3	16,1
«Facebook»	9,4	10,1	8,7	18,7	5
Other	1,3	0,7	1,9	0	1,9
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 54. Distribution of respondents by preferred use of the type of communication for calls to relatives from Russia, %

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
Skype	3,7	5,4	2	7,3	1,9
What`s App	54,4	54,1	54,7	47,7	59,3
Viber	10,4	10,8	10	12,4	8,6
Telegram	0	0	0	0	0
I call by phone with special tariff	30,5	29,2	31,8	32,6	28,9
Other	1	0,6	1,4	0	1,4
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 55. Distribution of respondents by self-assessment of knowledge of the Russian language for communication at work, %

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
It is enough	86,6	83	90,3	90,8	84
It is not enough	11,8	15	8,6	8,7	13,7
It is not enough at all	1,6	2	1,1	0,5	2,3
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 56. Distribution of respondents by self-assessment of knowledge of the Russian language to fill out documents, %

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
It is enough	51,6	51	52,1	52,8	51,4
It is not enough	25,4	24,4	26,4	26,6	23,4
It is not enough at all	23,1	24,6	21,5	20,6	25,2
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 57. Distribution of respondents by self-assessment of knowledge of the Russian language for communication in the store, pharmacy, by mail, %

	In general	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
It is enough	76,9	75,4	78,5	80,3	73,8
It is not enough	15,2	15,3	15,2	14,7	16,7
It is not enough at all	7,8	9,3	6,3	5	9,5
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 58. Distribution of respondents according to their intention to obtain Russian citizenship, %

	In general	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
Yes I have applied	5,4	5,4	5,4	6,9	4,4
I am going to apply	12,4	12,5	12,3	16,1	11,1

Yes but I have not done anything yet	41	40,2	41,8	32,6	44,7
No	33,6	34	33,2	32,1	35,2
I have a temporary residence permit and the residence permit	7,5	7,9	7,2	12,4	4,6
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 59. Distribution of respondents for reasons of wanting to obtain Russian citizenship, %

	Overall	Men	Women	Registered officially at work	Work without documents
It is more convenient to work and live in Russia - it will be easier to get a job, free medical care, protection from the police, but I'm not going to move to Russia	52,7	55,4	50	46,6	55
I always want to live in Russia, to leave my country	45,8	43,8	47,8	52,7	42,8
Other	1,5	0,9	2,2	0,7	2,2
Overall	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

QUESTIONNAIRE
For the migrants from Kyrgyzstan

of the

To be filled by the interviewee

Date of the interview: _____ City _____ Name: _____

I. Few questions about you and your family

1. Gender 1. Male 2. Female
2. What nationality do you belong to (specify)? _____
3. How old are you? _____ (please, indicate in numbers)
4. In which locality you live in a place of permanent residence?
 1. In the capital
 2. In a big city (more than 100 000 residents)
 3. In a small town (less than 100 000 residents), urban village, district center
 4. In rural area
5. What is your education?
 1. Higher (graduated from university)
 2. Incomplete (entered the university but didn't graduate)
 3. Vocational school (graduated from college, vocational school)
 4. High school (graduated from school or gymnasium)
 5. Incomplete high school or lower (didn't graduate from high school)
6. Your family status:
 1. In an official (registered) marriage
 2. In an informal (unregistered) marriage
 3. Not (was not) married
 4. Divorced
 5. Widow (-er)
7. What is the financial state of your family now?
 1. We can buy everything we need and make savings
 2. We can buy everything we need, but can't make savings
 3. There is enough money only for the essentials (food, clothes, etc.)
 4. There is not enough money even for the essentials (food, clothes, etc.)

II. Migration in Russia

8. How long are you already in Russia (not counting short visits, please specify)? ___ years ___ months
9. What are your future plans while staying in Russia??
 1. To stay here forever, permanently
 2. To live here for a long time (several years), and then to return home
 3. To come for a while, to earn money and than to go home
 4. Not to come here anymore, to finish with working trips
 5. To move to another country (which?) _____
 6. Other (please, indicate) _____

III. Children (questions for those who have children under 17 years old (inclusive))

10. Do you have children under 17 years old (inclusive)??
 1. Yes (please, indicate) _____
 2. No (please, go to question 18)
11. Where are your children at the moment?
 1. All children under 17 years old moved with me (please, go to question 13)
 2. Some of the children under 17 stayed at home
 3. All children under 17 stayed at home (please, go to question 18)
 4. Other (please, indicate) _____
12. If children under 17 (or one of children under 17) did not come with you, then why?
 1. Expensive to keep them here
 2. There is no way to care for them here
 3. I came to make money; it will be more difficult with them
 4. Do not want to interrupt them from school
 5. Children do not want to live with me
 6. Other (please, indicate) _____

Questions for those who have children under 17 years old (inclusive) in Russia

13. If preschool children are with you in Russia, do they go to kindergarten?

1. Yes, all of them
2. Not all of them
3. No, because it is difficult to arrange a child in the kindergarten
4. No we don't need a kindergarten
5. He is taken care of at home
6. It too early for them, they don't go
7. Other (please, indicate) _____

14. If schoolchildren come to Russia with you, do they go to school here?

1. Yes
2. No
3. They used to study earlier, now they don't
4. They come here in their free time
5. Other (please, indicate) _____

15. If schoolchildren come to Russia with you, do they go to school here?

1. No, there were no problems
2. There were no problems (please, indicate) _____

16. How do you assess the attitude towards your schoolchildren in school?

1. Friendly
2. Not friendly
3. Bad, hostile
4. It's hard to answer

17. How do you cure your children in Russia?

1. I lead to doctors for prophylaxis and follow their recommendations
2. I lead them to doctors only when there is an urgent need
3. I give them medicines that are advised by friends
4. I give them medicines about which I find out from advertising on TV or from the Internet
5. By no means
6. Other

IV. Work in Russia (to ask about the last job if the respondent is temporarily not working)

18. How do you leave for earnings?

1. I leave for a short time(__ months), earn a little and come back home
2. I spend almost the whole year working and come home for 1-2-3 months a year
3. I almost always live here and almost don't go home
4. Other

(please, indicate) _____

Next questions about the main work which brings the most part of the income

19. Where do you work now?

1. In organization, in a firm
2. Hired by a private individual
3. I am an individual entrepreneur (I have my own business)
4. Other (please, indicate) _____

20. In which sphere do you work?

1. Construction
2. Trade (wholesale and retail)
3. Industry
4. Department of Housing and Utilities
5. Services (catering, cleaning, entertainment, hotels, etc.), except for private services at home
6. Transport and communications (including taxi drivers)
7. Education
8. Healthcare
9. Services in a private household (nanny, nurse, housekeeper, gardener, etc. - permanent work for one or several individuals)
10. Other (please, indicate) _____

21. What is your job in Russia now, what do you specifically do?

22. How did you find a job?

1. With the help of relatives, friends or acquaintances
2. Through intermediary or recruiter
3. Appealed to government agencies (employment services, migration services)

4. Appealed to a private employment agency, employment company, etc.
5. Through an ad in the newspaper, on radio, television, etc.
6. Through an ad or online ad
7. Other (please, indicate) _____

23. Do you have a written contract with an employer?

1. Yes (please go to question 25)
2. No

24. If, no why?

1. There is a written contract with an employer
2. There is no written contract with an employer
3. Other (please, indicate) _____

25. Who is working with you?

1. Mainly local residents
2. Mainly labor migrants
3. Both locals and labor migrants
4. I work alone

26. Do you think the locals would like to work at your place?

1. No, locals do not want to do the work that I do
2. Yes, local workers also would like to claim to this workplace
3. It is hard for me to answer

27. Where is your passport?

1. The passport is with me
2. The employer has my passport
3. Other (please, indicate) _____

28. How much do you get on average per month for all jobs (specify in rubles)? (if it is difficult to calculate on average, then indicate salary of the last month)

29. How do you receive your salary?

1. According to the official list, with your signature; through the bank to the card
2. In cash without a statement ("in an envelope")
3. Partially - so, partially - so
4. I do not receive salary in cash
5. Other (please, indicate) _____

30. How many hours do you work in your work day (specify)? _____ hours

31. How many days do you work per week (specify)? _____ days

32. 32. If you want, are you free to leave your employer for another job?

1. I can
2. I can't (please, indicate why) _____
3. It is hard for me to answer

V. Housing

33. Table 33. What kind of housing do you have in Russia?

1. My own housing (apartment, room, house)
2. I rent separate housing only for myself (or for myself and my family)
3. Renting accommodation with other people (countrymen, friends, etc.)
4. I live with relatives / friends
5. I live in a dorm
6. I live in a technical room (basement, shed, etc.)
7. I live where I work (market, building site, etc.)
8. Other (please, indicate) _____

34. How many people, besides you, live in the same room with you (specify)?

35. How much do you pay for housing per month (specify)? _____ (rubles)

VI. Health

36. How do you rate your health?

1. Good
2. Not bad
3. Bad

37. Compared with the situation a year ago, how has your health changed?

1. It has improved
2. It has worsened
3. It has not changed

38. How are you cured in Russia? (indicate the cost per year) _____ rubles

1. I have paid medical insurance (Please indicate the cost for a year) _____ rubles
2. I go to the doctors only when there is an urgent need
3. I take medicines that my friends advise
4. I take medicines that I find out from advertising on TV or from the Internet
5. By no means
6. Other _____

39. When was the last time you ... (one answer in each column)

	1. ... performed an X-ray (chest x-ray)?	2. ... tested for HIV??
1. This year	1.1	2.1
2. Last year	1.2	2.2
3. More than year ago	1.3	2.3
4. Never	1.4	2.4

For Women

40. Were you pregnant while you were here?

1. Yes, several times
2. Yes, one
3. No (*please go to question 42*)

41. If yes, how did it ended up?

1. Had an abortion here
2. Gave a birth to child here
3. Had a stillbirth, miscarriage
4. Left home and did an abortion there
5. Left home and gave birth there
6. Other (please, indicate) _____

42. Have your birth plans changed due to leaving home for work?

1. Yes, I had to postpone the birth of a child
2. No, has not changed
3. Other (please, indicate) _____

VII. Integration

43. How are you treated by the local population in this city?

1. Well
2. Neutral
3. Hostilely
4. Hard to answer

44. If you urgently need help, who do you contact?

1. To relatives or countrymen in the homeland
2. To relatives or countrymen here in Russia
3. To someone from local residents
4. Other (please, indicate) _____
5. There is no one to contact

45. Who do you usually communicate with in this city? (there are several possible answers)

1. With relatives
2. With countrymen
3. With work colleagues - also migrants
4. With colleagues at work - local people
5. With neighbors, where I live
6. With locals
7. Other (please, indicate) _____

46. Which social network do you use most often in Russia (one answer)?

1. «Odnoklassniki»
2. «Vkontakte»
3. «Facebook»
4. Other (please, indicate)

47. What do you use to call your relatives back home?

1. Skype
2. Whats App
3. Viber
4. Telegram
5. Call by mobile phone with a special tariff
6. Other (please, indicate)

48. Your knowledge of Russian...

	1. For communication at work	2. For filling out the documents	3. For communication at the store, pharmacy and post office
1. Quite enough	1.1	2.1	3.1
2. Not enough	1.2	2.2	3.2
3. Not enough at all	1.3	2.3	3.3

49. Do you want to receive Russian citizenship?

1. Yes I have applied
2. I am going to apply
3. Yes but I have not done anything yet
4. No
5. I have a temporary residence permit and the residence permit

50. Why do you want to get citizenship for? (only one answer)

1. It is more convenient to work and live in Russia - it will be easier to get a job, free medical care, protection from the police, but I'm not going to move to Russia
2. I always want to live in Russia, to leave my country
3. Other_____

Annex 3

Questionnaire for interviews with migrants from Kyrgyzstan in Russia

I. Few questions about you and your family

Hello, please tell us a little about yourself.

What is your nationality? How old are you? Where did you come to Russia? Is it rural area or small (big) city? What's your education? How many people are in your family? Did your family stay at home, or did someone come with you to Kazakhstan?

II. Work in Russia

Further questions are about the main job abroad that brings most part of the income

Where do you work now? What is your work in Russia now, what are you specifically doing?

Do you have a written employment contract with an employer? If not, why not?

What is your attitude to work? Are you satisfied with your work here? If you are unhappy, then why?

Did your employer deceive you, and what did you do if you cheated? Who can help you in this case? Who can I contact? What do your countrymen do in such cases?

Can you freely go to another employer? Do you have your passport?

How do you get paid: officially or not? How much do you get? Did people of Russia and other migrants paid more or less for the same job?

How many hours do you work on your work day? How many days do you work per week?

III. Health

If you get sick, how are you treated? If the disease cannot be cured by yourself, what do you do? What do your countrymen do in such cases?

How do you rate your health? Compared to the situation a year ago, how has your health changed? Has it improved or worsened?

VI. Migration and integration in Kazakhstan

How long have you been working and are in Russia (not counting the short home leave travel)? What language do you speak at work? Do you have enough language skills to communicate and work?

Did you have problems with registration, and how did you solve them?

What are your future plans for the duration of your stay in Russia? Do you want to get the citizenship of Russia?

Has it become easier for you to work and live in Russia after Kyrgyzstan joined the Eurasian Economic Union (July 2015)? In what ways is it expressed?

V. Children

If your children (up to 17 years old) are with you, do they go to school or kindergarten here? If so, were there any difficulties in arranging them in kindergarten and school? If children are here, but they don't go to school or kindergarten, then why don't they go? In general, how difficult is it to be with children in Russia while you work here? What do your relatives and compatriots do - do you take children with you to Russia so that they stay with them? How hard is it? What problems arise?

Many thanks for the replies!

Annex 4

Questionnaire for interviews with migrants from Kyrgyzstan in Kazakhstan

I. Few questions about you and your family

Hello, please tell us a little about yourself.

What is your nationality? How old are you? Where did you come to Kazakhstan? Is it rural area or small (big) city? What's your education? How many people are in your family? Did your family stay at home, or did someone come with you to Kazakhstan?

II. Work in Kazakhstan

Further questions are about the main job abroad that brings most part of the income

Where do you work now? What is your work in Kazakhstan now, what are you specifically doing?

Do you have a written employment contract with an employer? If not, why not?

What is your attitude to work? Are you satisfied with your work here? If you are unhappy, then why?

Did your employer deceive you, and what did you do if you cheated? Who can help you in this case? Who can I contact? What do your countrymen do in such cases?

Can you freely go to another employer? Do you have your passport?

How do you get paid: officially or not? How much do you get? Did people of Kazakhstan and other migrants paid more or less for the same job?

How many hours do you work on your work day? How many days do you work per week?

III. Health

If you get sick, how are you treated? If the disease cannot be cured by yourself, what do you do? What do your countrymen do in such cases?

How do you rate your health? Compared to the situation a year ago, how has your health changed? Has it improved or worsened?

VI. Migration and integration in Kazakhstan

How long have you been working and are in Kazakhstan (not counting the short home leave travel)? What language do you speak at work? Do you have enough language skills to communicate and work?

Did you have problems with registration, and how did you solve them?

What are your future plans for the duration of your stay in Kazakhstan? Do you want to get the citizenship of Kazakhstan?

Has it become easier for you to work and live in Kazakhstan after Kyrgyzstan joined the Eurasian Economic Union (July 2015)? In what ways is it expressed?

V. Children

If your children (up to 17 years old) are with you, do they go to school or kindergarten here? If so, were there any difficulties in arranging them in kindergarten and school? If children are here, but they don't go to school or kindergarten, then why don't they go? In general, how difficult is it to be with children in Kazakhstan while you work here? What do your relatives and compatriots do - do you take children with you to Kazakhstan so that they stay with them? How hard is it? What problems arise?

Many thanks for the replies!

Annex 5

Questionnaire for experts in Russia

What risks, in your opinion, does unregulated labor migration from Kyrgyzstan bring into the Russian Federation?

How is it possible to reduce the number of undocumented migrants from Kyrgyzstan to the Russian Federation? Has the practice of working migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan without labor contracts or without registration of labor contracts within the framework of the current legislation of Russia changed after the entry of Kyrgyzstan into the EEU in 2015?

How effective is the residence registration system for migrant workers, and how does it work for them? Is it worth it to upgrade, and how can it look like?

Do you think that after Kyrgyzstan joined the EEU, migrant workers who leave Kyrgyzstan to work in Russia have more opportunities to protect their rights? In what ways is it expressed?

What measures and approaches need to be applied in order to more effectively uphold the rights of migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan in Russia? Who can do this, and how is it possible to modernize existing approaches?

Has access to healthcare services been made easier for migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan in Russia?

What, in your opinion, are the prospects for resolving the issue of pension deductions and receiving pensions, taking into account the work experience gained during the labor migration for migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan?

How is the issue of access of children of migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan to Russian schools addressed, and how the rights of children of migrant workers to education in Russia are respected?

How to solve the problem of a ban on entry to Russia (“black lists”) for citizens of Kyrgyzstan?

What do you think, what other effects of Kyrgyzstan’s accession to the Eurasian Economic Union were felt by migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan, and how do they evaluate them?

Annex 6

Questionnaire for experts in Kazakhstan

What risks, in your opinion, does unregulated labor migration from Kyrgyzstan bring to the Republic of Kazakhstan?

How is it possible to reduce the number of undocumented migrants from Kyrgyzstan to Kazakhstan?

Has the practice of working of migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan without labor contracts or without registration of labor contracts within the framework of the current legislation of Kazakhstan changed after the entry of Kyrgyzstan into the EEU in 2015?

How effective is the residence registration system for migrant workers, and how does it work for them? Is it worth it to upgrade, and how should it look like?

Do you think that after Kyrgyzstan joined the EEU, migrant workers who leave Kyrgyzstan to work in Kazakhstan have more opportunities to protect their rights? In what ways is it expressed?

What measures and approaches need to be applied in order to uphold the rights of migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan in Kazakhstan more effectively? Who can do this, and how is it possible to modernize existing approaches?

Has access to health care been improved for migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan? In Kazakhstan?

What, in your opinion, are the prospects for resolving the issue of pension deductions and receiving pensions, taking into account the work experience gained during labor migration for migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan?

How is the issue of access of children of migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan to Kazakhstani schools addressed, and how are the rights of children of migrant workers to education in Kazakhstan respected?

What do you think, what other effects of Kyrgyzstan’s accession to the Eurasian Economic Union were felt by migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan, and how do they evaluate them?

Annex 7
The List of Experts

Moscow		
1	Zayonchovskaya Janna Antonovna	The Head of Laboratory of Analysis and Forecasting of Migration of the Institute of National Economic Forecasting of Russian Academy of Sciences, Candidate of Geographical Sciences
2	Sulaimonov Himat Muhatraimovich	medical center, cardiologist, Candidate of Medical Sciences
3	Anonymous expert	Official in the EAEU structure
4	Topolonov Bakyt	Representative of the Spiritual Board of Muslims of Kyrgyzstan in Moscow
5	Karimov Renat Ismagilovich	The Head of the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Migrant Workers
6	Abashin Sergei Nikolaevich	Professor at the Faculty of Anthropology of the European University at St. Petersburg; Name Professor (Professor of British Petroleum), Doctor of Historical Sciences
7	Yakimov Andrei Nikolaevich	Expert on work with ethnic minorities and migrant workers of the Charitable Foundation for the Support and Development of Educational and Social Projects
Yekaterinburg		
8	Vandyshev Michail Nikolaevich	Associate Professor at the Department of Theory and History of Sociology, Institute of Social Sciences, Candidate of Sociological Sciences
9	Grishin Leonid Alexandrovich	Ural House, Chairman (Zarechny, Sverdlovsk region)
Astana		
10	Kazmerkevich Peter	IOM leading expert in Kazakhstan
11	Ismailov Shavkat Abdullaevich	Chairman of the public association "Kyrgyzstan-Astana"
12	Shank Cares	Associate Professor of Political Science at Nazarbayev University
13	Ahmetjanova Altynai	Red Crescent Project Coordinator in Kazakhstan
Almaty		
14	Delovarova Leila Fedorova	Director of the UN Center at KazNU, Dr. PhD
15	Savin Igor Sergeevich	IOM expert in Kazakhstan, candidate of historical sciences
Shymkent		
16	Esimova Aigul Begenovna	Associate Professor of the Department of History of Kazakhstan and Social Sciences of the South Kazakhstan State Pedagogical University, Candidate of Historical Sciences
17	Anonymous expert	Lawyer of a public organization engaged in providing legal and social assistance to migrant workers