

**LABOUR MIGRATION
IN UZBEKISTAN:
SOCIAL, LEGAL AND
GENDER ASPECTS**

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Globalization and the growing disparities in living conditions within and among States are combining to increase the scale of cross-border migration worldwide. Currently, there are more people living outside their countries of birth than ever before, an estimated 200 million in 2007. Behind this vast figure are individual stories – of the skilled computer engineer, the farmer working illegally, the woman trafficked against her will, the refugee forced to flee home, and countless others. ... Given the chance to make the most of their abilities, on an equal basis, the vast majority of migrants will be assets to society. Millions of migrants provide essential services to the economies and societies of the countries they live in while supporting their families and communities back home, where remittances boost the national economy. Unfortunately, migrants rarely receive recognition for their contributions. Instead, they often contend with abuses and discrimination ranging from the absence of protection mechanisms to discriminatory national legislation. In extreme cases, they are victims of racist or xenophobic attacks. ... We must redress prevailing misconceptions about migrants and raise public awareness about their valuable economic, cultural and social contributions to both countries of origin and destination..

Ban Ki-moon, UN Secretary-General

From the “Message on International migrants day”

18 December 2007

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Glossary

<i>Dekhkanin</i>	1) Farmer; 2) In Uzbekistan – an owner of a dekhkan farm.
<i>Dekhkan farm</i>	In Uzbekistan – a small family farm producing and selling agricultural products using the family members' labour on a household plot (<i>tomorka</i>) allocated to a household head as lifetime ownership with hereditary succession, either officially registered as a legal entity or not.
<i>Mardikor</i>	A worker having a casual, odd or seasonal job.
<i>Mardikor-bazaar</i>	A place where temporary workers can be hired. As a rule, mardikor-bazaars are located either close to or inside big markets and main road junctions.
<i>Makhalla</i>	Territorial community, neighbourhood; In Uzbekistan – a self-government body
<i>Maslakhatchy</i>	An established post in makhalla, an adviser on women's issues .
<i>Posbon</i>	An employee of a makhalla committee, a police officer .
<i>Tomorka</i>	A household plot
<i>Khokimiyat</i>	A local government authority
<i>Shirkat</i>	An agricultural cooperative

Abbreviations

<i>AFDE</i>	Association of farm and dekhkan economies
<i>TEA</i>	Temporary Employment Agency
<i>GDP</i>	Gross Domestic Product
<i>GRP</i>	Gross Regional Product
<i>Goscomstat</i>	State Statistics Committee of the Republic of Uzbekistan
<i>CM</i>	Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Uzbekistan
<i>MLSS</i>	Ministry of Labour and Social Protection of the Republic of Uzbekistan
<i>NGO</i>	Non-government organization
<i>UTC</i>	Urban-type community

<i>UNDP</i>	United Nations Development Program
<i>ELS</i>	UNDP Project “Enhancement of Living Standards in the Republic of Karakalpakstan, Ferghana and Namangan regions of the Republic of Uzbekistan”
<i>RUz</i>	Republic of Uzbekistan
<i>WISP</i>	Welfare Improvement Strategy Paper for 2008-2010 (analogue of PRSP)
<i>MDG</i>	Millennium Development Goals

Introduction

LABOUR MIGRATION AS A PHENOMENON OF DEVELOPING SOCIETIES

Labour migration, or a migratory movement of population seeking earnings and employment, is one of the prevalent and considerable phenomena of the present world. Although the labour migration has been intrinsic in humankind from the earliest times, however, in terms of its scale and qualitative characteristics the modern migration represents a completely new phenomenon. In 2005, the number of only registered migrants in the world amounted to 191 million people, or 0.35% of the total world population. With the exception of refugees (7.1% of the total number of migrants) the vast majority of migrants are labour migrants, and over one third of them migrate from developing countries to the developed ones.¹

According to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, in 2006 labour migrants formally transferred US\$232 billion to their home countries. The experts say that US\$167 billion out of this amount falls at the developing countries. In other words, the labour migration is another way to attract foreign currency – after international aid and foreign investments. For example, labour migrants provide 20% of GDP in such countries as Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Moldova, and 10% in Albania, Armenia and Tajikistan.²

The impact of labour migration processes lies well outside the limits of demography and economy. O. D. Komarova and V. A. Tishkov have fairly noted that “the population migration – both internal and external, outside the country – is one of the most essential indicators of ethno-political and socio-political processes taking place in a society and a nation. The nature of migration flows makes it possible to evaluate the level of openness and democracy in a society, its urbanization, efficiency of economy and infrastructure, regional development disproportions, status of interethnic relations, and imminent or explicit ethnic conflicts”.³

The collapse of the Soviet Union and centralized employment system, the evolution of market economy and a reduction in the rural employment market in newly independent states in Central Asia have entailed considerable changes

1 See International migration and development report of the UN Secretary General, 2006, Habitat Debate. September 2006, Vol.12, No.3. p.5.

2 See Mirzaev G. “Vneshnyaya trudovaya migratsiya – vazhnyy ekonomicheskii protsess”, Pravda Vostoka, 19 June 2007. p. 2.

3 Komarova O. D., Tishkov V. A. “Migratsiya i migratsionnaya politika”, in Tishkov V.A. (ed.) Migratsii i novye diaspori v postsovetstkih gosudarstvah. Moscow: Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of Russian Academy of Science, 1996. p.11.

in labour markets and growth of internal and external labour migration. The regional migration has eventually affected all population strata, all age categories, both men and women, various occupations and social groups. According to the Central Asia Human Development Report (UNDP), only in the period from early 1989 to early 2002, nearly 3 million people, or over 20% of population, migrated from Kazakhstan; 694,000 people (11% of the population) – from Tajikistan; over 1 million people (4%) – from Uzbekistan; and 360,000 people (7%) – from Kyrgyzstan).¹

Since early 2000s, the labour migration-related issues have become especially topical. Before that time, migration was of predominantly ethnic nature and was related to departure of non-titular ethnic groups to their countries of origin (Russia, Ukraine, Israel, Germany) or to industrially developed Western countries (USA, Canada, Western Europe), while in the recent decade migration flows have undergone considerable changes. Since the economic growth in Russia and Kazakhstan, the increasing number of labour migrants – representatives of the regional indigenous population, first of all, Tajik, Uzbek and Kyrgyz people – has left for these countries in search of a job. A regional migrant's profile has drastically changed. The migrants – urban residents with rather high educational attainment have been substituted for a number of indigenous labour migrants, and the majority of them are villagers with quite low level of education and qualification. Moreover, in recent years the internal migration in some countries of the region has significantly grown as well, particularly in Uzbekistan, which with its 26-million population has the largest labour resources in the region. According to the official estimates only, the number of labour migrants in Uzbekistan has grown from 44,000 people in 2001 to over 330,000 people in 2006, with legal and illegal money transfers approximating to US\$2 billion (up to 10% of GDP²). The World Bank surveys show that the external and internal migration accounts for 8% to 10% of labour force in Uzbekistan, or about 1 million people.³

The labour migration has both positive and negative consequences. The migration has improved the socio-economic situation in rural areas by reducing the level of unemployment, encouraging market relations and raising the living standards. The Welfare Improvement Strategy Paper for the Republic of Uzbekistan states that “the problem of how to employ those who lost their jobs in the restructuring in rural areas, and also the problem of unemployment in the cities, is partly resolved through the temporary labour migration of rural inhabitants to the cities and also rural and urban inhabitants to other countries. A survey conducted within the framework of the project on Enhancement of Living Standards showed

1 Central Asia Human Development Report. Bratislava: UNDP Regional Bureau for Europe and the CIS, 2005. p.160.

2 Welfare Improvement Strategy Paper, Tashkent, 2007.

3 “Uzbekistan Living Standards Assessment Update”, Document of the World Bank, 2007. p.78.

that, for example, in all surveyed areas between 10% and 27% of families had at least one family member who had left to earn money. In most cases the migration had a positive effect on the family income: the average income from a labour migrant in such families is 5-10 times higher than other sources of household earnings.”¹

Similarly to other states of the region, the difficulties in solving the labour migration-specific issues in Uzbekistan are the legacy from the Soviet era. First of all, that applies to the very attitude to the labour migration phenomenon. In Soviet time, the individual migration was considered as a “vestige of capitalism”; only “planned” migration directed by the authorities was admitted. One of the demographic reviews of that time reads as follows: “In contrast to capitalism, socialism creates new conditions for population movement ensuring its planned and purposeful nature.”² The labour migration outside the home country was also considered “capitalistic”, i.e. inadmissible: “Under socialism, population moves only within its country (internal migration), while in an exploitative society there is also international migration, that is, movement from one country to another.”³ Naturally, such stereotypes with regard to the labour migration cannot vanish at once, however, the perception of the labour migration, especially the external one, as something negative and undesirable should be overcome as it meets neither economic nor demographic realities of the current stage of development in Uzbekistan and other Central Asia states.

Another stereotype concerning the labour migration is that it is considered to be not typical of traditionally sedentary Central Asia population, primarily, Uzbeks and Tajiks. Needless to say that both goods and, to the same extent, labour force (craftsmen, builders, etc.) moved along the Great Silk Road, however, the regional migration also took place after the transcontinental trade had faded away; for example, according to the recent research by S. N. Abashin, the intensive migration processes between the Ferghana Valley and the Eastern Turkestan in 18th century and the first half of the 19th century had a considerable effect on the modern demographic composition of the Ferghana Valley.⁴

One can agree that during the whole Soviet era the migration among Uzbek population was low. For example, in 1968-1970, the migrants accounted for only 1.4% of all Uzbeks; this is a negligible figure not only as compared to 6.7% of

1 Welfare Improvement Strategy Paper, Tashkent, 2007.

2 Mullyajanov I. R. *Narodonaselenie Uzbekskoi SSR (Sotsial’no-ekonomicheskii ochgerk)*. Tashkent: Uzbekistan, 1967. p. 119.

3 *Ibid.* p. 117-118.

4 Abashin S. N. “Migratsii i etnicheskie protsessy: noviy vzglyad na formirovanie sovremennogo naseleniya Fergany”, in Abdullaev E. V. (ed) *Uzbekistan i Yaponiya na vozrozhdayush’emysya Shelkovom puti (Collection of the Conference Papers, Tashkent, 14-16 December 2006)*, Tashkent, 2006. p.150-157.

migrants among Russians, but also it is considerably lower than the corresponding shares of Kazakhs (4.6%), Kyrgyzs (2.5%) and Tajiks (2.2%); it was equal only to the similar share of migrants among Turkmens (1.4%).¹ However, even in that case such low mobility was caused by specific social conditions: first of all, the conventional role of extended families (particularly, in rural areas) tending to keep their younger members near older generations;² traditionally low degree of individualism among the indigenous population; insufficient experience in professions having been in demand on the Soviet labour market; and remaining language barriers (poor knowledge of Russian) among a considerable part of the population, especially rural. However, the root cause of low migratory mobility was the economic system ensuring full employment, low competitiveness on the labour market, and social allowances, which were vital for large Uzbek families.

During 1990s, the migratory activity of population remained low. According to official statistics, the number of Uzbeks having left Uzbekistan was generally equal to the number of in-migrants, and it was only in 1999 when the former slightly increased in number (131,700 of migrants from Uzbekistan vs. 123,400 of in-migrants); along with the gradually increased share of internal migration in gross migration (from 58.2% in 1990 to 82.1% in 1999), the share of external migration, on the contrary, tended to decrease.³

The rather low migratory mobility remaining among indigenous population in 1990s was due to the following reasons:

(1) Wages and social safety net, particularly in early 1990s, made it possible to maintain the same living standards or somehow mitigate their deterioration;

(2) Liberalisation of economy and recognized private ownership facilitated the development of small and medium businesses, thus securing employment and incomes of a significant part of the population;

(3) Preserved shirkats (collective farms), which “bound” a considerable part of rural labour force;

(4) The lack of countries available for migration: Western European countries, the US and Japan, in spite of their obvious attractiveness for migration, set tough visa barriers and did not feel a need for poorly skilled labour.

1 “Itogi vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya” 1970. T.VII. Moscow: Statistika, 1974. p. 84.

2 Early marriages also contribute to that; as noted by S. P. Polyakov in rural areas “a man cannot acquire an industrial occupation due to an early marriage. He can neither get it in his village nor depart as he is a breadwinner. Besides, knowledge of Russian is of great importance. This circumstance further complicates mastering an industrial occupation outside his republic. Early marriages deprive young men of social mobility and bind them to their villages” (Polyakov S. P., “Traditsionalizm v sovremennom sredneaziatskom obsh’estve”, in *Musul’manskaya Srednyaya Aziya. Traditsionalizm i XX vek*. Moscow, 2004. p.202).

3 Maksakova L. *Migratsiya naseleniya: problemy regulirovaniya*. Tashkent, Eldinur, 2001. p. 22-23.

By early 2000s, the situation changed considerably. The scope of former Soviet social allowances and free social services narrowed. Business opportunities also decreased, primarily “shuttle” business being popular in 1990s. Finally, as stated above, the important, if not the decisive, factor was the economic growth in 2000s in Kazakhstan and, particularly, in Russia resulted from the rise in world prices for energy resources.

Table 1. Migration of population in 2000-2005
(as per official statistics)

	Population, total		%	
	women	men	women	men
Number of in-migrants				
2000	82 245	63 635	56,4	43,6
2001	84 612	67 230	55,7	44,3
2002	83 234	69 561	54,5	45,5
2003	74 255	65 440	53,2	46,8
2004	80 083	67 315	54,3	45,7
2005	80 260	64 518	55,4	44,6
Number of out-migrants				
2000	118 977	93 495	56,0	44,0
2001	125 109	104 494	54,5	45,5
2002	127 068	109 059	53,8	46,2
2003	122 433	110 274	52,6	47,4
2004	129 061	114 429	53,0	47,0
2005	132 550	113 836	53,8	46,2
Migration growth				
2000	-36 732	-29 860	55,2	44,8
2001	-40 497	-37 264	52,1	47,9
2002	-43 834	-39 498	52,6	47,4
2003	-48 178	-44 834	51,8	48,2
2004	-48 978	-47 114	51,0	49,0
2005	-52 290	-49 318	51,5	48,5

Source: “Zhensh’iny i muzhchiny Uzbekistana”
2000-2005: Statistical data book, Tashkent, 2007. p. 52.

In 1989-1994, the net migration of Uzbeks between Russia and Uzbekistan accounted for -4,500 people; actually, during that period the migration decreased the number of other Central Asian people in Russia – Kazakhs, Kyrgyzs and Turkmens (except for Tajiks, whose number, on the contrary, increased by 5,400 people² resulting from the Tajik conflict-driven migratory activity).

In fact, as early as in 1970s-1980s, Russia encountered a deficit in labour force, which urged the administration of Russian labour-scarce regions to follow an active migration policy. As a result, for example, in 1979-1989 the number of representatives of the titular Central Asian and Transcaucasian ethnicities living in Russia increased 1.5 times overall, while the total population of Russia in the same period increased by 7% only.¹ Nevertheless, under the economic recession and political instability in the first half of 1990s, Uzbeks mainly left Russia.

1 See Komarova O. D., Tishkov V. A. Op. cit. p. 17.

2 Maksakova L. Op. cit. p. 29.

However, since late 1990s, the inflow of Uzbek migrants to Russia becomes to grow. According to the Russian migration services, in the first half of 2007 labour migrants from Uzbekistan outnumbered the migrants from other countries: the number of in-migrants increased up to 32,800 people vs. 21,400 people in the same period of 2006, while the number of out-migrants grew insignificantly – 370 vs. 345 people.¹ Currently, Russia hosts 80% of external labour migrants from Uzbekistan.²

The labour migration to Kazakhstan has grown considerably. According to the official data of the Migration Committee of the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection of Kazakhstan, during the period from 1999 to 2006 the biggest number of immigrants to the country came from Uzbekistan – 57.6% of the total number of in-migrants from CIS countries.³ Although some of them were not the labour migrants but ethnic Kazakhs or Karakalpaks who have moved from Uzbekistan to Kazakhstan for permanent residence, even excluding this category of immigrants, the share of Uzbek labour migrants should be significant as not all of the labour migrants are registered by statistical offices. As per the official data, the number of labour migrants in the Southern Kazakhstan, where the majority of labour migrants from Uzbekistan are employed, amounts to 200,000.⁴ However, it should be noted that the labour migration from Uzbekistan to Kazakhstan shows even a clearer seasonal pattern than that to Russia, and is closer related to agricultural work cycles in the south of Kazakhstan wherein the majority of Uzbek migrants are employed.

One should also note rather liberal labour laws of Uzbekistan which do not prevent citizens from going abroad to work (as for the internal migration, there is a more significant limiting factor in the form of temporary registration regime in cities, primarily in Tashkent⁵).

Some particular problems are associated with gender aspects of labour migration. All surveys (including those published herein) note an increase in the number of women participating in both internal and external migration. This peculiarity is characteristic not only of Uzbekistan and the FSU countries as a whole; since 1990s it has become a distinctive feature of labour migration in the world.⁶ However, labour migration in the region has been considerably feminized in recent years. As for women-external

1 See Scherbakova E., “Registriremiy migratsionny prirost naseleniya Rossii” www.demoscope.ru/weekly/2007/0303/barom05.php (Last visited: 16 October 2007).

2 “Welfare Improvement Strategy Paper.” Tashkent, 2007. p. 43.

3 “Mezhdru vygodoi i natsional’noy bezopasnost’yu: vzglyad na uzbekskuyu migratsiyu v Kazakhstane.” www.compatriot.su/news/57735.html. (Last visited: 16 October 2007).

4 Ibid.

5 See: Abdullaev E., “A Portrait of Women Migrant Workers in Uzbekistan”, *Development and Transition*, 2007. No. 8.

6 See: *Feminization of Migration, Remittances, Migrants’ Rights, Brain Drain* (Economic and Social Council; POP/945. Commission on Population and Development. Thirty-ninth Session, 5 April 2006) (also available at: www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2006/pop945.doc.htm); Castles S., Miller J. *The Age of Migration. International Population Movements in the Modern World*. London: Macmillan, 1998.

migrants, most of them move to Kazakhstan and Russia. As noted by N. Zotova, Russian researcher, “Central Asia women in rural areas having not even thought of leaving their homes, families and children to earn money, have begun to go to Russia, found their niche in the labour market, and started to successfully adapt and work in a receiving country. They can give advice and help their relatives, friends and fellow-countrywomen thus involving new women (as well as men) in labour migration.”¹ However, women-labour migrants are more frequently exposed to various types of discrimination than men: lower wages, more negative attitude of a society, risk of sexual harassment, etc. Yet, the female migration keeps growing and informal migration networks among women are still developing. N. Zotova further notes: “As migration networks develop, and due to that, more and more women get involved in them. Currently, most of them are women forced to earn money due to personal and family reasons; however, one can project that women will start migrating not in despair but influenced by successful mobility of their acquaintances and relatives.”²

Thus, the growth of labour migration in Uzbekistan is due to a whole range of causes. The labour migration effects become more noticeable in the socio-political context, having both positive and negative impact on the situation in Uzbekistan and the region as a whole.

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Despite the urgency of labour migration issues, there has been lack of relevant research and publications. Except for the monograph by L. P. Maksakova³ published in 2001, there were mainly the articles issued to follow up the conferences and workshops. Among them, noteworthy are the collection “Migration and labour market in Central Asia states” based on materials of the same-name conference (Tashkent, 11-12 October 2001);⁴ materials of a series of workshops held in 2003 by the Centre for Human Resources Development;⁵ and materials of the workshop “Labour migration: social and legal aspects” (Ferghana, 3 December 2004) held by UNDP jointly with the Centre for Legality Strengthening and Prosecution-Investigation Personnel Development at the General Prosecutor’s Office of the Republic of Uzbekistan.⁶

1 Zotova N. “Zhenshiny – trudovie migranty iz Tadjikistana (starshaya vozrastnaya gruppy)”, *Vestnik Evrazii*. 2007, No. 2. p.83.

2 Ibid. p. 85.

3 Maksakova L. P. Op. cit.

4 Maksakova L. P. (ed) *Migratsiya i rynek truda v stranah Sredney Azii*. Moscow; Tashkent. Independent Research Council on Migration in the CIS and Baltic states, 2002.

5 Chupik V. V. (ed) *Migratsiya rabochey sily Respubliki Uzbekistan: problemy i perspektivy*. Tashkent, 2003.

6 Azimova D. S., Abdullaev E. V. (eds) *Trudovaya migratsiya: sotsial’nie i pravovie aspekty*. Tashkent, “Centre for Business Relations” Association, 2005.

Outside Uzbekistan, there also were no special scientific publications on this subject; the external labour migration from Uzbekistan was analyzed in the context of general migration from Central Asia in the collection “Does the Russian society need immigrants?”¹, and in the research “Migration risks in the Central Asia states”² by K. Borishpolets and A. Babajanov. Less research was done on gender aspects of labour migration in Uzbekistan and Central Asia as a whole.³

In recent years, various Internet-publications tended to politicise the labour migration processes representing them as a kind of negative phenomenon specific for Uzbekistan rather than as a natural process characteristic of a country with excessive labour resources. As a rule, they emphasise the difficulties encountered by labour migrants in Uzbekistan and a host country; and they considerably exaggerate the number of labour migrants. Naturally, the biggest part of both internal and external migration flows falls at the informal sector which significantly complicates the objective analysis of these processes; however, it is clear that as the migration reporting system develops and the number of migration-specific sociological surveys grows, the picture of current migration processes becomes more distinct.

This aim was pursued by the authors of this collection which is the second (after the above-mentioned issue of 2005) publication of UNDP in Uzbekistan on the labour migration issues.

This collection includes articles and surveys on external and internal labour migration in Uzbekistan prepared by the leading specialists in this sphere: sociologists, economists and demographers. The majority of the published materials are the summarised results of sociological surveys conducted in Uzbekistan in 2006-2007 on the internal and external migration issues. Although these surveys were conducted by different sociologists’ teams independently, pursued different goals and used different research tools, the significant part of findings and conclusions in these surveys coincide. The publication of these results under one cover will enable officials from concerned ministries and agencies and representatives of

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- 1 Mukomel V. I., Pain E. A. (eds) *Nujny li immigranty Rossiyskomu obsh'estvu?* Moscow: Liberalnaya Missiya, 2006.
 - 2 Borishpolets K., Babajanov A. *Migratsionnie riski stran Tsentral'noi Azii.* Moscow: MGIMO, 2007.
 - 3 For gender issues of labour migration in the CIS, in addition to the above-mentioned article by Zotova N., see Tyuryukanova E. V., Malysheva M. M. *Zhensh'iny. Migratsiya. Gosudarstvo.* Moscow: Academia, 2001; Tyuryukanova E. V. “Gendernie aspekty trudovoy migratsii iz stran SNG v Rossii”, *Diaspory*, 2005. No.1. For gender aspects of labour migration in Uzbekistan see Rakhimov N., Khatamov Kh., Atajanov Kh. “Migratsiya kak faktor razvitiya trudovogo potentsiala zhensh'in”, in *Migratsiya i rynek truda...* p. 128-133; Abdullaev E. *Op. cit.* p.17-18.

expert community to obtain the most comprehensive and objective information about various aspects of labour migration in the Republic of Uzbekistan.

The article by Zh. A. Zayonchkovskaya “Labour migration of population from Central Asia countries” addresses migration trends in Russia with regard to CIS countries focusing on Central Asia, Russia’s new migration policy and labour migration from Central Asia to Russia which is still the destination country for most migrants from Central Asia states.

The article by L. P. Maksakova “Internal migration of Uzbekistan population: Sociological aspects” provides the outcomes of the sociological survey among labour migrants at informal labour markets in Tashkent city (questionnaire survey) and among officials of various authorities dealing with labour migration and population employment (in-depth interviews). The article presents a brief overview of the legal framework regulating the status of internal labour migrants and assessment of the current internal labour migration in the country. Proposals and recommendations are the most interesting part of the article and they are essential for further regulation of migration processes.

The article by M. K. Khajimukhamedov, based on the sociological surveys conducted by the Public Opinion Research Centre “Ijtimoiy Fikr” from 2001 to 2006, provides data on emigration moods among Uzbekistan citizens with regard to both external labour migration and departure for permanent residence.

Apart from the articles, the collection contains full texts of two sociological survey reports on social and gender aspects of internal and external labour migration.

The internal migration survey was prepared by the Centre for Social Research “TAHLIL” based on quantitative and qualitative surveys in three regions of Uzbekistan (Namangan and Kashkadarya provinces and Tashkent city) under the UNDP Project “Promotion of the rights of the women migrant workers.” It reviews different categories of internal labour migrants, spheres of their employment, working and living conditions, and the issues of their social and legal protection.

The external migration survey – “Voices of Labour Migrants” – was prepared by the Sociology Centre “Sharh va Tavsiya” enjoying support of the Gender Programme of the Embassy of Switzerland in Uzbekistan; it is based on a series of in-depth interviews with labour migrants and their family members. The opinions of respondents on how they spend their labour migration earnings are of particular interest.

I. OVERVIEW OF LABOUR MIGRATION

MIGRATION FROM CENTRAL ASIA COUNTRIES

Despite rapid development of new states, the FSU migration space remains common for most of their inhabitants. The contributing factors include close family and cultural relations among population of the new states, common transport and communication systems, common language (Russian) preserved to a considerable extent, similar educational systems, complementarities of labour markets, similar mentality and behaviour patterns, and, with rare exceptions, no visa requirement to cross CIS borders.

The dominant population movement vector in the post-Soviet space is movement to Russia, as this is the destination country for three of four migrants from the CIS. As a result, the migration relations with Russia mirror the general nature of the CIS migration processes.

This article addresses the Russia-CIS migration trends focussing on Central Asian countries; Russia's new migration policy and labour migration from Central Asia to Russia which is still the destination country for most migrants from the Central Asia states.

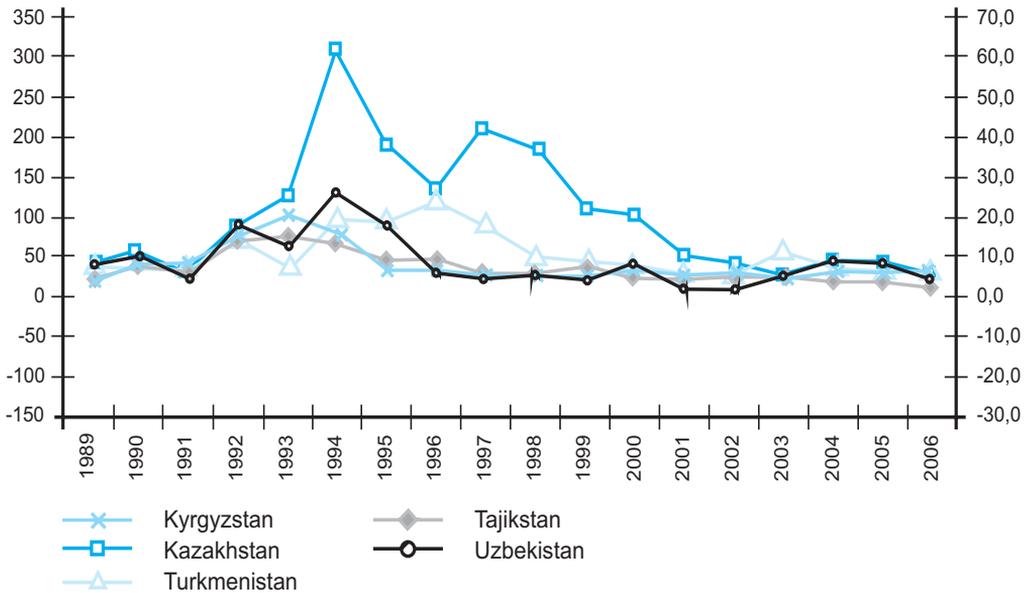
Since 2007, there has been a natural decline in the working age population in Russia, which can be traced up to the mid century. Before 2026, this loss will amount to some 18 million people. If this figure is correlated with the employed population in Russia (about 70 million people), the huge labour deficit in the Russian labour market becomes obvious. In this context, it is the labour (not oil, for example, or investments) that would be the most deficient resource in Russia in the next two decades. Therefore, throughout this period the Russian Federation will need to significantly attract foreign labour, thus creating long-term opportunities for labour migration from Central Asian states where labour markets are under pressure of excessive labour force.

Migration trends

During the period between censuses in 1989 and 2002, which nearly overlapped with the sovereignisation of new states, Russia increased its population by 6.8 million people owing to migrants from post-Soviet countries. The maximum inflow fell at the first half of 1990s – the era of ethnic conflicts and going to national “homes” which resulted in the flows of repatriates, refugees and forced migrants. The rapid trends in early 1990s reflect the dynamics of major armed conflicts in the post-Soviet space and the air of uncertainty and commotion among population in the first years after the collapse of the Soviet Union (Fig. 1). Later on absolutely all countries, either faced the armed conflicts or

not, and irrespective of their national political regimes, have demonstrated similar, mainly downward, trends in migration relations with Russia. This again indicates the determinative role of Russia in migration processes within the CIS. Since 1994, Russia has had an increase in migration from all the CIS countries except for Belarus where a minor part of Russia's population has moved to.

Fig. 1. Net migration among Russia and Central Asian states, thousand people



Source: Russian Federal Service of State Statistics (Rosstat)

Since 1995, immigration from post-Soviet states started decreasing, at first due to hostilities in Chechnya, and then due to the August 1998 default. Recently, Russia has shifted to a stringent migration policy with regard to the CIS countries as well, having drastically complicated the migrants' registration, issuing of residence permits and granting of citizenship.¹ This resulted in a twofold reduction in the inflow to Russia after 2000. Other contributory factors included improved situation in post-Soviet countries (cease of hostilities in armed conflict areas, economic growth, decline in the nationalistic moods and gradual adaptation of Russians to new conditions), and a relative decrease in the Russia's economic advantages. Recently, the migration increase on account of the CIS countries remained at a very low level of 130,000 to 165,000 people a year in spite of the preferences for citizens of these countries as declared in the Russian laws.

¹ Relevant policy is reflected in the 2002 Law "On Citizenship" and 2002 Law "On Legal Status of Foreign Citizens."

Kazakhstan and Central Asia are the main migration donors to Russia. Overall, Central Asia provided two thirds of the Russia's migration growth on account of the CIS countries throughout the post-Soviet period, with Kazakhstan and Central Asia's contributions being nearly equal.

The recent trend is the Central Asia's advance to the position of the main migration donor to Russia (Table 2). In 2006, the net inflow from Central Asia exceeded that from Kazakhstan more than twice (69,500 vs. 31,400 respectively); the share of Central Asia in the Russia's migration growth on account of post-Soviet countries reached 42%, while the Kazakhstan's share dropped to 19%. However, as for the rate of migration outflow to Russia, one can see that Kazakhstan still takes the lead. It gave 2.1 people out of every 1,000 of its population, while the Central Asian states gave 1.6 people each. The most intensive outflow is observed in Kyrgyzstan (the rate is 3.3), which might be attributed to a less stable situation in this country.

Table 2. Migration growth of Russia's population owing to Central Asia countries in 2003-2006, *thousand people*

Countries	2003	2004	2005	2006
CIS and Baltic states, including:	132,5	133,8	151,8	165,3
Kazakhstan	29,6	49,0	45,1	31,4
Central Asia	55,9	46,2	59,2	69,5
Kyrgyzstan	9,3	13,9	16,8	17,0
Tajikistan	7,0	4,6	4,8	6,9
Turkmenistan	9,0	5,6	4,4	4,5
Uzbekistan	30,6	22,1	33,2	41,1
% of total migration growth in Russia:				
Kazakhstan	22,3	36,6	29,7	19,0
Central Asia	42,2	34,5	39,0	42,0

Source: Rosstat

Return migration of Russians is the core of migration from the CIS countries to Russia, however, their share in the total migration growth of the country is decreasing: 81% in 1989-1992, 64% in 1993-2000, 59% in 2001-2004, and 54% in 2005. In 2006, it was the first time when Russians formed a minority of the flow from the CIS having provided 44.2% of the migration growth.

In contrast to, for example, natives of the Caucasus actively moving to Russia, the indigenous people of Central Asia do that very seldom. Thus, in 2003-2006, a total of 18,000 Kyrgyzs, Tajiks, Turkmens and Uzbeks migrated to Russia which

accounted for only 4.2% of Russia's migration growth from the CIS. At the same time, noteworthy is the rapid increase in migration of Central Asian people to Russia – it doubled in 2005 and again doubled in 2006. This refers to all Central Asian people except Turkmen (Table 3).

Table 3. Russia's migration growth owing to Central Asia indigenous people in 2003-2006, *thousand people*

Ethnicity	2003	2004	2005	2006
Central Asia people, total	2,6	2,0	4,7	8,7
Kyrgyzs	0,2	0,3	1,3	2,3
Tajiks	0,7	0,5	1,2	2,4
Turkmens	0,3	0,2	0,2	0,2
Uzbeks	1,4	1,0	2,0	3,8
Kazakhs	-1,7	-1,9	-1,5	-1,9

Source: Rosstat

Table 4. Migrants to Russia from Central Asia in 2006, *by ethnicity, %*

Ethnicity	Kazakhstan	Kyrgyzstan	Tajikistan	Turkmenistan	Uzbekistan	
In-migrants, of them:	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	
Russians	67,1	54,1	30,8	56,1	48,2	
Central Asia people	4,4	18,4	43,1	6,9	14,0	
Kazakhs	4,1	-	-	-	3,8	
Kyrgyzs	}	14,6	-	-	-	
Tajiks		0,3	-	35,4	-	3,2
Turkmens		-	-	-	4,5	-
Uzbeks		3,8	7,7	2,4	7,0	
Ukrainians		5,4	3,8	1,5	2,4	2,2
Tatars	2,3	4,5	4,6	9,8	14,8	
Germans	2,8	1,3	0,6	-	0,5	
Koreans	0,4	0,9	0,8	-	6,5	
Others	17,6	17,0	18,6	24,8	13,8	

Source: Rosstat

Table 4 illustrates the ethnic structure of migration flow from Central Asia to Russia in 2006. Russians strongly prevail in the flow from Kazakhstan (67.1%, and 72.5% together with Ukrainians), and account to over a half of people coming from Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan. They amount to less than a half of migrants from Uzbekistan, and to only 30.8% of Tajik migrants. In 2006, for the first time indigenous people prevailed over Russians in the flow from Tajikistan. The ethnic composition of migrants from Tajikistan was transformed not only due to the reduced number of Russians, two thirds of whom the country had already lost, but also due to a sharp increase in the mobility of the autochthonous population.

The simple proportions reviewed above reveal the commenced process of Central Asian people's transition to a new, mobile, status, which is usually followed by an exodus of surplus population from their country. This allows Russia to consider Central Asia as a real source of labour migration.

New migration policy of Russia

Obviously, Russia has become much less attractive to the CIS population, though its attraction was strong in 1990s. In addition, these trends reflected limited space for legal migration rather than real flows. According to the survey-based estimates, Russia hosts 3 to 5 million migrants from the CIS, most of whom have been living in the country for several years without registration.

In early 2005, the imbalance between migration processes and national demographic situation was addressed by the Russian authorities having set the task to "encourage migration processes", primarily the inflow of population from the CIS countries as the closest to Russia in terms of culture.¹ In the same year, legalisation of illegal migrants was piloted, and as a result nearly 7,000 of them were legalised; drafting of a new, more liberal legislation was announced. The urgency of the migration policy changes was reasserted in the Russian President's message to the Federal Assembly in May 2006.

In early 2007, Russia took a step towards liberalisation of its migration policy having introduced new procedures for migrants' registration and issuing of work permits for foreign workers. This step is as essential for the country's life as the law on free entry and departure which was adopted in 1993 and destroyed the "iron curtain."

Since 15 January 2007, two new federal laws have been enacted in Russia, creating prerequisites to fundamental modification of the migration regulation. These include the new Law "On migration registration of foreign citizens and stateless persons" and the new version of the Law "On legal status of foreign citizens." The amendments included simplification of foreign citizens' registration at the place of their residence, as well as employment i.e. the problems having been a stumbling block to legalisation of immigrants.

1 Opening address by President V. V. Putin at the meeting of the Security Council on migration policy, 17 March 2005.
(available at: <http://www.migrant.ru/cgi-bin/vestnik.pl?issue200503/article1.shtml>).

Previously, registration had been a multistage, complicated and bureaucratized procedure, thus representing the main barrier to legal migration and the primary migration-related source of corruption. Even a short-term registration required that a migrant should submit a number of different certificates and also visit a police department, where the registration was effected, not only with an owner or a principal tenant of a housing to be rented, but also with all permanent dwellers residing there so that they could confirm their agreement to the migrant's registration. Such a complicated system made a migrant dependent on availability of relatives or acquaintances at a new place who would not only agree to register him/her, but also to go through the whole procedure together with him/her.¹ According to surveys, only every tenth registered migrant was registered not at his/her relatives or friends' place. Therefore, no wonder that various illegal services, providing permits for foreigners, and forced labour practices flourished.

The new arrangement considerably simplifies the registration procedure for temporary migrants. This category of migrants is released from registration at the place of residence with a stamp in passport. This type of registration was substituted for a notification residence-specific registration. A migrant has to submit a standard application; the whereabouts details may include not necessarily his/her residence address, but also the business address or that of the intermediary firm. This application can be mailed to a local migration service department. A counterfoil of the application with acceptance stamp certifies the migrant's legal stay in the country. The list of documents required for registration has been limited to a passport and a migration card only. Moreover, when a migrant's migration card is expired or lost, he/she can get its duplicate after paying a fine. For the first time in the passport system there is an arrangement releasing the police from migrants' registration procedure. Now, a temporary migrant to Russia does not need a registration stamp in his/her passport. Indeed, this is a revolutionary change promising a reduction in migration-related corruption.

The changes in the employment of migrants coming to Russia from the CIS countries on a visa-free basis are not less decisive. Currently, a work permit is issued to a migrant personally, not to his/her employer as it was before. Within a 10-day period, a migrant can obtain a labour card. Employers have been entitled to freely employ a foreign citizen with a labour card. Thus, an employee's dependence on an employer was abolished. A migrant has the right to free job search and may freely change an employer. A foreign worker has to undergo a medical examination for AIDS, tuberculosis and STIs within one month.

The procedure of quota-based issuing of work permits still remains; however, the quota requirements have been expanded. Quotas may be established depending on occupation, speciality and qualification of migrants, their country of origin, and "other economic and/or social criteria with regard to regional characteristics

1 This is confirmed by the data of in-depth interviews with labour migrants, who worked in Russia – see Survey 2 published in this collection (section "Migrants' Problems") – *Editorial comments*.

of the labour market.”¹ However, the quotas do not apply to qualified specialists to be employed according to their specialities, which is also an innovation. In 2007, two quotas were established: for foreign citizens from visa-free countries (6 million permits) and for immigrants coming on a visa basis to work (308,800 invitations). A huge quota for visa-free countries indirectly indicates the Russia’s intention to legalise the “backlog” of illegal migrants from these countries.

The first positive results of the new legislation in effect have been already reviewed. According to the monitoring by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) supported by the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (OSCE ODIHR), 85% of migrants were registered in the first six months of 2007. Only 15% of migrants did not do that; previously, every other migrant had not been registered. Following the enactment of new laws, three fourths of migrants, who came to Russia to work, received migration cards, while one fourth is working without them. Previously, this ratio was reversed: over three fourths of migrants worked without permits, i.e. illegally, and only 15 to 25%, according to different surveys, worked legally. As per preliminary data of the Federal Migration Service (FMS), during 2007 nearly 6 million migrants from the CIS were registered, about 2 million of them received labour cards.

At the same time, the first year with the new legal framework has distinctly highlighted the underdevelopment of Russian migration infrastructure, inconsistency of all parts involved in the legal registration of migrants. Unfortunately, the new laws had been enacted earlier than the necessary instructions were developed, officials were trained in new rules, and information materials for migrants were prepared, etc. Authorities in the regions were not properly prepared for transition to the new procedure as well; a considerable part of them demonstrated uncertainty rather than preparedness for the liberal migration policy. According to the predictive expert survey conducted in summer 2006, every third specialist working within the FMS system completely or partially disapproved of the new course and objected to introduction of easily accessible registration in the form of notification; almost 40% insisted on retention of the previous employment procedures for foreign workers based on permits to be issued to employers.

Thus, much still needs to be done to solve the existing problems; partnership between Russia and other CIS countries in this sphere should be promoted as well. At the same time, transition to the new migration policy has clearly shown that actually Russia is ready to open its doors and establish reasonable living conditions for labour migrants from the CIS countries.

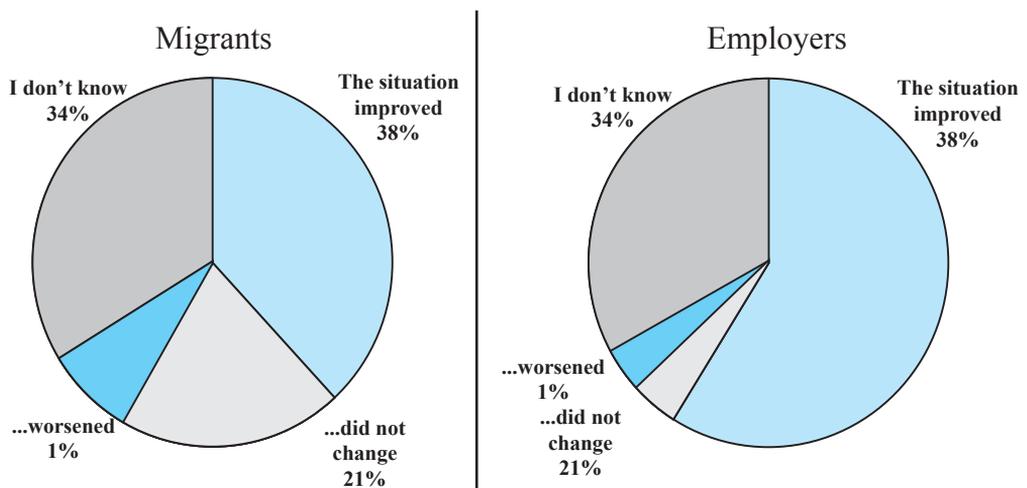
1 Federal Law dated 18 July 2006 No. 110-FZ on amendments to the Federal Law “On Legal Status of Foreign Citizens in the Russian Federation” and on invalidation of certain provisions of the Federal Law “On Amendments to Some Legislative Acts of the Russian Federation.”

Generally, both migrants and employers are optimistic about the new migration laws, although they also demonstrated some uncertainty, especially the migrants. The share of those believing in improvement of the situation is much higher than that of their opponents (38% vs. 7%), while every fifth did not feel the changes, and every third had no definite opinion (Fig. 2). Employers were more enthusiastic about the innovations: 59% of them reported the improvement of situation, however, every third “did not know.” Probably, those claiming that they “did not know”, both migrants and employers, have not dealt with registration themselves. Now, as before, migrants can be registered by their employers and an intermediary firm.

Labour migration from Central Asia

Central Asia’s presence in the Russian labour market is growing rapidly in contrast to that of Kazakhstan which is characterised by the insignificant scope of labour out-migration (Table 5). In 2006, the number of labour migrants from Central Asia working in Russia was twice as many as their number in 2005, while the total number of foreign labour in Russia increased 1.44 times. According to data for the first six months of 2007, the number of workers from Central Asia almost trebled to 670,700 people, with the total 1.25 time increase of this labour force category in Russia. Perhaps, such a sharp breakthrough is due to the fact that prior to introduction of the new laws the Russian “shadow” employment sector used the labour force from Central Asia to a considerably higher extent than the labour force from other countries.

Fig. 2. Assessment of new migration laws (September 2007)



Source: Monitoring of the new Russian migration laws performed by the Moscow IOM Office and supported by OSCE ODIHR.

Among the migrants who received labour cards in the first six months of 2007, natives of Central Asia accounted for over a half (53.1%) vs. 23.4% in 2006 and 17% in 2005. Uzbekistan and Tajikistan are the most active players in the Russian labour market, Kyrgyzstan is active to a lesser degree, while labour migration from

Table 5. The number of labour force from Central Asia in Russia in 2005-2007, *thousand people*

Countries	2005	2006	2007 1-е полугодие*
Kazakhstan	4,1	5,0	4,1
Central Asia, total	119,3	237,5	670,7
Kyrgyzstan	16,2	33,0	99,3
Tajikistan	52,6	98,7	264,0
Turkmenistan	1,5	0,7	1,0
Uzbekistan	49,0	105,1	306,4
Foreign labour in Russia, total	702,5	1014,0	1262,7

* Number of issued labour cards

Source: Federal Migration Service of Russia.

Table 6. Sectoral employment structure of labour force from Central Asia in Russia, 1st half-year of 2007, %

Sectors	Kazakhstan	Kyrgyzstan	Tajikistan	Turkmenistan	Uzbekistan	CIS, total
Workers, total of them employed in:	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
Construction	19,3	36,8	42,7	76,3	45,2	44,8
Processing and mining industries	11,2	10,3	8,7	3,1	8,6	13,6
Agriculture	4,7	3,0	3,6	0,2	8,2	6,3
Transport and communication	6,3	4,5	6,5	1,1	5,4	8,2
Trade	14,8	20,3	17,7	6,0	12,9	16,1
Other sectors	43,7	25,2	20,8	13,3	19,7	11,0

Source: Federal Migration Service of Russia

Table 7. Distribution of Central Asian labour force by Russian federal districts, 1st half-year of 2007, %

Federal districts	Kazakhstan	Kyrgyzstan	Tajikistan	Turkmenistan	Uzbekistan	CIS, total
Central	35,9	38,2	32,7	41,3	34,8	42,8
Including Moscow City and Moscow Oblast	31,7	35,3	27,6	36,6	23,4	34,7
Northern-Western	6,8	4,9	7,5	4,3	11,5	9,8
Southern	2,5	1,4	5,2	0,9	8,5	6,6
Volga	9,1	9,4	13,7	16,3	18,2	11,4
Ural	21,8	18,8	26,9	35,5	9,6	15,5
Siberia	18,8	21,0	12,4	0,3	14,7	10,4
Far Eastern	5,1	6,3	1,6	1,4	2,7	3,5
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: Federal Migration Service of Russia.

Turkmenistan is insignificantly small (Table 5). In terms of the number of labour migrants in Russia, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan rank first and second respectively, having outpaced considerably the other CIS countries and China.

The sectoral employment structure of Central Asian labour force has no substantial differences from the average one. However, in processing, mining and transport sectors, i.e. those having higher requirements to qualification, there are fewer migrants from Central Asia as compared to other countries (Table 6).

Distribution of labour force from Central Asia varies in Russia. In general, noteworthy is its lower presence in the Central Federal District, including Moscow Oblast, and this is particularly characteristic of migrants from Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. Migrants from all Central Asian states more frequently work in the Urals and Siberia than migrants from other CIS countries (Table 7).

The performed analysis highlights the common interest of Russia and Central Asia in partnership relations in the labour market. Many complicated problems are still to be solved, including training of skilled personnel, creation of appropriate databases, establishment of proper recruitment and information systems, etc. Remedial action for the Russia's new migration system requires joint effort as well.

SOCIAL AND LEGAL REGULATION OF LABOUR MIGRATION

The issues related to the socio-legal regulation of migration processes and protection of migrant workers' rights cover a wide range of standards reflected in both the international law and the legislation of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Some of the human rights directly relevant to migrant workers include the right to freedom of movement; the right to work; the right to freedom from exploitation; the right to freedom from abuse, etc.

The difficulty in ensuring the rights of migrant workers (international law mainly sees them as participants in "external migration"¹) is that they become the subjects of double jurisdiction: that of the state they left and of the state where they work or try to get a job. The differences between legislations of these two states, whose jurisdictions cover a migrant worker, prevent him/her to enjoy human rights and contribute to their violation. All this is often aggravated by the migrant workers' ignorance of language, way of life, laws of the host country and his/her semi-legal or illegal entry, residence and employment in the host country, and makes migrant workers one of the most vulnerable social strata. Labour migration is frequently associated with discrimination, infringement of human rights and even human trafficking. Since the illegal labour migration flows are virtually uncontrollable, the rights of migrant workers are violated everywhere: throughout their entire journey, at border-crossing points, at work, etc.

The international law has a whole set of regulations pertaining to the migrant workers' status and rights, in particular, several conventions of the International Labour Organisation (ILO): Convention concerning Migration for Employment No. 97 dated 1 July 1949, Convention concerning Migrations in Abusive Conditions and the Promotion of Equality of Opportunity and Treatment of Migrant Workers No. 143 dated 24 June 1975, Recommendation concerning Migration for Employment No. 86 and Recommendation concerning Migrant Workers No. 151, Convention concerning Forced or Compulsory Labour No. 29, Convention concerning the Abolition of Forced Labour No. 105, etc. Apart from these documents stipulating specific migrant workers' rights, migrant workers and their family members fully enjoy all the universal human rights secured in the main documents of the United Nations, namely the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial

1 Legal framework of internal migration is addressed in Part II – *Editorial comment*.

Discrimination and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, etc. A number of international treaties adopted by the World Health Organisation (WHO) provide special regulations concerning physical health of migrant workers. UNESCO conventions contain provisions aimed to improve education of migrant workers and their family members.

Among the UN documents on migrant workers' rights, particularly important is the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families dated 18 December 1990. The Preamble to the document notes the "importance and extent of the migration phenomenon, which involves millions of people and affects a large number of States in the international community" and the "situation of vulnerability in which migrant workers and members of their families frequently find themselves owing, among other things, to their absence from their State of origin and to the difficulties they may encounter arising from their presence in the State of employment." The Preamble also points to the necessity of observing the rights of migrant workers in the cases when the migration is irregular, emphasising that "human problems involved in migration are even more serious in the case of irregular migration." The document proclaims that "appropriate action should be encouraged in order to prevent and eliminate clandestine movements and trafficking in migrant workers, while at the same time assuring the protection of their fundamental human rights."

Despite this set of documents, international instruments for protection of migrant workers' rights remain insufficiently effective. Migration of population is hardly controllable. Strengthened migration control by the increasing number of states and attempts of governmental structures in countries both exporting and importing the labour force to limit migration or arrange it within some framework result in expansion of irregular migration. Even if there are thousands of migrant workers and their family members of the same ethnicity in a host country, they are not considered as representatives of an ethnic minority. Finally, UN documents leave the very admission or non-admission of labour migration at the discretion of states.

Regional instruments and bilateral agreements. Insufficient efficiency of international instruments for regulation of labour migration and protection of migrants' rights, and the necessity of more specific consideration of regional and country peculiarities determine the practice of concluding multilateral (generally, regional) and bilateral agreements in this sphere.

Almost immediately after establishment of the CIS, the Agreement on Establishment of the Advisory Council for Labour, Migration and Social Security

of Population in Member States of the Commonwealth of Independent States was signed on 13 November 1992. The primary legal instrument of cooperation in the sphere of labour migration was the intergovernmental Agreement of the CIS Member States on Labour Migration and Social Security of Migrant Workers dated 15 April 1994, which, as set forth in its Preamble, was concluded “following the commitment to the fundamental UN documents on human rights and the principles developed within the framework of the International Labour Organisation.” The Agreement provides for reciprocal recognition of diplomas and other education-related documents by every participating state. Social insurance and social security of migrants (except for pensions) are implemented by agreement in accordance with the host country’s laws.

However, some stages of the labour migration process were not properly reflected in the CIS acts and bilateral agreements. The regulatory effect of labour migration agreements is aimed only to the host party, that is, the state of employment. In addition, neither the Agreement of the CIS Member States on Labour Migration and Social Security of Migrant Workers nor the Agreement on Cooperation between the CIS Member States on Cooperation in Preventing Irregular Migration dated 6 March 1998 stipulate the necessity of observing the human rights of labour migrants.

Uzbekistan has entered into a number of treaties within the Central Asia region. In July 1994, Uzbekistan together with Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan signed the Memorandum on Cooperation in the Sphere of Migration, and in March 1997, in pursuance of the Memorandum, these countries approved the Programme of Cooperation in the Sphere of Migration. The Programme, in particular, provided for establishment of the Regional Centre for Migration Control in Bishkek. Moreover, the same countries have signed the Agreement on Population Movement Control.

Within the framework of bilateral relations, the Republic of Uzbekistan signed the labour migration agreements with the Republic of Korea (1995) and the Russian Federation (2007). Following the signing of the agreements on cooperation in education/employment with the Korea Federation of Small and Medium Business and the Construction Association of Korea on the system of traineeship for foreigners at industrial enterprises, over 19,000 citizens of Uzbekistan were employed in the Republic of Korea from 1995 to 2007.

In addition, in 2007 the Government signed three treaties with Russia: on the procedure of deportation of irregular migrants, on prevention of irregular migration and on ensuring the rights of labour migrants. According to the Agency for External Labour Migration, currently the negotiations are going on for labour

migration cooperation with Japan, Poland, Latvia, Russian Federation, United Arab Emirates, Spain, Italy, Portugal, Malaysia, New Zealand, and Australia.¹

Legislation of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Uzbekistan has joined a number of international and regional human rights documents and incorporated into the national legislation the universal provisions underlying the protection of migrant workers' rights. In addition, in cases where such provisions are not stated expressly, they are implied by the legally secured priority of international norms. For example, the Law "On Population Employment" (revised) (No. 616-1) dated 1 May 1998 specifies that "if an international treaty signed by the Republic of Uzbekistan establishes the rules other than those contained herein, the international treaty rules shall apply" (Art. 1).

Nevertheless, given the grown scope of labour migration, one may note that the international population employment norms concerning labour migrants are insufficiently reflected in the Uzbekistan laws so far. The provisions related to labour migration and protection of rights of migrant workers and their family members are not yet stipulated in the bilateral agreements concluded by the Republic of Uzbekistan with the countries whereon the biggest part of labour migration from Uzbekistan falls (except for Korea). For example, Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers No. 134 dated 22 March 2004 "On the Measures for Enhancement of Cooperation between the Republic of Uzbekistan and the European Union and its Member States" envisages only "Cooperation for prevention of illegal activity and irregular migration prevention and control" (Part IV). Without denying the importance of cooperation for prevention of irregular migration, one may note that the establishment of legal mechanisms facilitating labour migration while ensuring the rights of labour migrants and their family members could become a priority in this area. That would make it possible to legalise a significant part of migration flows and make the activity of involved people and structures more transparent and open for legal regulation. It is worthy to note that recently Uzbekistan has undertaken certain steps in this area. The issues of legal regulation of labour migration have been addressed in the Law "On Population Employment", Resolutions of the Cabinet of Ministers No. 353 "On regulation of Labour Force Export and Import" (14 July 1993); No. 408 "On Professional Activity of Citizens of the Republic of Uzbekistan Abroad and of Foreign Citizens in the Republic" (19 October 1995); No. 162 "On Approval of Regulations of the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection of Population of the Republic of Uzbekistan and the Agency for

1 Information from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Uzbekistan: <http://www.uzembassy.ru/1640.htm> (last visited on 11 November 2007).

External Labour Migration” (6 April 2001); and No. 505 “On Measures for Improvement of Labour Activity of Citizens of the Republic of Uzbekistan Abroad” (12 November 2003), etc.

Thus, in line with Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers No. 75 dated 13 February 2001, the Agency for External Labour Migration was established at the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection of the Republic of Uzbekistan. One of the basic activities of the Agency is assistance to citizens of the Republic of Uzbekistan in exercising their right to professional activity abroad through arrangement of temporary employment as well as licensing of citizens of the Republic of Uzbekistan for private labour activity abroad. The Agency has its representatives in the Regional Departments of Labour and Social Protection of Population in the Republic of Karakalpakstan and 12 provinces of the country. The primary tasks of the Agency include coordination of professional activity of citizens of the Republic of Uzbekistan abroad and of foreign citizens in the Republic of Uzbekistan; development and implementation of international cooperation projects on labour migration; arrangement of employment and preliminary adaptation activities with candidates for employment in foreign countries; development of cooperation with foreign firms (enterprises, institutions, companies) employing foreign labour force; and licensing of legal entities to involve foreign labour force, etc.

Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Uzbekistan No. 505 dated 12 November 2003, “On the Measures for Improvement of Labour Activity of Citizens of the Republic of Uzbekistan Abroad”, established the standards of regulated labour migration, and approved the Standard Regulations for a Regional Self-Financing Office for Foreign Employment of Citizens.

The “monitoring migration processes of the population” was defined as one of the tasks of the Centre for Demography and Consumer Market Studies established by Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Uzbekistan No. 448 dated 24 December 2002.

Moreover, in order to prevent irregular labour migration and protect the rights of people having suffered from irregular migration associated with human trafficking, the legislation of the Republic of Uzbekistan envisages the criminal penalty for the main actions listed in the UN Protocol to Suppress, Prevent and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, such as recruitment of people, including minors, for exploitation by means of deception and for transportation of such people outside the Republic of Uzbekistan (Criminal Code, Art. 135); coercion of a woman to sexual

intercourse (Criminal Code, Art. 121); abduction (Criminal Code, Art. 137); and other associated crimes, for example, fraud (Criminal Code, Art. 168).¹

Nevertheless, given the underdeveloped base of bilateral agreements between the Republic of Uzbekistan and the receiving countries, the above legislative norms seem insufficient so far. Moreover, experts have repeatedly noted the necessity of adopting a special law on labour migration and establishment of a separate migration agency similar to those established in other CIS countries.

The definite progress was observed in 2007. Based on the Decree of the President dated 6 April 2007, “On Measures to Promote Employment and Improve Performance of Labour and Social Security Offices”, and the Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers dated 15 May 2007, “On Improving the Registration of Citizens of the Republic of Uzbekistan Leaving Abroad for Labour Activity”, it is planned to strengthen the capacity of labour authorities, extend the network of temporary employment agencies, and conduct annual specialised in-depth sociological surveys of labour migration issues.

In addition, the labour migration issues were addressed in the Welfare Improvement Strategy for the Republic of Uzbekistan, adopted on 27 August 2007 by the Presidium of the Cabinet of Ministers, which specifically notes that “there is a particular challenge in the area of migration policy given that remittances from labour migrants constitute up to 10% of GDP. The most popular destination countries should be engaged with in order to legalize the process of labour migration and secure the welfare of migrants in the countries where they find work.”² It also states that “in the short-run measures will be taken to facilitate legal migration including to other countries to increase family incomes and the subsequent channelling of these funds towards the development of their family and other forms of small businesses³”; as for the internal migration, it is planned to improve “registration and statistics of the employed population, including the informal labour market and labour migration as well as the unemployed, strengthen the monitoring of supply in the labour market and ensure that it conforms to the demand.”⁴

1 For further details see Mukhamedov A. “Problemy migratsii i puti ih resheniya organami prokuratury.” *Uzbekistan va Inson Hukuklari buyicha Vena Deklaratsiyasi va Harakat Dasturi (Vena Deklaratsiyasi va Harakat Dasturining 10 yilliga bagishlangan ilmiy-amaliy konferentsiya materiallari)*. Tashkent, 2004, p.102-108.

2 “Welfare Improvement Strategy Paper.” Tashkent, 2007, p.28.

3 *Ibid.*, p.73.

4 *Ibid.*, p.77.

Anyway, given the increasing role of Uzbekistan as the regional and even interregional (with regard to Russia, Korea, etc.) supplier of labour resources, one may expect greater attention from both governmental structures and expert community to labour migration issues.

II. INTERNAL LABOUR MIGRATION

INTERNAL MIGRATION IN UZBEKISTAN: SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS

Today, temporary labour migration has challenged many countries of the world. It is determined by a specific character of transition period, breaking of old economic relations and buildup of the new ones. In Uzbekistan, it has also gained considerable scale and involves flows of people seeking employment outside their permanent residence. According to the official statistics only, the current number of citizens engaged in temporary and odd jobs amounts to nearly 300,000 people.¹

Unfortunately, at the national level research and media focus on international labour migration issues, while internal processes have somehow receded into the background. It is worthy to note that the UN Glossary on labour migration is also oriented to the international movement of labour force. According to the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (18 December 1990), the term “migrant worker” refers to a person who is to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a State of which he or she is not a national (Art. 2, item 1). Such an approach is quite understandable, as the prerogative of the United Nations includes, above all, the issues of international population development. However, the internal labour migrations, their scale and trends, territorial features and outstanding problems are also of great importance as they are the most closely related to the formation of labour markets, employment and living standards of population in the provinces – a search for temporary employment often develops into population migration, including migration within the country.

When analysing the on-going processes in a specific country, it is reasonable to use a wider approach to the concept of labour migration and consider it a type of temporary population migration aimed at employment outside the permanent residence including migration abroad. This approach extends the concept to internal labour migration as well.

In Uzbekistan, labour migration, both external and internal, existed for a long time. The most prevalent forms of internal labour migration included seasonal departures of people (so-called “hectare-men”) to southern districts of the country to cultivate onion, rice, etc., and temporary and odd jobs done by rural population in cities/towns during recessions in agricultural activities. So, the mardikor-bazaars (labourers markets) in Uzbekistan existed at all times as unregulated, unorganised temporary jobs-oriented labour markets.

1 See: I. A. Karimov, “The guarantee of our prosperity is the building of the democratic legal state, liberal economy and civil society fundamentals.” Report at the meeting of the Cabinet of Ministers on results of the country’s socio-economic development and top priorities of economic reforms intensification in 2007. Narodnoye Slovo, 14 February 2007.

Considerable efforts are made in the country to combat unemployment. In 2006, for example, 570,000 jobs were created, which is more than ever before in previous years. Implementation of the Decree of the President dated 5 January 2006 “On Measures for Encouragement of Extended Cooperation between Large Industrial Enterprises and Production of Services on the Basis of Out-Work Development” provided jobs for over 60,000 outworkers, with almost a half of them in rural areas. Another important contribution to enhancement of employment was made by implementation of the “Programme to Encourage Livestock Increase on Personal Household Plots and Farms.” This has resulted in an increased number of people engaged in cattle raising and extended access of population to procurement of cattle through auctions, biddings and micro-crediting. Work record books and relevant social insurance were provided for over 300,000 people. In addition, about 137,000 jobs were created in 2006 during implementation of the “Integrated Programme of Service Sector Development.” In 2007, the population employment growth follows the same trends, and the number of jobs is expected to increase by more than 559,000 before the end of the year.

However, in spite of the large-scale increase in jobs and active employment policy of the government, the population still faces considerable unemployment and low incomes, particularly in rural areas. Noteworthy, a key economic priority is the 2.5 times wage rise by 2010, including at least one-third rise in 2007.¹

Considering the growing scale of internal labour migration, and in order to improve the control of these processes, the Cabinet of Ministers of Uzbekistan adopted the Resolution dated 18 May 2001 “On Establishment of Centres for Provision of Temporary and Odd Jobs.” To date, in line with the Decree of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan dated 6 April 2007 “On Measures to Promote Employment and Improve Performance of Labour and Social Security Offices”, these Centres were renamed into the Temporary Employment Agencies (TEAs). They operate in all provinces and help jobseekers to conclude temporary employment contracts and to register in a new place. Further development will make it possible to determine the scale of temporary employment of population including the number of labour migrants. Thus, the labour migration has been provided with both legal and organisational framework.

However, in spite of the measures taken, the problem of internal labour migration remains understudied. To fill this gap, a survey of internal labour migration in Uzbekistan was carried out with the support of UNFPA in 2006. It was aimed at exploring internal flows of labour migration, identifying the main determinants of these processes and developing practical proposals and

1 Ibid.

recommendations. The questionnaire survey of 1,000 labour migrants (200 people under the pilot survey and 802 people as the main field) was conducted in informal labour markets in Tashkent city, as well as in-depth interviews with officials of different authorities dealing with labour migration and securing employment. A summary of this survey is given below.

Assessment of the internal labour migration in Uzbekistan. In Uzbekistan, the internal labour migration is widely spread and in some provinces its scale is comparable to that of external migration. The survey shows that the internal labour migration flows form the informal labour markets (mardikor-bazaars) in provincial centres, cities and the capital of the country. Tashkent accounts for 70% to 80% of all citizens of the country seeking temporary and odd jobs (mardikors) outside their permanent residence.

The informal labour market forms a specific employment sphere, which in accordance with the Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan “On Population Employment” is quite legal and subject to the state regulation. The survey has shown that the basic factors of the internal labour migration are the unemployment or lack of appropriate jobs as well as a relatively low price of labour force at the exit points.

According to the survey results, a significant share of Uzbekistan citizens seeking employment outside their permanent residence (39.4%) falls at unemployed people or those hopeless at getting a job in their localities. 88.4% of respondents came to Tashkent just in search of a job. The scale of migration flows depends on the extent of determinants in provinces. In the surveyed area, Kashkadarya and Surkhandarya provinces turned out to be the main exit points of labour migrants (32.4% and 28.8% of the total number of respondents respectively).

Rural people are the main driving force in the internal labour migration and account for 80.5% of the total number of respondents. The fundamental reason for that is the unfavourable (as compared to urban areas) situation in rural labour markets. High growth of labour resources (2.8% - 3% a year), over-saturation of agriculture with labour force, accelerated release of labour force from agricultural sector and underdeveloped sphere of labour application beyond the agricultural production foster seeking employment outside the permanent residence in rural districts.

The fact that the employment related issues are more pressing in rural areas than in urban ones, is demonstrated by the significant prevalence of rural people in Tashkent mardikor-bazaars. In rural areas, due to the greater labour market pressure, the factors influencing labour migration are stronger than in urban areas. Rural residents comprise the majority of those mardikors, who have never

worked officially (83.8%). The same rate for urban residents is only 16.2%. In the total number of migrants, who came to Tashkent in search of a job, the share of rural people having never had an official job amounted to 43.3%, while the share of urban population was 34.3%.

Rural people often seek suitable employment for quite a long time. The share of people, who have lost their jobs over 5 years ago, as well as over 10 years ago, is higher among representatives of rural population. Among urban residents, it makes 20.2% and 8.5%, and among rural people 33.9% and 15.0%, respectively. Unstable and irregular employment in permanent residence places, longer unemployment and longer temporary employment are more typical of rural population.

The internal labour migration participants are primarily men (76.8%). Most of them are married (53.6%) and have families and children. The share of single men is also quite high – 44.2%. The number of widowers and divorced men is insignificant.

Currently the migration processes in the country are being feminised, which shows itself in the growing share of women in both external and internal migration flows. The share of women among the respondents amounted to 23.2%. Recently, individual segments of female mardikor-bazaars have developed in the informal labour markets of Tashkent and province centres. These processes mainly involve women, who do not have appropriate vocational training or have lost their jobs a long time ago.

Feminisation of labour migration is a negative trend in development of the national labour market. It is determined by insufficient competitiveness of women as well as by a relatively low price of female labour force. Women are involved in migration processes mostly for economic reasons. Over a half (51.2%) of the interviewed women came to Tashkent mardikor-bazaars because of failure to get jobs in places of their permanent residence (the share of men was 30.2%). More women than men note such positive results of labour migration for themselves and their families as improved living standards.

Internal migration flows are mainly comprised of young people (60.9%). These are young people without vocational training and appropriate qualification. Over a half (55.2%) of the interviewed young labour migrants, who came to Tashkent in search of a job, had never been employed in the formal economy sector. To a certain extent, this confirms the insufficient demand for young people in the formal economy sector, and indicates that youth employment problems are still urgent.

The prevalent types of temporary and odd jobs done by men are construction (69%), agricultural (36.2%) and repair (25.8%) works, and those done by women are household services, cleaning, and washing (73.7%), cleaning and improvement

of lands (45%), agricultural works (39.8%), and sorting and packing of fruits and vegetables (18.8%).

The internal labour migration in Uzbekistan has considerable positive effects. These mainly include getting a job and earnings that make it possible to improve financial position of families, and enhanced territorial and professional mobility of able-bodied population. Owing to temporary and odd jobs, the living standards of labour migrants' families have improved considerably (43.5% of respondents), and owing to migration people have managed to solve a number of urgent problems (17%). Both external and internal labour migrations contribute to mitigation of low-income status, as according to migrants, a lot of their family members have been able to make both ends meet thanks to earnings from migration (8.7% of respondents). Seemingly, this is the most important economic effect of labour migration, as mardikors have dependents – family members and relatives without own incomes and needing assistance. According to the survey, most mardikors have 2-5 and more dependents each; a half of men and three fourths of women seeking temporary and odd jobs have under age children including infants.

The negative consequences of internal labour migration are equally important. It results in growing employment in the informal economy sector and, at the same time, in deficit of labour force in a number of rural districts. In that way, the labour migration in a certain sense distorts the national labour market. Moreover, many people leaving for labour markets in Tashkent and province centres often lose their professional skills and qualification due to specificity of temporary work. The adverse consequences of the labour migration are severe also in the socio-demographic terms (complication of family relations, health impairment, insufficient attention to education of children, and sometimes, family disruption, etc.).

The survey has shown that many people looking for temporary and odd jobs in the informal labour market do not consider this labour activity as the main one. For them, seeking employment in mardikor-bazaars is temporary occupation or additional source of income. They consider it a prompt way to raise money necessitated by lack of suitable job or low wages in permanent residence places. The vast majority of respondents hope that some day they would be able to get a permanent job. In their opinion, as soon as they have appropriate employment and suitable salary in the places of permanent residence, they would give up the mardikors status without regrets and return to their homes.

Internal labour migrations occur in parallel with the migration outflow of population from Uzbekistan and the external labour migration. In all, this results in considerable underutilization of the labour potential of the country. Such effects can be felt in the places of mass departure of migrants, particularly in

some rural districts with growing deficit of skilled human resources.

The survey identified that the practice of seeking temporary employment in mardikor-bazaars is a precondition for involvement of population in the external labour migration flows. People gain certain experience as migrants in internal markets and, after a time, undertake longer journeys. According to this survey, 54 people (6.7% of all respondents) intended to get a job outside the country (72.2% of them in Russia, 11.7% in Kazakhstan, and others – in far-abroad countries such as Korea, Czech Republic and Jordan).

At present, similarly to the centrally planned economy period, the temporary and seasonal domestic migrations of labour force are unregulated and unorganised. In the temporary employment market, employers attempt to use the mardikors' labour with the maximum benefit. Legal entities and, especially, individual employers do not bear any responsibility to them for observance of work standards and conditions, health protection and appropriate payment for the work done etc. In this context, most migrants doing temporary and odd jobs become vulnerable in unregulated labour markets.

The main problem for the respondents is getting temporary residence registration. Tashkent continues using the mechanism of upsurge limitation of the city population introduced in the Soviet era. Presently, there are no official limits for temporary residence registration; however, the administrative procedures and associated costs extremely hamper the solving of this issue. Consequently, illegal labour migrants – country citizens without residence registration and, therefore, right to work in Tashkent, accumulate in the capital's labour markets. According to the survey, obtaining registration or temporary residence registration seems to be a virtually insoluble problem for 66.1% of men and 43.5% of women in Tashkent informal labour market.

Taking this into account, the Temporary Employment Agencies are of great importance as they bring a certain order in functioning of informal labour markets and in interaction between mardikors and employers (in particular, in terms of remuneration). At the same time, TEAs are extremely understaffed and virtually unable to solve the emerging problems in temporary employment markets. Therefore, TEAs have a low authority with mardikors, who don't trust in TEAs' ability to address issues related to registration or temporary residence registration and prompt employment.

Proposals and recommendations. Based on the survey, the following proposals and recommendations have been prepared:

(1) Strengthening of the state policy in the labour market:

- Promote accelerated development of family business, small and private entrepreneurship;

- Make wide use of the micro-crediting system for individual entrepreneurs including those from rural areas;
- Further develop outwork in accordance with the Decree of the President dated 5 January 2006 “On Measures for Encouragement of Extended Cooperation between Large Industrial Enterprises and Production of Services on the Basis of Out-Work Development”;
- Intensify development of labour-intensive industries oriented to use of agricultural and local raw stock and manufacturing of finished products; this is particularly important in rural areas, where extension of industrial production can considerably expand the labour application sphere, especially for young people, and improve the rural economy structure, enhance employment and living standards of population, and contribute to a reduction of migration flows in search of temporary and odd jobs to big cities and Tashkent;
- Place higher emphasis on service sector development in the country’s provinces, and on employment of rural youth in non-agricultural sectors;
- Promote employment services’ activity in vocational training of unemployed people and development of public works system; use existing opportunities to increase competitiveness and professional mobility of labour force with regard to changes in urban and rural labour markets;
- Improve job placement activity of local labour and social security offices for unemployed population needing a job, especially in rural areas;
- Strengthen vocational orientation activities in order to form the objective knowledge of youth about the labour market situation, occupational structure of labour demand in local labour markets and in other provinces, requirements to specialists, and prospects and trends of vocational training and retraining in specific occupations. For this purpose, it is necessary to coordinate activities of khokimiyats, social services, and general, vocational and high schools with employment services in every province; academic lyceums and colleges are to develop and regularly revise the occupational structure of training following the demand for specialists in the market;
- Develop measures and mechanisms to prevent corruption in the sphere of labour migration;
- Intensify khokimiyats and makhalla committees’ involvement in resolving of employment and labour migration problems through creation of new jobs for youth, women and other socially vulnerable strata in provinces and makhallas (first of all, in rural areas).

(2) Promotion of population employment in permanent residence places:

- Intensify modernization of enterprises including restructuring of job system; better utilization of existing production capacities; gradual reduction of obsolete productions, support to competitive manufacturers, encouragement of labour force inflow to highly remunerative productions;
- In order to improve legal and social protection of workers, the labour authorities together with internal affairs departments are to simplify the employment procedure for labour migrants coming from provinces to cities including Tashkent; grant to them the right to fill vacancies at industrial enterprises, in transport and service sectors, with their accommodation in hostels and provision of the right to health care and education;
- In order to prevent growing unemployment and reduce the number of people living on the unemployment benefit or seeking employment outside their permanent residence, the labour and employment offices are to intensify the creation of new stable jobs;
- Support the development of small business and private entrepreneurship in rural areas; improve access of rural population including women and youth to micro-credits; train rural youth in business management fundamentals, carry out trainings in vocational orientation and more effective job search, conduct interviews with employers, etc. Such measures may give confidence to young people searching for a job.

(3) Improvement of labour migration management system:

- Establish a governmental structure to manage migration processes, a kind of Migration Service, with relevant rights, authorities and duties;
- Establish a separate department for labour migration within the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection, which would strengthen the management system of labour resources outside their permanent residence;
- Considering the international experience, one of the efficient solutions of youth employment problems may be the organisation of youth labour exchanges, which are to operate in cooperation with khokimiyats, makhalla committees and labour authorities;

(4) Improvement of the legal framework of migration:

- It is necessary to adopt the Laws “On Migration of Population” and “On Labour Migration of Population” (the latter one – as an individual law or within the Law “On Migration of Population”) to provide legal framework of employment outside the permanent residence places;

- As the social security of labour migrants essentially depends on their legal literacy, it is reasonable to provide labour migrants with necessary administrative and legal documents and norms regulating their labour activity – perhaps, through preparation and issue of a booklet like “Memo for Labour Migrants in Uzbekistan.”

(5) Improvement of activity of the Temporary Employment Agencies:

- Increase the number of TEAs in provinces (currently, there is only one such an Agency in most provinces);
- Improve labour migrants’ conditions of staying in mardikor-bazaars; for this purpose, TEAs have to arrange first-aid posts, ensure necessary social conditions for mardikors including their catering and rest, and arrange overnight stay (at mini-hotels or hostels) for workers living in remote districts;
- It is reasonable to partially transfer the TEA activity to commercial basis, which, on the one hand, would accustom employers to turn to labour intermediaries for use of temporary workers and would develop the legal incentives to involve people in temporary works, and, on the other hand, would improve the social security of mardikors;
- Establish tax incentives for population applying to the TEA for assistance in getting a job;
- Make proposals for social insurance of mardikors registered with TEAs in case of employment injuries at their jobs, etc.

Implementation of these measures would enhance the role of TEAs in regulation of internal labour migration and strengthening of the state protection of labour migrants.

(6) Simplification of registration and temporary residence registration procedures for internal labour migrants.

This problem is especially pressing in Tashkent, where more stringent residence registration regime prevents the migrants to get a temporary residence registration. The first step to streamline the registration/temporary residence registration procedures has already been taken. Labour migrants having temporary residence registration are registered not with the internal affairs departments, but with the TEAs (according to Form No. 1). However, due to the complicated procedure for obtaining temporary residence registration, this privilege is almost inaccessible for the majority of mardikors. TEAs should expand the opportunities to obtain temporary residence registration for citizens coming in search of a job. The possible ways to address this problem in line with established procedures

include: assistance in rent of housing for mardikors (with temporary residence registration and payment by mardikors themselves), provision of citizens with information (specific addresses) about potential rent of housing with temporary residence registration, arrangement of temporary lodging for mardikors (like hostels or mini-hotels). Such an experience is already available in the international practice, in particular, in Russia. As a result, labour migrants would be released from difficulties in accommodation.

(7) Improvement of population employment registration.

It is advisable to improve employment registration; these have to specify concrete directions for strengthening of responsibilities of enterprises, organisations and institutions for reliability of employee registration.

(8) Enhancement of the role of education in employment processes.

It is necessary to raise the prestige of education ensuring a better access to vocational training systems for young people from low-income strata. The survey has revealed the direct dependence of the labour migrants' status, including the labour preferences in searching for temporary and odd jobs, on the education level. It is reasonable to introduce special registration of young people completing basic school education. Some of them, having no opportunity to continue education or get regular work, come to mardikor-bazaars. According to the survey, some mardikors have been doing temporary and odd jobs since their adolescence.

(9) One of the solutions to scale down temporary and irregular employment is the use of organised forms of involving labour force from the provinces, highly saturated with labour resources, in order to staff concrete sites in Tashkent and province centres. Such forms of personnel involvement may be used in housing and road construction, and agriculture in the provinces with scanty labour force. In fact, these are the types of labour activity, which are usually offered in mardikor-bazaars.

(10) The labour migration-related problems cannot be solved by the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection only. The achievement of more complete, sustainable and productive employment is possible only through coordinated and target-specific interdepartmental efforts and actions.

The proposed measures would make it possible to offer jobs for insufficiently competitive population strata, promote the quantitative and qualitative balance of labour force supply and demand in local labour markets, and improve the use of labour potential of the population, especially in rural areas. First of all, this is important for youth beginning their labour activity. Basically, unemployment is the youth problem. Young people prevail among those seeking employment at Employment Promotion Centres and in mardikor-bazaars.

Implementation of the proposed measures would contribute to further strengthening of the labour sphere and regulation of employment registration and improve the social security of citizens seeking temporary and odd jobs.

Survey 1.

SOCIAL SURVEY OF INTERNAL LABOUR MIGRATION*

Introduction

Problem-setting. Survey goals and objectives

Within the last 15 years, the labour market in Uzbekistan was characterized by an extremely fast expansion of its informal segment due to job cuts in the formal sector, mainly in agriculture. Limited opportunities for productive employment and self-employment in local labour markets result in more active labour migration involving diverse population groups irrespective of their social and economic status. According to the data of some non-specialized empiric studies, within one year 15%-40% of households in different regions had labour migrants. Based on the data, a conclusion can be made that migration is restrained by the lack of funds to move to another place, and labour migrants from poor families more rarely go outside the country and in most cases seek employment in Tashkent and other provinces of Uzbekistan. Tashkent is the most receptive labour market and, according to some estimates, it accounts for up to 70% of all internal labour migrants. Not all labour migrants coming to Tashkent manage to find steady employment. Trying to find employment, they come to unregulated labour markets, so called “mardikor-bazaars”, where they can be offered day-work, temporary job or odd job.

Women account for a considerable part of temporary labour migrants. According to expert estimates, their number has been going up in recent years. Women are still the most vulnerable group of labour migrants due to their lower qualification, existing gender stereotypes and possible sexual harassment.

The government and society become increasingly aware of the need to apply a comprehensive economic and legal approach to address the problem of labour migration. Obviously, the first step is to study the current situation in the area of labour migration and elaborate efficient mechanisms to protect labour rights and legitimate interests of labour migrants, primarily women.

This study carried out under the UNDP Project “Promotion of the rights of the women migrant workers”, aims to gain the objectives of the first Project

* This document is prepared under the UNDP Project “Promotion of the rights of the women migrant workers” (No. 00055449). The authors’ views expressed in this report do not necessarily reflect the official opinion of UNDP.

component: “Research and analysis in the field of labour migration for elaboration of national strategies to respond to the challenges of labour migration, promotion of migrant workers’ rights, and improving the overall situation of the rural population in the sphere of employment.” This survey will consider the aspects of internal labour migration and informal labour markets directly related to the activity of women-migrants.

Survey goals:

- Study key trends in the sphere of in-country female labour migration as well as social and economic, territorial and other aspects of the phenomenon under consideration;
- Elaborate recommendations for state regulation of migration process, alleviation of negative social impact of internal migration, and improvement of social and legal protection of women-migrants;
- Provide information to disseminate the survey results and attract attention of stakeholders (government agencies and civil society) to urgent internal labour migration-related problems.

To achieve the survey goals, the following **objectives** were carried out:

- overview of institutional and legal framework for labour migrants’ activity;
- identification of causes and factors, either fostering or hindering the expansion of labour migration, including female migration;
- study of core features of labour migrants, social and demographic structure of the surveyed group;
- identification of reasons and motivation contributing to the growth, decline, and change of female and male labour mobility;
- identification and breakdown by types of the key activities typical of migrants, intersectoral exit mobility of labour, and employment status of labour migrants;
- identification of key labour migration flows;
- study of conditions for labour activity of the population under study (working regime and schedule, salary, labour harmfulness and heaviness, risks related to employment procedures, performance, characteristics of working places, etc.);
- study of labour migrants’ extraoccupational conditions (living conditions, nutrition, possibilities for rest, treatment, etc.), routine risks and problems;
- study of social impact of internal labour migration;
- identification of key stakeholders;

- determination of measures and mechanisms facilitating regulation of internal labour migration processes.

The main target groups under the survey were as follows:

- women – labour migrants;
- employees of governmental institutions responsible for policy implementation in the labour market (khokimiyats, territorial labour agencies, Temporary Employment Agencies, territorial internal affairs agencies, etc.);
- employees of non-governmental institutions directly related to the problem under study (local self-governments, women’s committees, representatives of employers, NGOs, etc.).

The survey was carried out in three regions of Uzbekistan – Tashkent city, Kashkadarya and Namangan provinces. Selection of the regions was based on recommendations from the Round Table on the key issues related to improvement of social protection of women-migrants (May 18, 2007, Tashkent) and on the following factors:

- Tashkent is characterized by a receptive labour market, and there are the largest formal and informal labour markets with labour migrants, including women, coming from all provinces of the country;
- Kashkadarya province is one of the regions supplying most of the labour migrants in the country. According to the 2006 survey supported by the representative office of the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) in Uzbekistan, 36.6% of mardikors in Tashkent labour markets are labour migrants from Kashkadarya;
- During the Round Table and baseline interviews, a number of experts stated that in Namangan province labour migration processes are less prevalent than in other provinces, and due to some social and cultural features, people take a special attitude to female labour migration which needs to be studied in more detail.

Survey methodology

To perform the tasks set, a combinatorial approach was used, involving qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection including analysis of documents and other available sources of information.

At the preparatory stage, relevant regulatory and legal documents were analyzed, available data were reviewed, the tools for qualitative and quantitative interviews and focus-group discussions were elaborated and tested, the sampling strategy was worked out, and the interviewers and moderators were trained.

In accordance with the survey goals and objectives, 1,000 respondents from the main target group, labour migrants, were interviewed, including 617 women and 383 men. Male respondents acted as a reference group for obtaining information on a number of important indicators, namely, the comparative analysis of wages, living conditions, risk level, occupation, and demographic characteristics.

Given some specific features of the target group and lack of universal lists of the migrants, random selection of respondents based on conventional procedures was not feasible. Therefore, a quota sampling-based quantitative survey was carried out. Sample quotas were formed taking account of the respondents' social and demographic characteristics, essential for the survey, to ensure the minimum representativeness of respondents by several parameters:

- gender characteristics;
- permanent residence (province, city\illage);
- age structure;
- types and areas of occupation;

680 of all the respondents were interviewed in Tashkent city and by 160 people were interviewed in Kashkadarya and Namangan provinces.

At the quantitative stage of the survey, databases were analyzed using the standard processing package SPSS 15.0 and the special Delphi 6.0-based software. Databases and analytical tables were available in DBASE and Excel formats for the subsequent analysis.

Besides the quantitative survey, in three provinces of the country 62 in-depth interviews were taken with:

- government officials (employees of khokimiyats, regional branches of the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection, internal affairs agencies, etc.);
- employees of local self-governments, including women's committees;

Table 8. Breakdown of respondents by provinces
(as % of sampled population)

	Tashkent	Kashkadarya	Namangan
Total sample	68,0	16,0	16,0
Men	40,3	36,3	31,9
Women	59,7	63,7	68,1
<i>Type of settlement by permanent residence</i>			
Urban	22,6	28,8	5,0
Rural	77,4	71,2	95,0

- representatives of public employers' associations, AFDE, NGOs, mass media);
- women-labour migrants, including those involved in illegal migration.

Results of the qualitative survey were analyzed and incorporated into this chapter.

Monitoring of internal labor migrants flows

The system of internal migration flows registration in the Republic of Uzbekistan was inherited from the Soviet system and has not changed much within the last years, since it is still directly linked to the system of residence registration. Routine registration of internal migration of population is carried out by agencies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (police) on the basis of residence registration and registration of departures. When residence registration is issued, an "Individual arrival sheet" is prepared, in case of departure – an "Individual departure sheet", and at the same time a "Statistical record card to the arrival sheet" and a "Statistical record card to the departure sheet" are issued. Individual arrival and departure sheets are used by internal affairs agencies for reference, and statistical record cards to arrival and departure sheets are given to state statistical agencies for statistical recording of migration. These cards contain information on age, gender, ethnicity, education, marital status, migrant's recent place of employment, permanent residence and the most recent residence, purpose of arrival, and the number of children under 16 accompanying a migrant. The analysis of statistical record cards provides information on incoming and outgoing population grouped by territorial and a number of social-occupational and demographic characteristics.

The current system registers only movements due to change of citizens' permanent residence. The government statistics system can register only a small part of labour movement, without taking into consideration the most widely spread types of labour migration such as seasonal and push-pull migration. Moreover, this system does not identify causes of internal migration – whether it is due to seeking employment, marriage, education at a higher educational institution, etc.

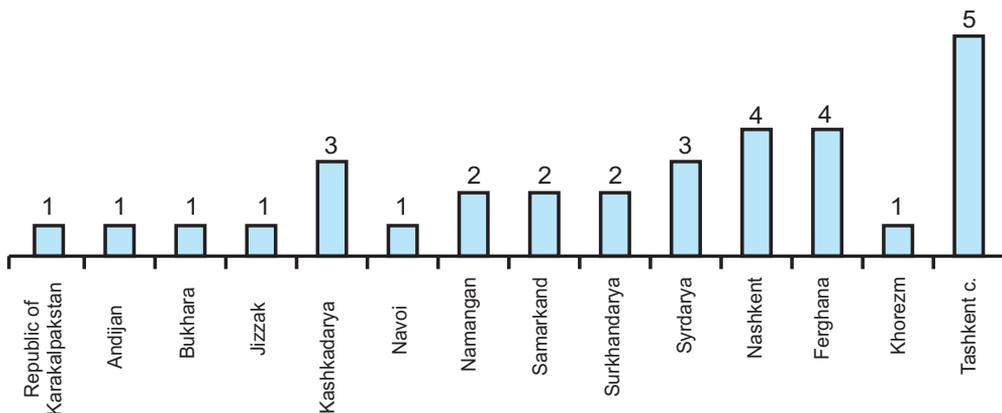
The only specialised agencies responsible for support and registration of labour movement within the country are Temporary Employment Agencies (TEAs). They are structural subdivisions of Employment Promotion Centres under the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection of the Republic of Uzbekistan having a legal entity status. The system of these centres providing temporary and odd jobs was established in 2001 in accordance with Resolution of the

Cabinet of Ministers No. 223 dated 18 May 2001.¹ Decree of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan “On Measures to Promote Employment and Improve Performance of Labour and Social Security Offices” No. IIII-616 dated 6 April 2007 reorganised the centres providing temporary and odd jobs into Temporary Employment Agencies. TEAs were set up to “regulate temporary and odd labour activity of the population.” The decision where to locate the TEA is made by the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection jointly with the Council of Ministers of the Republic Karakalpakstan, regional and Tashkent city khokimiyats taking into consideration existing odd job markets (so called mardikor-bazaars). Currently, there are 33 TEAs registering over 10,000 citizens monthly. TEAs are unevenly located, with a third of them in Tashkent city and Tashkent province; and the other provinces have an average of 1.8 TEAs per province.

The key TEA tasks and activities are as follows:

- registration of citizens seeking temporary and odd jobs;²
- provision of free assistance to citizens seeking temporary and odd jobs;
- provision of employment-related consultations and career-guidance services;
- provision of assistance to individual employers in employment of citizens for temporary and odd jobs;
- provision of information to citizens seeking temporary and odd jobs on

Fig. 3. Network of Temporary Employment Agencies, by provinces
As of September 2007.



1 Amendments to this Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers were introduced by Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers No. 112 dated 28 February 2003. See also “Standard regulations for the Centre of Temporary and Odd Job Provision” (Annex No. 1 to Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers No. 223 dated 18 May 2001).

2 The data obtained are used only for the purposes of intradepartmental statistics of the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection.

observing public order, passport regime, as well as fundamental labour safety rules when doing temporary and odd jobs;

- creation of necessary social conditions at TEAs, organisation of catering stations and sanitary conveniences for citizens looking for temporary and odd jobs, etc.

Thus, TEA is expected to become a reliable mediator between all types of employers and temporary and casual workers, providing at least minimum guarantees in labour protection and employment for both parties. Moreover, the government plans to elevate the status of TEAs in the taxation system as well. In particular, in accordance with article 180, part 5, of the Tax Code of the Republic of Uzbekistan, the list of tax-free personal incomes includes income from temporary and odd jobs if these jobs are found through the Temporary Employment Agency.

However, there are a number of considerable factors hindering the expansion of TEA activity and improvement of its performance:

1) insufficient number of TEAs, which do not cover all the provinces of the country to the extent required;

2) rather limited range of services, provided by TEAs to employers and employees;

3) indifferent attitude of employers and temporary workers-migrants towards the TEA activity (especially in Tashkent, where the majority of TEAs are located). This is due to the link between the TEA activity and the system of residence registration. Each TEA has one full-time expert from the Ministry of Labour and one employee of the internal affairs agency. In addition to observing public order, the employee of the internal affairs agency is responsible for maintaining passport regime. According to article 11 of the Standard Regulations for TEAs, the citizens must “have temporary or permanent residence registration, observe passport regime and public order established by the law.” It means that labour migrants without temporary residence registration receive no help, moreover, certain steps are taken to return them to places of their permanent residence.¹

In recent years, local authorities have been trying to organise their own system of migrants registration through the system of makhallas. At least within the last 2 to 3 years, one of responsibilities of the local self-governments was to register citizens migrating to other countries or other regions of Uzbekistan to earn money. At first, such registration aimed to prevent labour migration, and as a result, population tried to conceal the fact of going abroad to work, and makhalla

¹ TEA activity-related problems are addressed in more detail in the sociological part of this report.

committees significantly underreported the number of labour migrants (especially those migrating outside the country). Currently, the system becomes more oriented (though not everywhere) to preventive activity to stop illegal trafficking in labour force and the worst forms of exploitation, primarily of women and children. Besides the information about those who left makhalla to earn money, makhalla committees in cities jointly with posbons (people responsible for law and order in makhalla) collect information about labour immigrants.

Thus, currently makhalla committees regularly (as a rule, on quarterly basis) report to local khokimiyats on the number of labour migrants having moved from/to the country, as well as carry out preventive work with the population. Unfortunately, this system is effective neither in prevention of violation of migrants' rights nor in provision of reliable statistical service. There are at least two important factors hindering that:

1) Makhalla system has a lot of responsibilities, including identification of poor families and payment of allowances, maintenance of order, prevention of law violations and divorces, statistical recording of the population, organisation of events and ceremonies, support to small business, work with youth and women and dozens of other responsibilities. In this context, the makhalla staff of 4 people (chairperson, secretary, posbon and maslakhatchy – an adviser working with women) and one employee from the Ministry of Labor cannot fulfil this scope of work. As a rule, more or less reliable information about labour migrants can be collected only in small makhallas in rural areas. In cities, where the number of makhalla population can be up to 10,000, such information cannot be collected at all.

2) This system is not centralised in terms of generalisation of information. All the data obtained from makhalla activists and posbons are almost never generalised and consolidated at the national level.

There are no modules for monitoring labor mobility of citizens both in quarterly sample surveys of household budgets conducted by the Goscomstat of RUz and in large-scale surveys of labour force done by the Ministry of Labour. Lack of such systematic survey data on population and employers restricts receiving even approximate figures about the scale of labour migration at the national level.

In line with the Decree of the President of Uzbekistan “On Measures to Promote Employment and Improve Performance of Labour and Social Security Offices” dated 6 April 2007 and the Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers “On Improving the Registration of Citizens of the Republic of Uzbekistan Leaving Abroad for Labour Activity” dated 15 May 2007 it is planned to strengthen the capacity of labour agencies, expand the network of TEAs and organise annual specialized in-depth sociological surveys on labour out-migration. Yet,

it should be stated that so far there is no systematic collection and analysis of data on internal labour migration.

Legal aspects of internal migration within the country

Regulatory and legal framework regulating social and labour aspects in the Republic of Uzbekistan comprises a number of regulatory acts including the following fundamental documents:

- Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan (1992).
- Civil Code of the Republic of Uzbekistan, part I.
- Law “On Employment of the Population” (new version – 1998).
- Law “On Labour Safety” (1993).
- Labour Code of the Republic of Uzbekistan (with amendments, 1998).

The major part of norms regulating labour relations is given in the Labour Code and the Law on Employment (social guarantees related to employment and unemployment, job placement, training, health protection, etc.). However, none of these laws determines the status of an internal labour migrant. As a result, this stratum is not distinguished as a separate entity of labour relations. Thus, one can consider that internal labour migrants have the same labour rights as citizens being employed at the place of their permanent residence registration.

In this context, it should also be noted that:

- Article 6 of the Labour Code of the Republic of Uzbekistan “Prohibition of discrimination in labour relations” says that “all citizens have equal opportunities to enjoy labour rights. Any restrictions or privileges in labour relations due to any circumstances other than those related to employees’ professional characteristics and their labour are illegal and considered as discrimination.” Only differences in requirements to labour specific to some labour types or special care taken by the government of people in need of better social protection (women, children, the disabled, etc.) are not considered as discrimination.
- Article 10 of the Law “On employment of the population” gives all citizens the right to a free choice of a job by directly applying to an employer or using free intermediary services of labour agencies.
- According to Article 2 of the Law “On employment of the population”, employment of citizens is not restricted to formal hiring and can be part-time, temporary and casual, self-employment, etc.

Thus, the national labour legislation guarantees the citizens of RUz no obstacles in searching for a job, either full-time or part-time, in any sector and any suitable place within the country.¹

However, it should be taken into consideration that in the legal system of the Republic of Uzbekistan the source of law-enforcement practice is often not laws but by-laws having the status of intradepartmental documents with restricted access.

The key obstacle to the implementation of internal labour migrants' rights is the system of residence registration rather than the fact that Uzbekistan legislation does not determine the status and rights of labour migrants and there is no law on migration. The system of residence registration is a discriminating factor in relation to all citizens, since it violates the right to free movement, free medical service (except emergency aid), education, etc. Residence registration required from labour migrants is the mechanism used to directly restrict territorial labour flows, including those cases when migration is planned to obtain permanent employment rather than casual, by mutual agreement between an employee and an employer.

The system of residence registration limits migration flows in the following way:

Responsibilities of citizens for registration and sanctions in case of non-compliance:

- In accordance with the “Regulation on passport system in the Republic of Uzbekistan,”² citizens “...are obliged within a 3-day period after arrival at a place of temporary residence to submit documents for residence registration (or temporary registration) to agencies responsible for passport-related issues.”
- In line with Article 223 of the Labour Code of RUz on administrative responsibility, “Citizens living ...without residence registration or registration... have to pay a fine ranging from one to three minimum wages” (i.e. 12 to 35 USD).³

Responsibilities of officials, landlords and employers to ensure observance of residence registration regime by citizens and employees, and sanctions in case of non-compliance:

1 Article 13 of the Law “On employment of the population” guarantees the rights of citizens to employment, search for a job and employment outside the Republic of Uzbekistan.

2 The Regulation is put into force by the Decree of the President of RUz dated 23 December 1994.

3 Since 1 August 2007, minimum wage in Uzbekistan has been 15,525 soum or 12.2 USD.

- According to Article 223 of the Code of RUz on administrative responsibility, “If officials responsible for ensuring passport regime observation, allow citizens to live without residence registration or registration, and if citizens allow persons without passports, residence registration or registration to live in their housing, they are obliged to pay a fine ranging from three to ten minimum wages” (i.e. 35 to 120 USD).
- “Employment of people ... without residence registration or registration... results in fining the officials in the amount of five to fifteen minimum wages” (i.e. 60 to 180 USD).

It should be noted that rigid requirements to observation of residence registration regime and registration are not applied nationwide. The residence registration system is applied to labour migrants selectively, mainly covering Tashkent city and only partly the regional centres. As a rule, there are no problems if an employee is hired on a temporary or full-time basis in the province where he/she has permanent residence registration. However, if citizens from other provinces try to find a job in Tashkent, they encounter all residence registration-related problems.

The most common problems faced by rural residents when they try to find a job in Tashkent include the following: (1) refusal to employ due to the lack of residence registration, (2) employers’ refusal to conclude an official labour agreement and (3) problems with law-enforcement agencies especially when migrants try to find a job at unregulated or organised labour markets (mardikor-bazaars). More details on these problems are given in the section on labour migIn order to obtain permanent or temporary residence registration, citizens of the Republic of Uzbekistan should submit a minimum set of documents to a relevant agency in places of their temporary or permanent residence: (1) standard application form; (2) passport of Uzbekistan citizen; (3) birth certificate – for persons under 16-years living separately from their parents (guardians and trustees); (4) military card or ID for military men; (5) receipt of state due. However, in fact it is absolutely impossible to obtain temporary registration, not to speak of the permanent residence registration, in Tashkent city having a special status. All problems related to residence registration in the capital are settled by the Special Commission.

According to Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of RUz No. 92 dated 27 February 1999:¹

- “...permanent residence registration in Tashkent city ...for citizens of the Republic of Uzbekistan, arriving from other regions of the country, is given

1 Cited from “On introduction of amendments to some legislative acts of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Bulletin of Oliy Majlis of RUz.” 1999. No. 5. p. 309.

on the basis of a justified decision of the Special Commission on residence registration”;

- “notarial certificate of purchase, exchange or mortgage of housing and their subsequent registration at technical inventory agencies, in cases when a purchaser is a resident of another province of Uzbekistan, are given only if an applicant can submit a resolution granting residence registration in Tashkent by the Special Commission.”

Annex 1 to Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers No. 178 dated 16 April 1999 contains the Standard Regulations for special commissions operating under the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Karakalpakstan, regional khokimiyats and Tashkent city on consideration of issues related to granting residence registration to foreigners and stateless persons, as well as permanent residence registration in the Republic of Uzbekistan.

Although this document regulates receiving residence registration and registration by foreign citizens and stateless persons, Article 12 states that citizens of the Republic of Uzbekistan, arriving in Tashkent city for permanent residence from other regions of the country, shall submit documents to the special commission under Tashkent city khokimiyat. The living space should be provided to them by relatives or acquaintances, while employers should apply to the commission justifying the necessity of hiring workers from provinces. The commission considers the submitted documents and makes a decision in a standard form. The decision of the Commission (if it is positive) is submitted to the city internal affairs department for execution.

Applications for temporary registration of Uzbekistan citizens in Tashkent city are considered by the Special commission comprising khokim of the city, head of the city internal affairs department, national security service, justice, social security, territorial public utilities, etc.

The decision on granting permanent residence is given by Special commissions “taking into consideration real opportunities for living and employment in the region.” It is necessary to note that regulatory documents do not contain references to documents regulating performance of special commissions. The Standard Regulations for special commissions on residence registration issues have no instructions on the reasons why residence permit applications are rejected.

The major and the most important consequence of the fact that many labour migrants do not have permanent residence registration or temporary registration is that they cannot receive legal income and assistance from labour agencies. For the majority of migrants the only way out is unregistered employment in black labour markets. It is obvious that such employment does not allow them to have stable income, legal assistance, access to social welfare (labour and

disability pensions, sickness benefits, maternity leave, child-care allowance, etc.). The infringement of residence rules by migrants results in the breach of labour and tax legislation by employees and employers (no labour agreement, entry in a work record book, social charges, etc.). It is natural that the actions by administration agencies towards such infringers are fully justified from the viewpoint of administrative legislation, though they are absolutely inadequate with regard to the needs of the national economy in territorial labour flows.

Labour market in Uzbekistan and migratory activity of the population

In recent years, the major trends in the labour market of Uzbekistan have been the following:

- Increasing tension in the labour market due to (1) annual labour supply exceeding the number of new jobs and (2) quick release of redundant labour, mainly in the agricultural sector;
- Decline in the general employment rate and the level of economic activity;
- Expansion of the informal sector and unregistered employment due to a decline in employment in the formal economy sector;
- Growth of latent unemployment due to excessive labour concentration in the informal sector, especially in the agricultural industry, growth of inefficient employment forms (temporary, part-time, seasonal, etc.);
- Growing imbalance in the sectoral employment structure characterised by (1) a decline in the absolute number of employees working in the real sector of economy, primarily in industry, construction, and transport; (2) disproportionately high concentration of the employed in non-productive sectors, especially in education and health; (3) slow development of labour-intensive industries;
- Structural imbalance between labour demand and supply in the labour market due to a decline in the overall demand for labour, especially for unskilled labour;
- Decline in the quality of labour;
- Low territorial and sectoral mobility of excessive labour, especially in rural areas, given the growth of unregistered and unprotected labour migration (internal and external).

Table 9. Labour demand and supply (*thousand people*)

	2002	2005
Labour supply, total	983	865,9
including joining the labour market*	250	250
released from large enterprises (including agricultural), thousand people	313,1	295,7
persons in need of employment	419,9	320,2
Labor demand, total	210	201,3
including farms	5	27
small enterprises (including closed and non-operating small enterprises)	205	174,3
Labor demand, % of supply	21,4	23,2

* Average annual calculation.

Source: calculations based on Goscomstat data.

Table 10. Employed population dynamics (*as of early 2007*)

	2002	2006
Able-bodied population, million people.	13,6	15,1
% of the total population	54,0	57,9
able-bodied population growth, % of previous year	3,8	1,3
Number of the employed		
million people	9,1	10,2
Growth of the employed, % of the previous year	1,1	3,0
Employment rate, % to the able-bodied population	68,4	67,5

Source: calculations based on Goscomstat data.

In this regard, the problem of employment of released labour in rural areas and unemployment in urban areas is partly settled by the population itself by labour migration: temporary rural-to-urban labour migration and migration of rural and urban people abroad. According to the estimates of the MLSP of RUz, the number of labour migrants increased from 44,000 people in 2001 to

over 330,000 people in 2006, whereas legal and illegal remittances accounted for about 2 billion USD, thus mitigating the problem of employment, incomes and poverty.¹

Key factors forming labour supply in the country:

- demographic – annually some 250,000 people join the labour market (taking into consideration the natural decrease in the population, retirement and migration);
- economic – labour release from economic sectors. In 2001-2005, the number of employees of large and medium-size enterprises (including agricultural) was constantly declining. The major part of workers is released from the agricultural sector (agricultural sector accounted for 44.7% of the general employment in 1993 and 29.1% in 2006) due to dissolution of shirkats.

In 2002-2005, labour supply in the formal sector exceeded the demand fourfold (Table 9).

Employment growth rate in the country has been notably lagging behind the able-bodied population growth rate for many years. The employment growth has accelerated within the last 5 years, almost 3% since 2003. Despite an increase in the number of the employed, the employment rate tends to steadily decline.

Almost all employment growth in 2001-2005 was due to an expansion of the informal sector. During the same period, the employment in the formal sector decreased by 6%. In 2001-2005, employment in the informal sector grew by 31%, or by 1,340,000 people. Unregistered employment prevails in the informal sector (73% as of late 2005), and the share of unregistered employees remains rather big. The structure of the informal sector has changed considerably – the number of entrepreneurs has declined, and the number of temporary, casual and seasonal workers rose by 50%, which testifies to the growing latent unemployment in the informal sector (Table 11).

The table shows that in 2006 about 17% of employment in the country, even according to official statistics, is provided by temporary, odd and seasonal jobs. The general decline in employment rate and increase in the number of underemployed workers testify to the increasing pressure in formal and informal labour markets, which activates migration processes. There are no figures on internal labour migration; yet, it is obvious that it accounts for a rather big share (about 1/3) of the sector of temporary, odd and seasonal jobs, i.e. nearly 3% of the able-bodied population are internal labour migrants.

1 “Welfare Improvement Strategy Paper.” Tashkent, 2007. p. 43.

These conclusions are confirmed by the survey conducted by the World Bank experts.¹ This survey suggests that the share of migration (internal and external) accounts for about 1 million people (including those unable to work). The World Bank considers external migration as an instrument helping to reduce excessive labour supply in Uzbekistan, and internal migration as a mechanism helping to stabilize the internal labour market.

Table 11. Employment structure in the informal sector (as of early 2007)¹

	2002	2006
Number of employees in the informal sector, thousand people*	4319	5657,6
including % of those employed in the informal sector		
Registered employment	33,2	26,6
including individual entrepreneurs, having a patent	5,3	2,8
engaged in dekhkan farms	27,9	23,8
Unregistered employment	66,8	73,4
including unregistered entrepreneurs	24,9	25,8
performing temporary, casual, and seasonal work	21	31
Family members working without registering labour relations	20,8	16,6

Source: Materials of the workshop organised by the UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UN ESCAP), with reference to MLSP of RUz

* Instead of “informal sector”, the MLSP of RUz uses the term “unofficial sector” which includes unregistered employees. The MLSS of RUz refers those engaged in dekhkan farms and individual entrepreneurs having a patent, to the official sector.

Based on its own regional surveys,² the World Bank estimates the level of labour migration as 3% of the able-bodied population (Table 12). However, the World Bank experts note that this indicator might be considerably underreported, since the some respondents were reluctant to disclose the real reasons for migration, and given the fact that most migrants work illegally. Moreover, the selected definition of a migrant excludes a rather big category of migrants who leave their houses for less than a month.

A number of non-specialized representative surveys carried out under the UNDP Project “Enhancement of Living Standards” show that in rural areas of

1 See “Uzbekistan Living Standards Assessment Update.” Document of the World Bank, 2007.

2 Regional panel survey (RPS). The first survey was conducted in February and March 2005 in 3 regions of RUz (Kashkadarya and Andijan provinces and Tashkent city); it should be kept in mind that it does not reflect the general situation in the country.

the Republic of Karakalpakstan and Namangan province 10 to 27% of families had at least one family member-labour migrant. In most cases migration had a positive effect on the family income: the average income from a labour migrant was 5-10 times higher than that from other household sources of income. Another

Table 12. Labour migration in Uzbekistan, 2005

Labour migration, % of the able-bodied population	2,9
Migrant flows	100,0
Internal labour migration	44,2
International labour migration	55,8
Labour migration longer than 6 months (<i>without returns</i>)	
Internal migrants (%)	8,6
International migrants (%)	31,6

Source: Regional Panel Survey (RPS) in Uzbekistan (2005), calculations by World Bank experts.

* Under the RPS, people were considered as migrants if they did not live with their families for one or more months within the last 12 months. Labour migrants are those migrants who work either in other regions of the country, or abroad. The data are on able-bodied population (16-64).

example was provided under the ELS survey in Ferghana region in 2006. The survey results suggest that the lowest poverty level was in Sokh district, though this district is an enclave, and its population has big problems due to the lack of agreement on simplified frontier crossing. Low poverty in this district is due to the fact that 20% of families receive remittances from labour migrants. As a whole, in November 2006 3.3% of 3,000 surveyed families in Ferghana province had incomes from labour migration, with the average monthly income from labour migrants (including those who went abroad) being 360,000 soums¹ a month. It should be taken into account that the labour migration rate of 3.3% is minimum since (1) some families had 2 and more migrants, (2) families do not receive income from migrants on monthly basis and (3) the survey was conducted in winter, i.e. when migration level is the lowest.

Thus, the average annual rate of labour migration can be as high as 5% of the able-bodied population, and the minimum labour migration rate in the country can be estimated as 3% of the able-bodied population, which accounts for about 500,000 people.

The Government of Uzbekistan considers that the employment problem can be settled by developing non-agricultural industries in rural areas. To this end,

¹ The national currency rate of the Central Bank as of the survey period (August 2006) was 1 USD = 1,270 Uzbek soums.

a number of government programs on agricultural products processing, small business development, dekhkan farms-based life-stock breeding development, expansion of out-work, service sector development and many others are implemented. Yet, within the nearest 5 years sufficient job creation in provinces seems rather problematic. Therefore, the most obvious medium-run scenario is further growth of labour migration and expansion of internal and external labour migration. It should be stressed that the major document “Welfare Improvement Strategy Paper for 2008-2010” highlights labour migration as a key issue and sets the following priorities: (1) organisation of more comprehensive statistics on employees, including those working in the informal sector and labour migrants, and (2) significant expansion of legal labour migration programs.

Socio-demographic characteristics of the interviewed labour migrants

In total, the survey covered 1,000 people. 79% of the migrants interviewed have permanent residence registration in rural settlements, 21% in the cities. 62% of respondents are women. Working age respondents prevail in the sample¹ (97%). 2.5% of respondents are over working age, and 0.5% of them are under working age.

Table 13. Respondents by gender and age, %

Age	Men	Women`
Total sample	38,3	61,7
15-17 years	1,0	0,8
18-25 years	34,5	21,2
26-35 years	32,9	29,5
36-45 years	22,7	38,6
46-68 years	8,9	9,9

The data on the interviewed migrants’ permanent residence suggest that every fifth person coming to Tashkent to earn money is a resident of the neighbouring Tashkent province (19.7%), residents of Kashkadarya province account for 17.2%, Samarkand province – 11.6%, Ferghana province – 10.3% and Surkhandarya province – 8.8%. The majority of migrants interviewed in Kashkadarya province are short-term push-pull migrants who arrive in province and district centres from other Kashkadarya districts. There is a relatively intensive flow of temporary

¹ Women aged 16-54 and men aged 16-59.

labour force to Kashkadarya province from neighbouring Bukhara (21% of all labour migrants in Kashkadarya province). A peculiar situation is observed in Namangan province: most migrants (77.5%) in this province are residents of its districts. Relative isolation and highly redundant labour in the Ferghana Valley determine the fact that only the people from neighbouring Ferghana and Andijan provinces go to Namangan to earn money.

Table 14. Distribution of respondents by permanent residence, %

Region of respondents' permanent residence	Survey area		
	Tashkent city	Kashkadarya province	Namangan province
Republic of Karakalpakstan	2,2	0	0
Andijan province	5,1	1,9	13,1
Bukhara province	5,6	20,6	0
Jizzak province	4,6	0	0
Kashkadarya province	17,3	63,7	0
Navoi province	3,2	0	0
Namangan province	5,7	0	77,5
Samarkand province	11,6	1,9	0
Syrdarya province	3,7	0	0
Surkhandarya province	8,8	2,5	0
Tashkent province	19,7	0,6	0
Ferghana province	10,3	2,5	9,4
Khorezm province	2,2	6,3	0

The labour migrants interviewed are rather homogenous in terms of ethnicity: 92% of them are representatives of a titular ethnic group (Uzbeks). Other ethnic groups are represented by Tajiks (2.3%), Kazakhs (1.7%), Slavs (1.1%), and Karakalpaks (0.7%). This distribution is similar for both men and women.

The educational level of the migrants interviewed, especially women, is higher than the country's average. Approximately 16% of the interviewed people have completed higher education, 28.6% of respondents have secondary special vocational education, and almost 46% of them finished secondary schools (Table 15). These differences are likely to result from peculiarities of quota sampling, because of disproportionately large share of the registered employed people: in this category of migrants there are more people who work for public institutions where the people with higher education or, at least

with secondary vocational education, have advantages over the others. It is also possible that the distribution of respondents by educational level is the evidence of more vigorous labour and migratory activities and more social expectations of people with relatively advanced professional and qualification characteristics. The next section of the report shows that vocational and higher education has a significant impact on the employment type (permanent or temporary employment, official or without a labour contract) and types of work done by the migrants.

Table 15. Education level of respondents (*% of respondents*)

	men	women
incomplete basic school education (less than 8-9 grades)	1	1,1
basic secondary education (8-9 grades)	10,4	6,6
secondary education (10-11 grades)	43,2	47,7
secondary vocational education	25,8	30,3
higher education	19,6	14,3

Single persons account for a large share (29%) of migrants (80% in 18-25 age group). Divorced male migrants are few, 39% of men have not been married yet. 45% of female migrants do not have husbands, and a half of them have not been married, and every third woman is divorced or lives separately from her husband (Table 16).

The average size of labour migrants' families is a little less than the average family size in Uzbekistan, but their children dependency ratio is rather high – on average there are 2 under age children. The family size and the number of children are closely connected to education – the less educated the migrants are, the more children they have and the larger their families are. The number of illegitimate children in migrants' families (both men and women) is very high. 72% of the respondents under 26 have children but only 18% of them were married. These data might be considered as indirect confirmation of the people's opinions, which have been repeatedly expressed during in-depth interviews, that the share of men who live with their female partners without official registration is large among male migrants, and the share of women with an illegitimate child is large among female migrants (it could have been a reason for migrating).

Table 16. Marital status of respondents (*% of respondents*)

	Single	Married	Divorced/ separated	Widower/ widow
Total sample	28,8	56,7	10,3	4,2
Men	39,2	59	1,6	0,3
Women	22,4	55,3	15,7	6,6

Table 17. Average size of labour migrants' families

	Average family size, persons	Average number of under age children (under 18), persons
Total sample	5,4	2,1
<i>Type of settlement in place of permanent residence</i>		
City	4,8	2,0
Village	5,6	2,2
<i>Respondent's gender</i>		
Women	5,2	2,1
Men	5,8	2,2

Taking into account all dependents (children, unemployed working age people and old people), the average number of people to be supported by a labour migrant (in addition to him/herself) is 3.1. 54% of labour migrants must support 3 and over children and relatives, and only 13% of migrants work "for themselves" (16% of men, and 12% of women).

The survey has shown that young migrants (under 25) are characterised by a stable combination of 3 closely related features:

- they more often come from big families;
- there are many people without even basic secondary education or they finished only incomplete secondary school;
- this group of migrants has mainly under age children as dependents.

There is no doubt that the need to start working as early as possible and interrupt education at an early age is more urgent in big families. Another explanation is possible: early birth of a legitimate or illegitimate child prevents parents from education and makes them earn money. In any case, low educational level does not allow them to be employed in the oversaturated local labour markets and makes young people seek employment outside their places of residence.

Table 18. Number of respondents' dependents

	No dependents	1-2 persons	3-4 persons	5-6 persons	7-10 persons	Total
Total sample	13,1	32,9	41,4	10,9	1,7	100
On average (persons)	0	1,7	3,4	5,3	8,1	3,1
Survey areas						
Tashkent (%)	15,9	32,9	40,4	9,1	1,6	100
On average (persons)	0	1,7	3,4	5,3	8	3
Kashkadarya province (%)	7,5	38,1	43,1	10	1,3	100
On average (persons)	0	1,6	3,4	5,2	8,5	2,9
Namangan province (%)	6,9	27,5	43,8	19,4	2,5	100
On average (persons)	0	1,5	3,5	5,3	8,3	3,4
Respondent's gender						
Men (%)	15,7	21,1	44,9	16,2	2,1	100
On average (persons)	0	1,7	3,5	5,3	8	3,5
Women (%)	11,5	40,2	39,2	7,6	1,5	100
On average (persons)	0	1,6	3,4	5,3	8,2	2,8

Finally, it should be noted again that this sample does not fully reflect the demographic structure of migrants on the whole. It was formed to adequately represent female migrants and some other categories of migrants relatively few in number (for instance, those working on the basis of official contracts outside places of their permanent residence registration).

Motivation to migration, impact of migration on social status and incomes, migrants' plans for the future

Motivation to migration

The reasons for growing migratory activity of the population are rather common – most of those who are looking for jobs outside their permanent residence are the people who have failed to find any job (Table 12). Lack of work relevant to their profession and low wages are serious motives for those

“Migration is growing because employers offer very low wages. We have an opportunity to provide employment for almost all people who come to our Bureau, but they refuse the jobs because of low wages.”

TEA Director.

“We have enough jobs, and there are no low-paid jobs at all. Currently a man who works hard has a lot of opportunities to earn money. I think our people lack entrepreneurial spirit and need to become more active.”

Deputy City Khokim.

“We used to have a shirkat, 17 farms were established instead of it in December. Currently one farmer has hired 20-50 people. Our population is large, but there are no industrial enterprises in our kishlak. Many people leave for a city and work there as mardikors.”

*RA Chairperson,
Namangan.*

“My job was cut, 27 women worked in two workshops, and we all were fired. My daughter also worked with me, and she was also dismissed. I tried to find a job, but now even people with higher education cannot find jobs. There is a job in the rayon public amenities centre, but all the wages will be spend on fare. We do not have any enterprises nearby, where can I go? My daughter and I had to go to mardkor bazaar.”

*A woman-mardikor,
Kashkadarya province.*

who have higher and secondary vocational education. Women are ready to take on any work despite the level of remuneration rather than men. Similar thing is characteristic of the young people under 20 (65% of them could not find any job at all) and this is true for the people with incomplete secondary education (over 90% of them could not find jobs). In total, less than 3% of respondents are the people who have migrated to develop their careers in the area of their profession or they have been sent according to their job assignments.

The interviewed staff of Employment Promotion Centres (labour exchanges) and makhalla committees think the people often have to become migrants for such reasons as forthcoming marriage, building a house, payments for education in higher educational institutions, etc. As a rule, the people who have to save a lot of money within a short period of time try to go to other countries to earn money, where their labour will be better paid. However, it is necessary to have sufficient money to go abroad; therefore people with little money become internal labour migrants.

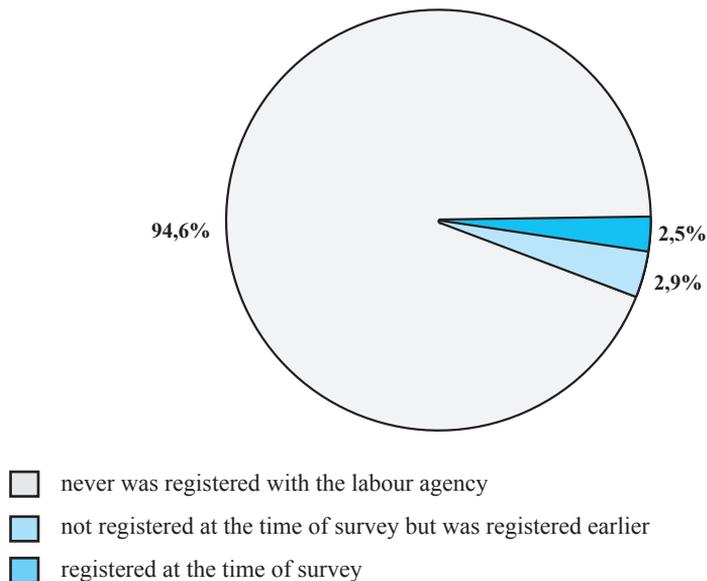
Table 19. Reasons for leaving places of permanent residence to seek employment (% of respondents)

	It is impossible to find any job	It is impossible to find any well-paid job	It is impossible to find any job relevant to profession	Study/practical training visit	Other reasons
Total sam	50,9	50,2	12,4	1,5	6
Men	48,0	55,1	13,1	1,6	4,4
Women	52,7	47,2	12,0	1,5	7,0
<i>Type of settlement in place of permanent residence</i>					
City	38,5	60,6	11,1	3,8	10,5
Village	54,2	47,5	12,8	0,9	4,8
<i>Respondents' age</i>					
15-17 years	77,8	33,3	0	0	11,1
18-25 years	53,2	49	12,2	1,5	6,5
26-35 years	47,4	53,2	13,3	2,9	5,5
36-45 years	50,2	52,0	13,2	0,3	4,9
46-68	55,8	38,9	8,4	1,1	9,5
<i>Respondents' educational level</i>					
incomplete basic school	90,9	54,5	0	0	9,1
basic secondary education	65,4	54,3	1,2	0	2,4
complete secondary education	64,3	44,2	3,1	0,4	3,7
secondary vocational education	38,1	57,7	22,7	0,7	6,9
higher education	25,8	51,5	27	6,7	12,2

31.6% of the migrants interviewed have official permanent employment (and only 2.5% of them work in places of their permanent residence). 48% of them are considered as employees of state-run enterprises/organisations/institutions, 48% of them are hired to work for shirkats or farms. Another 4% of respondents answered that they had their registered businesses at places of their permanent residence, but they did not seem to bring enough profit.

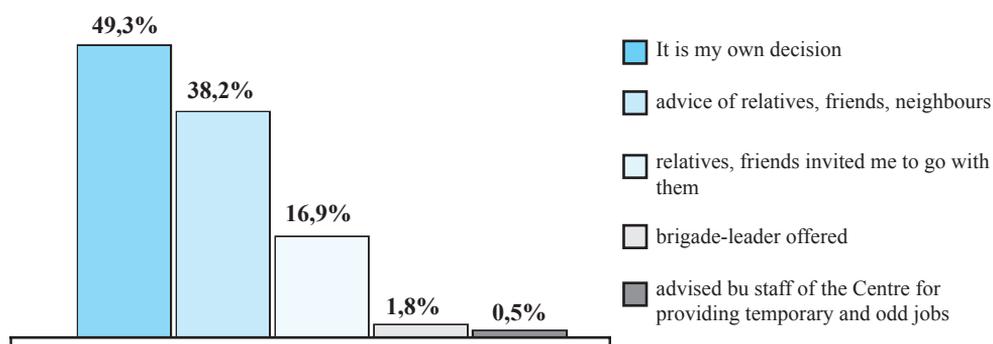
Table 20. Official permanent employment (% of respondents)

	Official job outside place of residence	Job at place of permanent residence	No official permanent job
Total sample (according to quota)	29,1	2,5	68,4
<i>Respondents' educational level</i>			
Incomplete basic school	9,1	0	90,9
Basic secondary education	4,9	0	95,1
Complete secondary education	13,3	1,5	85,2
Secondary vocational education	34,3	4,9	60,8
Higher education/post-graduate course	77,9	2,5	19,6

Fig. 4. Labour migrants having the status of the officially registered unemployed.

68.4% of labour migrants did not have official permanent employment when the survey was conducted. Half of those respondents answered that they had never had such a job (see Fig. 4), and most of those who had had official permanent jobs before, lost them over 6 years ago.

Fig. 5. Reasons for respondents' decision to go to earn money



94.6% of labour migrants, who do not have official permanent work, have never been registered with labour agencies as unemployed. Respondents aged 36-45 with secondary vocational education most often apply to labour agencies to find jobs.

“It is possible to find a job in our kishlak, but the people here are not happy with the wages so they are looking for jobs at other places. It is possible to survive on local wages, but you can’t arrange a wedding party and build a house. Who is going away now? Those who have to give their children in marriage, or if two or three families live in one house and they do not have money to build a new one.”

*Makhalla Committee staff,
Namangan province.*

Making a decision on migration

Most often (48%) respondents made a decision to go to earn money independently. Very often (38%) the decision was made on the basis of advice offered by acquaintances and relatives, or after getting a specific offer to work outside the place of permanent residence (17%). The organised export of labour force by the so called recruiters-brigadiers is not widely spread. As a rule, if a migrant participates in organised construction or agricultural brigades, it is formed by relatives or close friends without a mediator. It is more common for men to participate in brigades that go to earn money to Tashkent and other big cities. As stated below, recruiters can often be met in mardikor bazaars.

As expected, young people and women more often follow their relatives' advice. In most cases, relatives and friends offer to go to earn money to respondents with basic secondary and secondary special education.

Directions of internal labour migration

Tashkent is a key centre, where labour migrants go from all over the country (Table 21). Only 20% of migrants working in Tashkent are inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and villages located in Tashkent province, but the majority of people who have arrived in Tashkent come from rural areas throughout the country. Despite the fact that the number of labour migrants from other provinces amounts to tens of thousands people in Tashkent, not all the people who have come from provinces are currently labour migrants, and have worked in Tashkent. As a rule, only a few (10-20%) people with high level of migratory activity decide to come to earn money in the capital. Thus, for instance, out of the total number of migrants interviewed in Kashkadarya only 3% have worked in Tashkent; in Namangan the share of these workers is 2.5%. It is obvious that the decision to earn money in Tashkent should be backed up with financial means as it is necessary to pay for renting a rather expensive apartment and meal until the job is found or the job should be already guaranteed but this does not happen often. The constraining factor for people willing to come to Tashkent to earn money is rigid requirements to observing the passport regime and registration rules. The in-depth interview participants say that this is the underlying cause of reduction in labour migration from provinces to Tashkent in recent years. Moreover, restrictions on working in Tashkent may be considered as the factor stimulating external migration of the population.

Table 21. Respondents went to the following places to earn money in 2006-2007 (% of respondents)

	total sample	men	women
within their district at places of their permanent residence	8,8	4,4	11,5
to various districts in their province	20,9	21,7	20,4
to Tashkent	68	70,8	66,3
to other provinces of Uzbekistan	8	10,2	6,6
to other countries	2,4	5	0,8

Similar and even more serious problems will face those people who go to work abroad. Nevertheless, 2% of the internal labour migrants interviewed during the survey have already tried to find jobs outside the country over the last 1.5 years (76% of them went to Kazakhstan, 22% – to Russia).

One can note the differences between the levels of migratory activity of people in different provinces of the country. The majority of migrants preferred to

“In late 1990s, many men left our kishlak for Tashkent to earn money. They worked as mardikors, traded at the market, carried trolleys. Currently, nobody goes to Tashkent as there are stringent registration requirements, the police do not allow people to work.”

*Makhalla Committee Chairman,
Namangan province.*

“Previously many people went to Tashkent to earn money; currently it is very difficult to work there. Young men who used to go to Tashkent, currently work in Kazakhstan or in Russia. I have talked to a baker who used to work in Tashkent, and he says it is easier to work in Kazakhstan than in Tashkent. The policemen constantly disturb you.”

TEA staff.

work within their districts and other districts of their province (80-90% of respondents in Kashkadarya and Namangan). However, if the residents in Namangan do not actually work outside their province (less than 10% of them have worked in other provinces of Uzbekistan), the people in Kashkadarya are noted for their very high internal mobility – over a third of them worked in other provinces in addition to their own over the last 18 months (besides Tashkent city).

However, not all provinces in the country are considered attractive in terms of labour migration. The majority of respondents in all the provinces have worked in Tashkent, Samarkand (women more often go there) and Jizzak provinces. Labour migrants think that Ferghana, Syrdarya, Bukhara and Kashkadarya provinces are less attractive from the viewpoint of labour migrants. Migrants are less interested in Namangan and Surkhandarya provinces, and they are not interested at all in Khorezm, Karakalpakstan, Andijan and Navoi.

Duration of labour migration and migrants’ plans for the future

There is a certain comprehension of labour migration (at least of labour migration within the country) as a temporary phenomenon owing to which a certain portion of the population is able to meet the short-term family/individual needs. However, the survey data show that quite a few labour migrants are people with a very long history in this area, sometimes they have been involved in this activity for 30-40 years. The key group of them (nearly 60%) consists of those who have worked outside their cities/villages for quite a long time – from 3 to 10 years (Table 22).

In this regard, labour migrants spent an average of 11.5 months out of 18 months prior to the survey outside their home districts (men spent 12.2 months, women – 11 months). 23% of respondents did not go home at all over the last 1.5 years, and only 6% of the migrants interviewed were outside their home districts for less than 6 months.

Table 22. Length of respondents' service as labour migrants
(% of respondents)

	total sample	men	women
16 years and over (1969-1992)	4,5	4,4	4,5
11-15 years (1993-1997)	8,3	10,2	7,1
6-10 years (1998-2002)	26,4	29,2	24,6
3-5 years (2003-2005)	32,9	29	35,3
2 years and less (2006-2007)	27,9	27,2	28,5

The long-term involvement in labour migration process is determined by several factors:

- 1) The situation concerning jobs in the areas of migrants' residence is not improving over the years. Coming back home means significant reduction in the migrants' incomes.
- 2) The work done in the process of labour migration often demands less skills than the education received (or it is not relevant to a migrant's profession). It leads to a loss of professional qualification, and the skills acquired during the work outside places of their residence are not in demand.
- 3) The society's attitude to labour migrants is ambiguous. In some cases coming back home (this is peculiar to rural women who went to big cities to earn money) leads to lowering a migrant's status. In some cases the community and even relatives demonstrate obviously negative attitude to former labour migrants (especially if an individual comes back sick, without money, etc.). Coming back home means that they failed to achieve any significant results and find their niches in the city.
- 4) In the process of migration, the migrants' values and views are changing. Sometimes migrants prefer to do unskilled work and live in a big city rather than go back to their villages.

In this respect, migrants' answers to the question about their plans for the near future are indicative: only less than 8% out of them are going back home for good in the coming 6 months (Table 23).

Almost half of the labour migrants would like to go back home, if they could find appropriate jobs there. Another one third would like to go home with money, they want to be respected by neighbours, get married, pay for wedding celebration, etc. 28% of migrants are sure they will try not to go back

home under any conditions (Table 24). It is possible to assume that many migrants have already adapted in the labour market of the region/city, where they work, and they have built their capacity that makes it possible to stay in this region for ever. It is interesting to note that over 30% of women and only 24% of male migrants demonstrate their unwillingness to go home. This fact proves that there is a more negative attitude to women rather than to men coming back.

Table 23. Respondents' plans for the coming 6 months
(% of respondents)

	total sample	men	women
Total	100	100	100
intend to continue earning money	46,9	51,4	44,1
intend to go back home for a short period of time and then to go to earn money again	41,6	34,7	45,8
intend to go back home (for good)	7,8	8,1	7,6
intend to go to earn money to another province/city in Uzbekistan	0,2	0,3	0,2
intend to go to earn money to another country	3,5	5,5	2,3

Table 24. Conditions under which the respondents would go back to places of their permanent residence (% of respondents)

	total sample	men	women	type of settlement in place of permanent residence	
				city	village
if there is a job at the place of permanent residence	48,7	52,3	46,5	37,4	51,7
after finishing studies	3,1	3,7	2,8	3,6	3
after earning sufficient money	29,7	31,5	28,6	28,7	30
try not to go back under any conditions	28,2	24,4	30,5	41	24,6

If the question on intentions to go back home is an indirect indicator of the migrants' attitude to their own current status, the direct indicator is the migrants' assessment of positive and negative consequences of migration.

Assessment of positive and negative effects of migration

In general, the absolute majority of labour migrants (90%) think they had good reasons for leaving in terms of improving financial situation of their families and better perspectives for the future (mastering new professional skills, getting new opportunities as a result of moving to a city, etc.). However, positive sides of migration are not so obvious for female migrants, probably because only few of them manage to find skilled jobs and earn enough money to buy expensive property, etc. Only 10% of respondents think that the work outside places of their permanent residence did not do any good to them and their families (Table 25).

Table 25. Positive effect of labour migration on the life of migrants' families, %

	total sample	men	women	type of settlement in places of permanent residence	
				city	village
family's financial situation has improved	60,6	61,1	60,3	62,0	60,2
family managed to buy necessary things/services	16,7	20,9	14,1	21,6	15,4
rewarding business and professional experience has been acquired	9,3	11,7	7,8	13,0	8,3
this job allows them to make both ends meet	17,9	15,9	19,1	11,1	19,7
this job allows them to live in the city, where there are more opportunities and prospects	6,4	8,4	5,2	11,1	5,2
no positive effect	10,0	10,4	9,7	10,1	10,0

The number of answers exceeds 100% as respondents could give more than one answer

At the same time, labour migrants' incomes are not very high. On average, the income of the total sample in August 2007 was only 145,000 soums (115 USD), and ¼ of all respondents earned less than 50 USD a month (Table 26).

Migrants' incomes (besides the incomes of officially working migrants) are formed at the expense of employment based on irregular working hours and weeks – in practice, migrants always work overtime.

Table 26. Migrants' incomes from all types of work, including official and unofficial, permanent and temporary employment

	N/A	0 soums	20-83 thous. soums	84-165 thous. soums	166-248 thous. soums	249-330 thous. soums	331-950 thous. soums	Total
Total sample (%)	0,9	1	25,9	42,2	18,2	8,2	3,6	100
On average (thousand soums)	--	0	56	122	198	275	485	145
<i>Survey areas</i>								
Tashkent (%)	1,2	1,5	17,9	44,3	20,7	10	4,4	100
On average (thousand soums)	--	0	61	124	196	276	490	160
Kashkadarya province (%)	0,6	0	22,5	45,6	20,6	7,5	3,1	100
On average (thousand soums)	--	--	56	120	205	274	457	145
Namangan province (%)	0	0	63,1	30	5	1,3	0,6	100
On average (thousand soums)	--	--	49	114	194	250	480	81
<i>Respondents' gender</i>								
Men (%)	1	0,3	16,4	40,2	25,1	11,2	5,7	100
On average (thousand soums)	--	0	63	124	196	274	485	170
Women (%)	0,8	1,5	31,8	43,4	13,9	6,3	2,3	100
On average (thousand soums)	--	0	54	121	200	277	485	129

The analysis of migrants' incomes has shown a significant inequality between male and female migrants' wages. Average incomes of women are

by 30% lower than men's (129,000 and 170,000 soums respectively), and the share of those who earned 50 and less USD a month is twice as large among women than among men (16% and 32% respectively). This could be explained by the nature and severity of work done by migrant men and women. As a rule, jobs taken on by men are associated with heavy physical load so they are paid better. However, employers do not take into consideration monotonous character of the work done by women, when labour process is broken into pieces, and similar operations are often repeated, and they have to be in same working posture; they also do not focus on women's working conditions (as a rule, there is dirt, cold water, and outdoor work).

Migrants' earnings vary significantly in different regions. In Namangan, the labour market is mainly related to agricultural production, and average incomes of migrants are twice as little as of those who come to earn money to Tashkent (average 81,000 and 160,000 soums a month respectively). However, the gap in expenses reduces the gap in incomes because housing and food are by 20-30% more expensive in Tashkent than in Kashkadarya province and twice as big as in Namangan province.

The main expenditure item of the migrants interviewed is financial support for their relatives at places of their permanent residence. 63% of migrants (80% in Kashkadarya province) spent two thirds of their incomes to help their families (63-65%). On average, each migrant brought or sent home 90,000 soums during the month prior to the survey. Migrants in Namangan province have less opportunities to help their families – on average every migrant in Namangan sent home 38.4 thousand soums (in Tashkent this rate makes up 103,000 soums, in Kashkadarya – 98,000 soums).

Another key item of migrants' expenditures is buying food, averaging 44,000 soums a month (in Tashkent – 50,000 soums, in Kashkadarya – 33,000 soums, in Namangan – 27,000 soums). It is not a surprise that only 25% of men and 20% of women-migrants assess their own financial situation as sustainable, and less than 20% of them may say the same about their families they have left at home (Table 27).

As for the negative effects of migration, it is firstly related to family values (it is impossible to spend much time with children, family relations are deteriorated, and families disrupt). It is not a surprise as over 50% of migrants go to earn money without their families.

Moreover, as negative effects of migration the majority of respondents mentioned worsening of their health, usually due to inadequate working and living conditions, medical services at work, outside home. The staff of some self-governments and TEAs mentioned some migrants' deaths due to infringement of

safety rules, but they say that these cases are more usual for external migration participants. The key negative effect of migration for both men and women is that they feel deprived of all rights and the law does not protect them (Table 29).

Table 27. Assessment of financial situation of migrants and their families at places of residence (*% of respondents*)

	respondent's financial situation		financial situation of a respondent's family	
	men	women	men	women
we are not needy, enough money to buy necessary things	25,3	19,5	19,8	15,9
enough money to buy food only	52,5	50,6	50,9	46,2
not enough money to buy even food, save on food	20,9	24,3	26,4	25,6
hardly make both ends meet, poor meals, not eat enough	1,3	5,7	2,9	12,3

Table 28. Share of migrants living with their families, relatives or independently at the place of employment (*% of respondents*)

	total sample	men	women
Live separately	53,4	65,3	46,0
Live with wife /husband and children	19,8	13,8	23,5
Live with wife /husband	4,5	2,1	6,0
Live with other relatives	16,9	17,8	16,4
Go home every day	5,4	1,0	8,1

“It is very bad that a man goes away alone, without a family. He lives in another city and he gets used to living without a family. Some of them do not come back home at all. There is a woman in our street, her husband went away to earn money 6 years ago, he does not send money to his family and nobody has heard from him. They say he has married another woman. Recently he invited his brother to come with him, and his brother left his family and went there. Certainly, we cannot say that many families are broken due to migration; poor women just wait patiently for their husbands. They are afraid of divorcing because in this case they may lose everything, and their neighbours and relatives will blame them so they suffer and wait for them to come.”

Makhalla Committee staff, Kashkadarya province.

“It is bad that migrants’ children live without mother or father. Children are not raised in a proper way, and divorces happen more often. Divorce is usual for labour migration. They go away to earn money, have love affairs there, and they do not want to come back home.”

Makhalla Committee staff, Namangan province.

Table 29. Negative impact of labour migration on life of migrants’ families
(% of respondents)

	total sample	men	women	type of settlement in places of permanent residence	
				city	village
family relations have deteriorated	5,9	2,9	7,8	6,3	5,8
family has broken	1,8	0,8	2,4	1,9	1,8
health is worsened	11,7	10,2	12,6	9,1	12,4
spent more money that earned	1,8	2,6	1,3	1,9	1,8
lost good job at the place of permanent residence	0,1	0	0,2	0,5	0
do not have time to raise children	16,8	12,5	19,4	17,3	16,7
felt deprived of civil rights, the law does not protect me	5,3	6,8	4,4	5,8	5,2
my family misses me	2	2,6	1,6	1,4	2,1
no negative impact	64,7	68,7	62,2	66,8	64,1

The number of answers exceeds 100% as respondents could give more than one answer

It is necessary to note that female migrants face 3 times as many deteriorated family relations and family disruption as males, and they are more concerned about breaking relations with children, and they more often suffer from worsened health status.

Nevertheless, almost 2/3 of labour migrants think that their departure did not produce any negative effect on their lives and lives of their family members. There are more such people among those who work in provinces (74% of them think there are no negative effects of migration), and they are fewer among those who went to earn money to Tashkent (only 60% of them think there is no negative effect of migration on the family and private life).

“I used to work in Tashkent. Due to lack of residence registration there were some problems with the police. I had a lot of trouble because of this. It is impossible to get residence registration, especially, if one does not work for a government organisation. Therefore, I had to go away from Tashkent. Currently I work in Samarkand, there are no problems due to residence registration there.”

*Migrant woman,
Kashkadarya province.*

Table 30. Attitude of social environment and government authorities to people going away to search for jobs and earn money (*% of respondents*)

	Approving	Indifferent	Negative
family members	80,9	4,2	14,9
acquaintances, neighbours and villagers	61,2	24,8	14
makhalla committee	33,6	55,3	11,1
district/province khokimiyats	19,8	71,2	9,0
state	20,4	70,6	9,0

It is important how people around treat migrants, and firstly, the opinions of relatives and neighbours are very important, especially in rural areas and areas with rigid traditional style of life (a possible example is Namangan province). Most migrants think they are supported by their families (81%) and neighbours (61%). The attitude of the state, local governments and self-governments to migration is assessed by respondents as indifferent in most cases (Table 30).

Family members and neighbours give the strongest disapproval for those who go to Tashkent to earn money. The immediate social environment also does not support a lot of women who go to earn money without their husbands and children. On average, around 20% of women experience a negative attitude of their family members and neighbours because they work outside places of their residence.

“I think there are no negative consequences for population caused by migration. One or two out of ten migrants come back home without any money, the others come home with big money. The financial situation of their families improves, they build a house, and their children will be educated.”

TEA staff.

“There are many positive things in labour migration. The people who go to earn money enrich their outlook, and they are more sociable. Earlier, even 5-6 years ago, people were different. I have worked for makhalla for 7 years, 5 years ago the people were different as they did everything you told them to do, and now the things are different. After coming from Russia, labour migrants are so different. They start to live in a different way, they start to build new houses, buy cars, clean the streets they live in, and help poor families. Labour migrants in our makhalla are military people from Ferghana Valley and Samarkand. Their wives are very nice and educated - doctors, teachers. Our people follow their example, and try to study as well. Anyway, there more positive consequences of labour migration rather than negative effects. They earn money in Tashkent or outside the country, and they send their children to study in higher educational institutions. Currently, the education in higher academic institutions is provided on the contract basis, therefore many people try to earn money somewhere else: it is a little difficult to find a job at the very beginning, but after that they come back successfully.”

*Makhalla Committee staff,
Kashkadarya province.*

“The migration level is higher here than in other rural areas, our people are more well-to-do, we have less poor families. This is well-known. Many people here have cars. There are big construction shops in the district centre, and most purchases there are made our people.”

*Makhalla Committee staff,
Namangan province.*

Table 31. Attitude of social environment to labour migrants
(% of respondents)

	total sample	men	women
respectful as it is considered prestigious	14,6	17,2	13
different as it depends on the place and job	23,4	26,1	21,7
no special attitude, it is as usual as to any other job	47,8	46,0	48,9
scornful, disapproving	9,4	8,6	9,9
distrust, with fear	4,8	2,1	6,5

Respondents report a negative attitude of local self-governments, khokimiyats and the state in general to labour migration of people under 18, especially of those who did not finish secondary school.

Table 32. Respondent’s assessment of labour migrant’s status in terms of prestige (*% of respondents*)

	They feel embarrassed if they have to say to their acquaintances that they go away to search for a job and earn money			
	always	sometimes, it depends on the place they go and their jobs	do not feel embarrassed, think a migrant works as any other worker does	think that it is prestigious to find a job in a big city
Total sample	16,3	12,3	53,2	18,2
Respondent’s gender				
Men	8,9	13,6	53,5	24
Women	20,9	11,5	53	14,6
Survey area				
Tashkent city	19,4	14	46,3	20,3
Kashkadarya province	1,3	11,9	75	11,9
Namangan province	18,1	5,6	60,6	15,6

Although family members support migrants, few migrants think that people hold in respect for their work. Less than half of respondents (48%) think that people treat migrants as any other professionals. Almost a third of the people interviewed think that the place, where a migrant goes to work, is of critical importance (the nearer to home s/he works, the more positive attitude there is, and the most negative assessments are made of women who work in Tashkent). 15% of respondents think that the attitude to migrants is only negative (Table 31).

It is not a surprise that about ¼ of all migrants feel embarrassed when they have to answer the question about their jobs. This situation is more often among women – 32.4%, and 22.5% among men.

According to experts participated in the survey, labour migration is very useful for the region and for the society on the whole. First of all, they mention such positive things as alleviated tension in regional labour markets, an increase in

population incomes, a reduction in crime, improved quality of life, and increased contribution by the population to improving social infrastructure.

Typology of internal labour migration

Types and forms of internal labour migration are quite diverse, and they differ significantly in various provinces. They depend on socio-demographic, professional and qualification characteristics of migrants. Within the framework of this survey the status characteristics of migrants have been chosen as the determinative criterion for analyzing internal labour migration – whether they are permanent or temporary employees and whether they work on the basis of registered labour agreements or unofficially.

Key jobs taken on by labour migrants

The respondents' previous work experience as labour migrants has a strong impact on types of works done by them. According to the survey results, over half of migrants have tried at least 2-3 occupations while working outside places of their permanent residence. The people who have worked as labour migrants over 5 years have tried 3-4 occupations. About a quarter of migrants (Table 33) have worked in retailing sector (they mainly sold agricultural products in the markets), 21% of them have worked as seasonal agricultural workers, 20% – in construction. 5-7% of migrants have worked as doctors, teachers, office clerks (the majority of them were in Tashkent at the moment of interview).

The migrants' place of origin (urban or rural areas) and their education are of importance as well. City dwellers are more often engaged in trade and services sectors, including highly skilled jobs. At the same time, almost $\frac{1}{4}$ of the rural people have tried to work as construction workers (50% of men), agricultural workers (24%), and other unskilled jobs (sorting and packaging agricultural products, loading and unloading works, cleaning territories, etc.).

The educational attainment significantly impacts on the labour migrant's occupation. The people with incomplete basic school education (9 years of study) practically do not have opportunities to be employed as qualified workers. Most of them work in labour consuming and low-paid sectors – picking up and sorting agricultural products and cleaning territories. On the contrary, the migrants with vocational education (secondary and higher) more often manage to find jobs in the sectors of education and healthcare, they work as clerks, etc. Nevertheless, a number of migrants with higher education actually lose their qualifications and social status – 15% of them work in construction sector, 15% – in trade, by 5% of them have worked as waiters, agricultural workers, cleaners, etc.

Table 33. Types of labour migrants' employment for the entire period of their activity outside home*(% of respondents)*

	total sample	city	village	incomplete basic school	basic secondary education	complete secondary education	secondary vocational education	higher education	women	men
salesperson	25,4	27,4	24,9	18,2	24,7	29,6	25,2	14,7	31	16,4
consumer services	19,2	22,1	18,4	45,5	24,7	22,7	18,5	6,1	27,7	5,5
construction	19,8	8,7	22,7	27,3	29,6	21,1	17,5	14,7	0,8	50,4
agriculture	21,0	8,2	24,4	45,5	30,9	24,8	19,6	6,1	22,0	19,3
waiter, dish-washer	11,4	15,4	10,4	18,2	16,0	12,2	12,6	4,3	18,3	0,3
loading and unloading works	11,1	5,8	12,5	27,3	22,2	12,2	9,8	3,7	2,6	24,8
sorting and packaging of agricultural products	10,4	6,7	11,4	36,4	13,6	11,5	10,1	4,3	14,9	3,1
repair and installation works	8,5	9,6	8,2	9,1	11,1	8,1	8,7	8,0	4,7	14,6
producing and selling food	8,5	6,7	9,0	27,3	16,0	8,3	7,7	5,5	8,3	8,9
cleaning and land improvement	8,2	3,8	9,3	36,4	14,8	10,2	5,6	1,8	7,3	9,7
shuttle trade	7,5	12,0	6,3	0	6,2	6,5	10,1	6,7	8,4	6,0
office work	7,4	14,4	5,6	9,1	0	2,2	6,6	27	6,2	9,4
teaching	5,0	6,7	4,5	0	0	0,2	2,8	25,2	5,8	3,7
manufacturing non-foods	4,1	2,4	4,5	0	2,5	4,8	4,9	1,8	4,5	3,4
medical practice	3,5	7,2	2,5	0	0	0	8,0	7,4	4,9	1,3
sex services	0,8	1,9	0,5	0	2,5	0,7	1	0	1,3	0

The number of answers exceeds 100% as some respondents did several jobs outside places of their permanent residence

The most striking differences concerning jobs are obvious when the disaggregated analysis is made by gender. As the survey data show, “female” jobs of labour migrants are trade (33%), consumer services (28%), waiters and dish-washers (18%) and sorting agricultural products (15%).

In their turn, 50% of men have worked as construction workers, another 15% have worked in the area of repair and installation, and 25% of male migrants have worked as loaders.

It is rather alarming that 1.3% of female migrants interviewed have worked as commercial sex workers during their migration, and special attention needs to be paid to this fact. This number is not insignificant because the survey was not aimed at covering this particular category of female migrants, and moreover, it is possible that not all women honestly answered the question on their occupation.

Then the report addresses specific characteristics of working conditions of 3 migrant categories:

- 1) Having official permanent employment
- 2) Having permanent, but unofficial employment
- 3) Performing temporary and odd jobs (including recruitment in mardikor bazaars).

Official permanent employment outside place of residence registration

Despite labour-related challenges and restrictions that face migrant workers and their employers (these restrictions are described in the Chapter “Social and legal regulation of labour migration”), some labour migrants have official permanent employment outside places of their permanent residence. There are some reasons to think that the share of these workers among labour migrants is not large, although it is difficult to accurately count their number within the framework of this survey. Over 90% of the respondents, who have official permanent employment, work in the province/district where they have permanent residence registration. 61% of migrants (86% in Namangan province), who have official permanent employment, work in the public sector. They are mainly rural dwellers with rather high educational level. City dwellers under 45 mostly work at private enterprises. 16% of these migrants have their own registered businesses. There are more people over 40 among entrepreneurs (mainly women) with incomplete secondary education. In most cases they are traders who have patents (Table 34).

The majority of them hold protected positions in the budget sector – education, health, public administration, science and culture. As a rule, they are professionals with rather high educational level aged 25-45.

Table 34. Distribution of respondents by their official permanent employment outside places of their permanent residence (*% of respondents who have official permanent employment outside places of their residence registration*)

	employee of a private enterprise	employee of a state-run enterprise, organisation	has own registered business, including a patent
Total sample	23,4	60,8	15,8
<i>Survey areas</i>			
Tashkent	25,8	57,3	16,9
Kashkadarya province	23,8	50,8	25,4
Namangan province	14,0	86,0	0
<i>Respondent's gender</i>			
men	24,1	66,1	9,8
women	22,9	57,5	19,6
<i>Type of settlement in place of permanent residence</i>			
city	39,8	46,2	14
village	15,7	67,7	16,7
<i>Respondent's age</i>			
18-25 years	23,2	62,5	14,3
26-35 years	25,0	68,5	6,5
36-45 years	24,7	53,8	21,5
46-68	14,7	52,9	32,4
<i>Respondents' educational level</i>			
incomplete basic school	100	0	0
basic secondary education	25,0	25,0	50,0
complete secondary education	24,6	50,8	24,6
secondary vocational education	25,5	54,1	20,4
higher education	20,5	72,4	7,1

Their work experience in this area is 4 years on average: over a third of migrants who work on the basis of official agreement have worked at the same place over 4 years. On the whole, the working regime meets the labour legislation requirements – there are 5 working days a week, and the average length of a working day is 8 hours 40 minutes per day, i.e. the working week is 43 hours.

Table 35. Spheres of labour migrants' official permanent employment outside places of their permanent residence (*% of respondents who have official permanent employment outside places of their residence registration*)

	total sample	Tashkent city	Kashka-darya	Namangan	men	women
Education	16,8	21,9	0	20	12,5	19,6
Health	12,7	5,6	14,3	36	6,3	16,8
Service sector	34,4	36,5	44,4	14,0	33	35,2
Construction	6,9	6,7	11,1	2,0	15,2	1,7
Industry	6,9	3,9	4,8	16	9,8	5,0
Office work	15,5	15,2	20,6	10	11,6	17,9
Agricultural works	0,7	0	3,2	0	1,8	0
Science and culture	6,2	10,1	1,6	2	9,8	3,9

Table 36. Working conditions of migrants having permanent registered jobs (*% of respondents, who have official permanent employment outside places of their residence registration*)

	total sample	men	women
outdoor work	12,0	20,5	6,7
unfavourable temperature regime (cold, hot)	27,8	25,0	29,6
elevated job	3,4	8,0	0,6
night work	11,7	18,8	7,3
work without breaks for rest and meals	13,4	15,2	12,3
carrying heavy things	9,6	9,8	9,5
dust, dirt	8,9	15,2	5,0
air pollution, reek, work with harmful substances	11,3	18,8	6,7
hot/red-hot equipment (furnace, ovens, irons, soldering irons, etc.)	7,2	9,8	5,6
open wiring	4,5	10,7	0,6
normal conditions	44,0	35,7	49,2

At the same time, the working conditions of this category of migrants significantly differ from the working conditions of other migrants in terms of wages and protection of the job. An employer reimburses their expenses on medical services in 60% of cases (at least partially) and in 72% of cases s/he provides them with necessary protection means. Women's working conditions are much better as compared to men's, but only 49% of female migrants working under an official agreement think that their working conditions are satisfactory. The key negative factors that face such migrants are unfavourable temperature regime, work without breaks, physical load and night work (Table 36).

Women's risks related to their working places are less significant than men's in the formal sector: 79% of women and 73% of men holding these positions think they do not face health and mental health risks and threats. The main risks at work are the rude and offensive treatment for workers (Table 37).

Table 37. Risks faced by migrants having registered permanent jobs (*% of respondents, who have official permanent employment outside places of their residence registration*)

	total sample	men	women
no risk	76,6	73,2	78,8
rudeness, insults	9,6	8,9	10,1
sexual harassment	0,7	0	1,1
non-payment, stolen goods, etc.	3,4	3,6	3,4
racket, extortion	0	0	0
physical violence	0	0	0
not aware of their rights	3,4	3,6	3,4
work without vacation	6,2	8,0	5,0
work with harmful substances	5,5	8,0	3,9

The only significant difference between men and women is the difference in their wages that amounts to 27% (144,000 and 113,000 soums per month respectively). This situation is usual for most CIS economies (including Uzbekistan), in particular, in their public sectors. The budget sector is not an exception. Women are forced to take on unskilled and thus low-paid jobs (Table 38).

Table 38. Average monthly earnings of migrants' having registered permanent jobs

	up to 85 thousand soums	85.1-170 thousand soums	170.1-255 thousand soums	255.1-340 thousand soums	340.1-500 thousand soums	On average
Total sample (%)	36,4	36,8	21,0	2,7	3,1	100
On average (thousand soums)	50,2	116,8	204,5	298,8	411,9	125,2
<i>Respondent's gender</i>						
Men (%)	28,6	33,0	30,4	2,7	5,4	100
On average (thousand soums)	56,1	114,6	202,9	296,7	383,3	144,4
Women (%)	41,3	39,1	15,1	2,8	1,7	100
On average (thousand soums)	47,6	117,9	206,5	300,0	469,0	113,3

Thus, in general the official permanent employment sector may be described as the most attractive and safe sector for labour migrants in terms of wages and other working conditions, ensuring social security (including pensions), etc.

Unofficial permanent employment outside place of residence registration

30.1% of labour migrants' sample has unofficial but permanent jobs outside places of their permanent residence at the moment of interview. The majority of them (70%) work in the private sector as independent unregistered entrepreneurs or as hired workers at private firms (29%). In this group of labour migrants there are men and women of different age, city-dwellers and inhabitants of rural areas, people with different educational level. It is necessary to note that the business activity is more intensive among women and persons having vocational education. 85% of migrants from this group work in the service sector, around 8% are engaged in producing consumer goods (Table 39).

The average work experience of the interviewed labour migrants as unregistered entrepreneurs or employees without official labour agreement makes up 3 years. As a rule, their working week and working day are not limited, and they are significantly longer in comparison with those of migrants working officially. They have 6 working days per week given the average length of a working-day of 9 hours 40 minutes a day, i.e. the working week is some 58 hours a week (i.e. it is by a third more than in the formal sector).

Table 39. Spheres of unofficial permanent employment outside places of permanent residence, by respondent's gender (% of respondents, who have unofficial permanent employment outside places of residence registration)

	total sample	men	women
Education providers	0	0	0
Health providers	1,0	0,9	1,0
Service workers	84,7	76,6	88,2
Construction workers	3,7	10,3	0
Industrial workers	7,6	6,5	8,2
Office staff	2,3	1,9	2,6
Agricultural workers	0,3	0,9	0
Science and culture workers	0,3	2,8	0

Table 40. Average monthly earnings of migrants who have unofficial permanent employment

	up to 79 thousand soums	79.1-158 thousand soums	158.1-237 thousand soums	237.1-316 thousand soums	316.1-900 thousand soums	On average
Total sample (%)	21,6	47,5	17,6	9,6	3,7	100
On average (thousand soums)	54,2	111,1	196,6	275,9	454,5	142,3
Survey areas						
Tashkent (in %)	20,0	43,7	20,0	11,1	5,3	100
On average (thousand soums)	53,9	111,9	197,4	277,6	460,0	154,1
Kashkadarya province (%)	18,9	52,7	17,6	9,5	1,4	100
On average (thousand soums)	52,9	108,8	193,8	267,1	400,0	132,1
Namangan province (%)	35,1	56,8	5,4	2,7	0,0	100
On average (thousand soums)	56,2	111,7	200,0	300,0	--	102,1
Respondent's gender						
men (%)	19,6	41,1	19,6	13,1	6,5	100
On average (thousand soums)	57,1	114,7	197,6	272,1	400,0	158,9
women (%)	22,7	51,0	16,5	7,7	2,1	100
On average (thousand soums)	52,7	109,5	195,9	279,3	550,0	133,1

At the first glance, it seems that monthly average wages/incomes in this sector are higher by 16% than in the formal sector. However, this advantage is not real given that their working week is longer by 15 hours (Table 40).

Moreover, these working conditions cannot be compared to those which are provided for migrants in cases when they sign an official labour contract, or carry out an officially registered business activity. Over 93% of labour migrants who are permanently, but unofficially, employed, think that their working conditions cannot be considered as satisfactory. Even the people who are engaged in their own business cannot organise satisfactory labour conditions for themselves.

Table 41. Labour conditions of migrants having unofficial permanent employment (*% of respondents who have unofficial permanent employment outside places of their residence registration*)

	total sample	men	women
outdoor work	34,2	31,8	35,6
unfavourable temperature regime (cold, hot)	60,8	55,1	63,9
elevated job	1,0	2,8	0
night work	7,3	13,1	4,1
work without breaks for rest and meals	25,9	27,1	25,3
carrying heavy things	29,9	31,8	28,9
dust, dirt	15,3	17,8	13,9
air pollution, reek, work with harmful substances	2,0	5,6	0
hot/red-hot equipment (furnace, ovens, irons, soldering irons, etc.)	9,0	17,8	4,1
open wiring	2,0	5,6	0
normal conditions	9,6	10,3	9,3

Although almost 40% of these employees do need protection means, employers provide them only in 35% of cases, in 30% of cases the employees have to work without any protection means. Money to cover medical expenses is given (at least partially) only in 20% of cases. Business women and those without a labour contract even more often than men have to work in unfavourable conditions, and they have to be engaged in harmful and hard work as often as men do (Table 41).

Table 42. Working place-associated risks faced by migrants having unofficial permanent jobs (*% of respondents, who have unofficial permanent employment outside places of their residence registration*)

	total sample	men	women
no risk	65,8	68,2	64,4
rudeness, insults	21,3	10,3	27,3
sexual harassment	2,0	0,9	2,6
non-payment, stolen goods, etc.	6,6	9,3	5,2
racket, extortion	3,7	4,7	3,1
physical violence	0,7	0,9	0,5
not aware of their rights	2,7	0,9	3,6
work without vacation	12,3	16,8	9,8

Table 43. Reasons why migrants do not make official labour agreements or register their businesses (*% of respondents, who have unofficial permanent employment outside places of their residence registration*)

	Total sample	men	women
employer does not want to make an agreement	10,3	13,1	8,8
employee does not want to make an agreement	42,5	40,2	43,8
neither employee nor employer are interested in making an agreement	27,9	21,1	19,1
lack of money to legalize business	21,6	15,0	25,3
no residence registration	3,7	4,7	3,1

This group of employees thinks that there are no health and mental health risks due to their jobs in 2/3 of cases. Over a quarter of women face rudeness and insults at work, around 3% of them face physical abuse and assault (Table 42).

Despite the above-mentioned problems, in most cases (64%) hired workers and businessmen are not interested in making official labour agreement/legalization of their businesses; in 30% of cases employers themselves are not interested in this. According to data collected during in-depth interviews, the key

reason is lack of money to pay for registration and taxes. Women-entrepreneurs are more interested in legalizing their businesses than men, but in 25% of cases they lack the necessary funds.

Thus, the migrants-entrepreneurs and the employed on the permanent basis but without labour agreements are more vulnerable in the labour market than the people employed in the formal economy sector.

Temporary, odd, and seasonal jobs outside places of residence registration

Mardikor bazaars

49.1% of interviewed labour migrants did temporary, odd and seasonal jobs outside places of their residence registration during 2006-2007. First of all, this means that at least a third of labour migrants who have official or unofficial permanent jobs have to search for extra jobs from time to time, and take on temporary and odd jobs. Migrants find almost 60% of temporary, odd and seasonal jobs in the so called mardikor bazaars – places where temporary and casual services are offered in an unregulated way.

In every province there are tens of mardikor bazaars. The majority of them are not large – up to 100 people offer their services daily. Large mardikor bazaars are mainly located in Tashkent, and in some of them up to 2,000 people offer their services in the season or on weekends. Many mardikor bazaars are located next to large markets and roads. The largest mardikor bazaars are in the focus of local governments, law enforcement bodies and labour agencies that establish Temporary Employment Agencies in these markets.

A mardikor bazaar is the only place where most labour migrants doing temporary work can be recruited (71%). Women rather than men, and rural inhabitants rather than city-dwellers more often find temporary and odd jobs only in mardikor bazaars (Table 44).

As a rule, the jobs offered by employers in mardikor bazaars are unskilled and the least protected (Table 45). A mardikor is usually hired under the following conditions: provision of instruments, quite poor meals (some 1 USD and less per person a day), and dwelling place (as a rule, it is inconvenient, unheated or people sleep outdoors).

In rural areas, mostly agricultural workers are hired in mardikor bazaars to do weeding and harvesting. In cities the majority of supply is formed from unskilled construction workers, loaders, vegetable sorters and people hired to help during wedding parties and other celebration events.

Table 44. Places of searching for temporary employment
(% of respondents seeking employment in mardikor bazaars)

	Total sample	Survey areas		
		Tashkent	Kashkadarya	Namangan
find jobs in mardikor bazaar only	42,0	40,6	41,9	48,7
at their permanent work	5,3	6,0	3,2	2,6
in advertisements	4,1	5,2	0	0
through recruiters	4,5	2,9	0	14,1
through Temporary Employment Agencies	1,2	0,5	0	5,1
through former clients/employers	22,8	25,7	19,4	10,3
through friends, acquaintances	43,4	44,5	38,7	39,7
by themselves	0,8	1	0	0

Table 45. Jobs that were taken on by respondents in mardikor bazaars
(% of respondents seeking employment in mardikor bazaars)

	total sample	Tashkent	Kashkadarya	Namangan	men	women
agricultural work	53,6	50,2	56,3	69,6	43,5	61,1
consumer services	48,1	55,5	0	28,3	10,5	76,0
construction	37,1	34,5	81,3	34,8	85,5	1,2
sorting and packaging of agricultural products	29,6	27,5	0	50,0	7,3	46,1
cleaning and land improvement	23,7	28,8	0	6,5	22,6	24,6
repair and installation	11	13,1	0	4,3	25,8	0
waiter, dish-washer	17,2	19,2	0	13	1,6	28,7
loading and unloading works	18,2	15,7	62,5	15,2	34,7	0
producing and selling food	3,8	4,8	0	0	0,8	6
children and elderly care services	2,4	3,1	0	0	0	4,2
sex services	1,0	0,9	0	2,2	0,8	1,2

Although many jobs offered in mardikor bazaars are of seasonal nature, over half of mardikor migrants attend markets all the year round (women work all the year round less often than men) (Table 46).

On average, each mardikor (on condition that s/he does not find the job for several days) goes to a mardikor bazaar 5 days a week, in 4 cases out of 5 they usually manage to find jobs. Average fixed earnings of a mardikor make up 7,000 soums a day or about 118,000 soums per month, but men earn an average of 8,000 soums a day, and women – 6,000 soums. Average monthly earnings of mardikors vary considerably from province to province: in Tashkent, a mardikor earns an average of 127,000 soums per month, in Kashkadarya – 119,000 soums, but in Namangan – only 73,000 soums. Average earnings of women mardikors are by 30% lower than men's.

Table 46. Frequency of job search in mardikor bazaars during 2006-2007
(% of respondents seeking employment in mardikor bazaars)

	total sample	men	women
all the year round	51,9	58,1	47,3
irregularly, from time to time, when there is no other job	26,8	25	28,1
only on vacation	2,1	2,4	1,8
only on days-off	1,4	3,2	0
only in a season	17,9	11,3	22,8

Mardikor bazaars are quite strictly divided into women's and men's, and, as a rule, they are not located close to each other. The key reason for this division is that men and women offer different services.

As for "male" mardikor bazaars, they are places where services are offered related to doing heavy physical work that does not require any professional skills, but only elementary skills like digging, carrying heavy things, etc. Rarely and mainly in Tashkent, one may hire day workers who have their own equipment (welding apparatus, sanitary equipment, perforators, etc) to do skilled works.

"Female" mardikor bazaars offer services related to doing monotonous and unskilled work. The mostly needed are women doing harvesting, weeding, sorting vegetables and fruit, kitchen support staff at celebration parties (dish-washers and vegetable cutters), etc.

It is necessary to emphasise that female mardikor bazaars are not located in all districts and, as a rule, in rural areas only women, who live near such market, visit it. Migrants from other provinces are rarely met in these markets. The only exception is

female mardikor bazaars in Tashkent, but quite a few workers there are from Tashkent province. This situation is mainly determined by special functions of female mardikor bazaars. Women-mardikors are hired to do the work that requires many workers. Therefore, it is more convenient for employers to use the so called brigadiers and not to hire women one by one. As a rule, brigadiers are paid about 200 soums per woman a day. Brigadiers (usually women) try to

“For instance, I have worked in 5 districts of the province this month. The brigadier knows where I am, whom I went with. This is reliable. I cannot go with unknown people to other districts. Or, Lord forbid, if something wrong happens at home – it is easy to find me. This mechanism is convenient for employers as well. If an employer wants to hire 15 women, it is inconvenient for him to visit and talk with each mardikor separately. Currently he visits a brigadier and tells her how many people he wants to hire and on what conditions. The brigadier provides for him the necessary number of people. If an employer comes to me to give me a job, I will not go with him because this job will be for a week at most, and when I finish it, I’ll have to go to a mardikor bazaar, but the brigadier will never offer me a job. Sometimes employers – who know me well and like my work – come to my house in the evening to hire me for tomorrow job. Then I go to the brigadier with them, inform her about this job and give her 200 soums.”

*Mardikor woman,
Namangan province.*

balance the interests of employers and brigade members. They guarantee the quality and timeliness of the work done to employers, and women-mardikors may be sure that they will be paid, given meals and that all the other conditions set in prior verbal agreement will be fulfilled. Brigadiers prefer to deal with their acquaintances and neighbours, and it is difficult to find jobs in rural female mardikor bazaars for women who are not members of any brigade (Table 47).

Table 47. Distribution of respondents by job organisation forms
(% of respondents seeking employment in mardikor bazaars)

	always independently	always with the same brigade	always with different brigades	sometimes independently, sometimes with a brigade
total sample	34,4	23,7	7,2	34,7
Men	38,7	7,3	9,7	44,4
Women	31,1	35,9	5,4	27,5
<i>Type of settlement in place of permanent residence</i>				
City	42,1	13,2	7,9	36,8
Village	33,2	25,3	7,1	34,4

Table 48. Types of respondents' recruitment
(% of respondents seeking employment in mardikor bazaars)

	can independently and directly make a labour agreement with an employer	have to be hired only through a mediator/recruiter/brigadier
Total sample	83,2	16,8
Men	88,7	11,3
Women	79	21,0
<i>Type of settlement in place of permanent residence</i>		
City	92,1	7,9
Village	81,8	18,2

Male brigades are also formed quite often, but hierarchy is less obvious in them: a brigade member may work alone if he has a job, without informing the other members of his brigade about it. In female brigades the members are strictly accountable to a brigadier, and even if there is work for one individual only, it is the brigadier who decides who will be hired, and who will wait for the next client. As a rule, young girls, new arrivals and a “guilty” member (for instance, having left an employer without finishing her work) do not have many opportunities to get jobs. Certainly, this situation is more usual for small mardikor bazaars, where both employers and mardikors are the same every day.

Working conditions of migrants who offer their services in mardikor bazaars are especially unfavourable. None of the respondents-mardikors has said that their working conditions can be considered as satisfactory. Mardikors work outdoors in hot summers and cold winters, they often work without breaks for rest, and they (including women) are very often engaged in carrying heavy things. Some of the brigadiers in female mardikor bazaars have said that employers often hire mardikor women to take on difficult physical jobs (carrying heavy things, etc.) because they are paid less than mardikor men. Over 40% of mardikors regularly work overtime. 12 working hours a day are considered usual in rural female mardikor bazaars so a female mardikor (or a brigadier) may insist on paying more money (for overtime) only if the working day is more than 12 hours. Rural women-mardikors say that their seasonal harvesting work may often last up to 18 hours a day, especially when it is time to pick up sweet cherry (Table 49).

Table 49. Mardikors' working conditions (*% of respondents seeking employment in mardikor bazaars*)

	Total sample	men	women
outdoor work	71,5	68,5	73,7
unfavourable temperature regime (cold, hot)	72,5	73,4	71,9
elevated job	17,9	27,4	10,8
night work	19,9	28,2	13,8
work without breaks for rest and meals	14,8	15,3	14,4
carrying heavy things	40,9	59,7	26,9
dust, dirt	58,1	64,5	53,3
air pollution, reek, work with harmful substances	6,2	10,5	3,0
hot/red-hot equipment (furnace, ovens, irons, soldering irons, etc.)	5,2	8,1	3,0
open wiring	5,2	11,3	0,6
overtime work (over 8 hours)	43,6	48,4	40,1

Table 50. Risks/problems faced by mardikors at their working places (*% of respondents seeking employment in mardikor bazaars*)

	Total sample	men	women
no risks	37,8	42,7	34,1
rudeness, insults	44,7	38,7	49,1
sexual harassment	10,7	0	18,6
non-payment, stolen goods, etc.	32,6	31,5	33,5
racket, extortion	1,7	1,6	1,8
physical violence	6,5	8,9	4,8
not aware of their rights	9,6	11,3	8,4

Over 2/3 of mardikors (including 43% of women) constantly face problems at their working places. These problems are often caused by fixed amount of labour remuneration (per day), but the amount of work is not fixed (from dawn

till night). Mardikors want to take on jobs by all means and they quite often misinform their employers and are not able to do the work on time. Rudeness is often shown to mardikors, especially women, sometimes they are offended (by brigadiers as well), and a huge number of mardikor women (19%) are sexually harassed by employers and mardikor men (Table 50).

60% of mardikors, at least sometimes, are not paid for the work done, every fifth woman-mardikor says that this happens quite often. Employers more often refuse to pay mardikors in Kashkadarya province and in Tashkent city. The lower the mardikors' educational level is, the higher the risk of insufficient payment for the work done is (Table 51).

“The most unpleasant work is topping and tailing radish in March as it is still cold in March. I remember it because this year we washed radish in early March. The water was very cold. Our hands were blue because of the cold water.”

*Mardikor woman,
Namangan province.*

“The working hours are not limited. In neighboring kishlaks mardikors work until 6 p.m., because their brigadier takes care of her workers, and mardikor women know their rights well. We also told our brigadier many times that we should also work until 6 p.m. but she does not want to be tough with employers because she has her own interest and wants more people from her brigade to be employed, and we pay her some money for this. She does not think much about us, she thinks more about her pocket. In the neighboring kishlak mardikor women work only if they are paid 3,000 soums per day, but our brigadier agrees even if we are paid 2,500 soums. This situation provoked a conflict some time ago. If we have to spend a night at the working place, we are paid 3,000 soums but in other kishkaks people are paid 4,000 soums. Our brigadier defends employers' interests rather than ours. One woman quarreled with an employer because there was no hot meal at lunch. When our brigadier knew about this, she got very angry and did not give her a job for some days. Our brigadier is dishonest.”

*Mardikor woman,
Namangan province.*

Table 51. Share of respondents who faced the employer's refusal to pay for the work done (fully or partially) (*% of respondents seeking employment in mardikor bazaars*)

	quite frequently	quite rarely	never
Total sample	19,6	39,5	40,9
Men	16,1	40,3	43,5
Women	22,2	38,9	38,9

“I asked for establishing the Centre for Temporary Works Arrangement at the labour registry office. They say they cannot issue the permission till the authorities give the order. The government may not finance the centre, let it be a self-financing organisation. At present, some brigadiers require 500 a day from each worker because nobody exercises control over them. I think that these Centres will develop in the future.”

*Makhalla Committee staff,
Namangan province.*

“I’ve heard about Temporary Employment Agencies. They register mardikors. We do need organisations of this kind. At present, mardikors work by themselves, there is no supervision, and nobody protects them. Establishing a TEA could be a good step. It is necessary to establish such centres in all the districts. Khokimiyats put pressure on makhalla committees to close mardikor bazaars, but mardikors obey nobody. Everybody thinks this problem is pressing.”

*RA Chairman,
Kashkadarya province.*

“Two meetings on mardikor bazaars were held in our district khokimiyat. Khokim insists on closing these markets. However, the centre for temporary workers was established in the city. We also need the centre of this kind but the khokim does not give his permission. How can we close a market? If we manage to break up these mardikors with the help of the police, employers will go to their houses because they need workers. At present, the problem of mardikors is very urgent. Khokimiyat is afraid of recognising this. If there is a centre, everybody will benefit from it. At present, nobody protects mardikors. But they should be instructed in safety rules. Nobody follows safety rules while transporting them. Are they slaves or animals? There are 20 people in one car “Ford”, although there are only 10 seats in it. We have to open our eyes and try to solve this problem, but we should not fight with mardikors. We will not be able to eliminate this phenomenon. Once during our raid one young woman said to me: “I have three children, I raise them alone, you do not give us allowance, so what shall I do? Are you able to find me a job? I do not work for my sake, I work for the sake of my children. Do you think I like this work?” And what could I answer? I explained to her that khokim was coming that day, and when he passed by, they could again go to the market. Am I entitled to forbid them to take on jobs? I think I am not. On the contrary, I must help them. You know that employers do not care about their safety.”

*Makhalla Committee staff,
Namangan province.*

Table 52. Temporary jobs found by respondents outside mardikor bazaar
(% of respondents seeking temporary employment outside mardikor bazaars)

	Total sample	men	women	Type of settlement in place of permanent residence	
				city	village
consumer services	21,8	3,2	36,5	36,2	18,9
cleaning and land improvement	10,2	7,9	11,9	8,5	10,5
construction	27,4	61,9	0	8,5	31,1
repair and installation	9,5	20,6	0,6	10,6	9,2
agricultural work	19,6	15,9	22,6	12,8	21,0
sorting and packaging of agricultural products	16,5	4,0	26,4	25,5	14,7
waiter, dish-washer	17,5	0	31,4	23,4	16,4
loading and unloading works	12,3	25,4	1,9	8,5	13
producing and selling food	12,6	8,7	15,7	14,9	12,2
children and elderly care	1,4	0	2,5	2,1	1,3
tutoring	2,8	3,2	2,5	2,1	2,9
translation	0,4	0	0,6	0	0,4
trade	3,9	0	6,9	6,4	3,4
work with documents	0,4	0	0,6	0	0,4
driver	1,1	2,4	0	2,1	0,8
sewing	2,1	0,8	3,1	2,1	2,1
sex services	2,1	0	3,8	8,5	0,8

Against this background, it is not a surprise that the majority of employers do not provide mardikors with necessary protection means (clothes, protective gloves, helmets, respirators, safety halyard, etc.), but mardikors, as a rule, do not have their own means, therefore they have to work without protection means, even without shoes, etc. As for medical services, the situation is similar:

if a mardikor is traumatized at the working place, less than 30% of employers agree to partially reimburse their expenses on primary medical aid, and almost nobody gives money for full rehabilitation.

In general, the attitude of local governments, primarily district khokimiyats, to mardikor bazaars can be characterised as negative. Attempts have been made to abolish mardikor bazaars using administrative methods but as a rule they fail. According to most leaders of makhalla committees, it is high time to cancel the practice of breaking up mardikor bazaars, legalize them, develop mechanisms to regulate their activities, and improve protection of mardikors. In their turn, rural women-mardikors and their brigadiers also complained about the leaders of makhalla committees during in-depth interviews because they force them to work free-of-charge, buy literature they do not need and violate their rights in many other ways.

Local self-governments tried to legalize mardikor bazaars in some districts in Namangan province, but they failed because district khokimiyats did not support them.

Temporary employment outside mardikor bazaars

Similar to employment in mardikor bazaars, temporary workers who find their jobs independently, by chance or through their friends, are vulnerable. For men and city dwellers that have more contacts and opportunities to find jobs, it is more common to independently find jobs outside mardikor bazaars than for women. However, in general the jobs taken on by such labour migrants do not significantly differ from jobs taken on by those hired through mardikor bazaars (Table 52). Little difference is made by those involved in domestic labour (sewing, baking, translation, etc.).

The labour migrants interviewed did this work on average 13 times for 7 months in 2007, i.e. around 2 times a month. Doing this job took approximately half of time (3.5 months on average), and waiting for this job took another half of time (or doing other work). In these cases average earnings were close to earnings of mardikors who were in search of a job in the market – around 10,000 soums a day. (in Namangan – 4,200 soums). Almost in 45% of cases the work was done independently (without a brigade), in 32% of cases the people interviewed worked with the same brigade, and their working conditions were almost similar to those of mardikors going to markets (Table 53).

Similar problems to those with recruitment through mardikor bazaars are faced by migrant workers who try to find jobs independently through acquaintances or former employers: over one third of respondents report offence and rudeness, employers do not pay money for the work done in 17% of cases, 8.2% of women face sexual harassment (Table 54).

Table 53. Working conditions of temporary workers
(% of respondents seeking temporary employment
outside mardikor bazaars)

	Total sample	men	women
outdoor work	56,8	62,7	52,2
unfavourable temperature regime (cold, hot)	64,6	64,3	64,8
elevated job	11,6	24,6	1,3
night work	18,6	24,6	13,8
work without breaks for rest and meals	17,5	16,7	18,2
carrying heavy things	31,9	50,0	17,6
dust, dirt	34,0	50,0	21,4
air pollution, reek, work with harmful substances	3,9	7,9	0,6
hot/red-hot equipment (furnace, ovens, irons, soldering irons, etc.)	6,0	6,3	5,7
open wiring	4,6	8,7	1,3
overtime work (over 8 hours)	37,5	32,5	41,5
normal conditions	2,5	2,4	2,5

Table 54. Risks/problems faced by temporary workers at their working places
(% of respondents seeking temporary employment outside mardikor bazaars)

	Total sample	men	women
no risks	56,5	59,5	54,1
rudeness, insults	30,5	22,2	37,1
sexual harassment	4,9	0,8	8,2
non-payment, stolen goods, etc.	17,5	17,5	17,6
racket, extortion	1,1	0	1,9
physical violence	1,4	0,8	1,9
not aware of their rights	8,1	7,9	8,2

“Makhalla committee demands that we should give them 500 soums every day. As if they allocate this money to help poor families. Are the poor supposed to sit at home, and we have to work to help them live well? Our work is hard. An employer will not have pity on you. Employers are different. Some time ago we went to another district for 4 days. It was very difficult, employers were like bloodsuckers: we worked without any breaks, and the meal was poor. He had only one word for us: work, work. If makhalla committee staff had worked this way at least one day for this employer, I would like to have a look at them. Well, we’ll give them 500 soums, but what the makhalla committee will do for us? I am not rich to help poor families. Rich people do not work as mardikors. If poor families need help, let them demand for help from the rich. We take on this work because we are in despair.”

*Mardikor woman,
Namangan province.*

Domestic problems of labor migrants

In addition to work-related problems, most labour migrants meet great difficulties caused by domestic disorder. The quality of life of the overwhelming majority of migrants is very poor. Almost 25% of women-respondents and 30% of men rent even not a room but a bed and share the room with three migrants on average, nearly 10% of migrants (mainly men-construction workers) sleep and eat at their working places (Table 55).

Table 55. Respondent’s dwelling place (% of respondents)

	Total	men	women
in my own house/apartment outside place of permanent residence registration	8,4	5,5	10,2
rent a separate house/an apartment and live alone/ with my family	19,8	19,8	19,8
rent a room and live alone / with my family	9,7	8,1	10,7
rent a bed (live with other people in a room)	26,9	30,3	25,8
live at my friends or relatives’ place	15,5	12,8	16,2
live at my working place (on the construction site, base, market, etc.)	9,5	17,5	4,5
in the dormitory, in the office apartment	5,0	5,2	4,8
go home, to my place of permanent residence, every day	5,2	0,8	7,9

“Last year one girl fell from a tree and broke her arm. An employer took her to hospital, bought necessary medicine. She had plaster on her arm. Then he took her back home and paid for a full day work. But he will not help her any more. In Yangyurgan district a black spider bit two girls, one in the foot, the other in the thigh. This spider is small but very poisonous. The bitten pieces were swollen, and they underwent surgery in the hospital. I helped one of the girls to take a car and she was strongly shivering, and it was very painful, I think, as her face changed colour. It was awful.”

*Mardikor woman,
Namangan province.*

The main problem for 47% of migrants is related to registration and residence registration. This problem is met by 80% of migrants in Tashkent, 16% in Kashkadarya province and 9% in Namangan province. Other serious problems are limited access to free medical services for migrants and their family members, including their children, and also the problems related to searching, renting and paying for housing (Table 56).

Table 56. Key problems of labour migrants that are not related to labour activity (% of respondents)

	The problem can't be solved	It is very difficult to solve the problem	It is not difficult to solve the problem	No problem
Searching for dwelling place	4,3	24,5	25,0	46,2
Rent payment	1,8	30,0	20,9	47,3
Poor housing conditions	5,7	23,6	21,9	48,8
Registration, temporary residence registration	28,3	19,1	11,5	41,1
Problems with authorities, police	3,9	20,1	26,2	49,8
Health services are too expensive	12,3	35,7	19,4	32,6
Getting free health services for children	14,2	11,3	7,9	66,6
Getting free health services for adults	27,2	18,0	14,1	40,7
It is difficult to enrol children in school, kindergarten	5,6	8,2	7,8	78,4
It is difficult to find jobs for family members	15,0	15,3	6,3	63,4
Local people are not friendly	2,2	6,3	21,7	69,8

On average, 22% of respondents in the sample had to pay for their treatment during a month prior to the survey. The average amount of these expenses was 23,000 soums, and it is comparable to expenses for meals (28,000 soums). In Namangan province, where migrants' earnings are very low, 11% of migrants had to pay for health services, and the average amount of these expenses made up 10,000 soums. There is no doubt that migrants have to save on medical treatment as they spend 83% of their earnings to cover necessary expenses (meal, housing payments, residence registration and support for families) (Table 57).

Table 57. Average weighted structure of labour migrants' monthly expenses (% of respondents' expenses)

Types of expenses	%
Support to relatives	39,9
Meals	27,9
Housing	12,2
Treatment, including medical services and medicine	3,4
Informal payments/bribes (excluding payments for registration/residence registration)	1,8
Payments for registration/temporary residence registration	1,1
All other expenses	13,8

It is necessary to note that 87.7% of labour migrants have never been registered, 79% of labour migrants have never applied for residence registration. Registration and residence registration (1 time) cost on average 7,500 and 10,400 soums respectively. It is not a surprise that the majority of respondents (60%) who work in Tashkent have to deal with law enforcement bodies 5 times a month on average (Table 58).

The results of in-depth interviews suggest that most problems related to registration of construction workers in Tashkent are solved by their brigadiers or construction managers who submit copies of their passports to local police stations, and thus the problem is solved. However, those migrants, who do not have at least relatively permanent jobs, have to solve the police-related problems independently (Table 59).

Table 58. Frequency of conflict situations with the police

	never	less than once a month	1-3 times a month	4-10 times a month	12-30 times a month	Total
Total sample (%)	51,0	15,8	20,2	10,5	2,5	100
On average	--	--	2	6	21	5
Survey areas						
Tashkent city(%)	39,1	20,0	24,6	12,9	3,4	100
On average	--	--	2	6	21	5
Kashkadarya province (%)	74,4	1,3	14,3	8,8	1,2	100
On average	--	--	2	5	18	4
Namangan province (%)	78,1	12,5	7,5	1,9	--	100
On average	--	--	2	4	--	3
Respondent's gender						
Men (%)	41,5	16,5	23,8	14,9	3,4	100
On average	--	--	2	6	21	5
Women (%)	56,9	15,4	18	7,8	1,9	100
On average	--	--	2	6	20	4

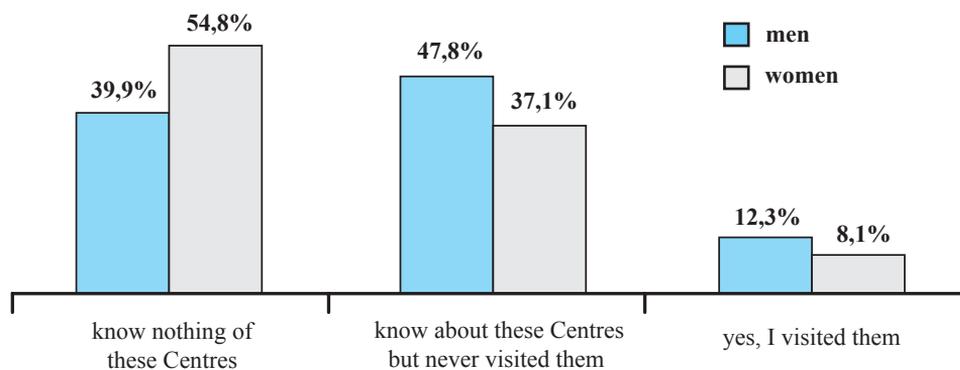
Fig. 6. Migrants' visits to Temporary Employment Agencies (% of respondents)

Table 59. Ways of resolving conflicts with the police
(% of respondents)

	Total sample	Men	Women	Survey areas		
				Tashkent	Kashkadarya	Namangan
they show documents, and everything is settled	51,0	47,8	53,8	46,1	85,4	68,6
they have to go to a police station and give explanations	17,1	13,8	19,9	18,4	12,2	8,6
informal payment	23,7	29	19,2	27,1	2,4	8,6
the problem is solved by brigadier /construction manager	6,9	8,5	5,6	7,0	0	14,3
they have to leave the city	1,2	0,9	1,5	1,5	0	0

The majority of labour migrants badly need the information on basic rights and responsibilities of employees and employers in socio-labour field and in the field of passport regime (Table 60).

Table 60. Respondents' need for information on rights and responsibilities of people who work outside places of their permanent residence
(% of respondents)

required information	men	women
on labour and social rights of workers and their family members	68,1	66,0
on employers' responsibilities	64,0	61,4
on registration and residence registration rules	69,7	61,1
on responsibilities of the Temporary Employment Agency	52	44,1

Unfortunately, only few organisations are able to provide such information. The majority of migrants, especially women (55%) know nothing about the Temporary Employment Agencies, and those who are aware of these organisations have never applied to them.

Table 61. Reasons why migrants do not visit TEAs
(% of respondents)

	Total sample	men	women
it is useless to go there, TEA can't help migrants	28,9	23,6	33,0
do not want to visit TEA due to lack of registration/temporary residence registration	11,2	10,4	11,7
no need to visit TEA as they find jobs independently	58,7	64,3	54,3
do not know where TEA is located	0,5	0,5	0,4
TEA offers jobs to men only	0,2	0	0,4
TEA offers only low-paid jobs	0,5	1,1	0

On the whole, 41.2% of labour migrants in the sample are aware of Temporary Employment Agencies, but they have never visited them. At the same time, the majority of them are sure that TEAs are only engaged in providing jobs (low-paid /inappropriate) and they know nothing about TEA functions performed to help migrants be registered, to disseminate legal information, and to protect the employees' rights (Table 61).

“Every day 400-500 people go to work here, and 200 people go to the illegal mardikor bazaar. However, the number of illegal mardikors is gradually decreasing; many of them come to us. Mardikors exchange information among themselves; our mardikors tell others how we defend them, about our support for them when their rights are violated. This is why they come to us but we do not force them to do this. Let them understand that it is better for them to work with us. We can also give mardikors certificates necessary to legalize documents to receive child allowances. If there is an unregistered unemployed member in a family, the makhalla committee never issues this certificate. Therefore, this year we introduced the mechanism for issuing certificates to mardikors as this is the year of social security. The majority of makhalla committees rely on our certificates. I give a certificate only to registered mardikors, as we also undergo inspection. Even the mardikors who have unofficial permanent jobs ask me to do this (and they have extra work in mardikor bazaars) because their employers do not give them such certificates.”

Head of TEA.

Table 62. Reasons why migrants visited TEAs and the results of their visits
(% of respondents)

	Reason for a visit	TEA helped to solve the problem
Job search	7,4	4,6
men	8,9	6,8
women	6,5	3,3
Registration/residence registration	5,1	1,8
men	6,3	2,9
women	46,0	25,9
Domestic problems (dwelling, etc.)	5,9	1,8
men	7,0	2,1
women	5,2	1,6

Some migrants are sure that TEAs have been established to collect taxes from mardikors so they do not like the idea of visiting these establishments. This belief is supported by their brigadiers, who are not interested in workers who can find jobs independently or through government organisations.

Only 9.7% of labour migrants visited Temporary Employment Agencies to settle various issues, and the assistance was quite effective in many cases – 62% of people were provided with jobs, 35% managed to get registration /residence registration, almost a third of migrants managed to improve their housing and solve other domestic problems thanks to assistance provided by TEAs (Table 62). According to the results of the survey, the most effective were TEAs in Namangan province.

“I think that for mardikor women the current recruitment system is better. Previously there was a proposal to legalize our work. The leaders of the Makhalla Committee invited me to come and said they would give me premises for an office – there had been a shop before. They said to me: “You will work officially and pay taxes.” I told my workers about this proposal, and they said they would not work if they were forced to pay taxes. My mardikors did not like the idea of the makhalla committee. “We work as donkeys and we must pay taxes, it is better not to work at all.” Then I made a conclusion that my women were not happy with this idea. Our work is very hard so it is not fair to insist on paying taxes. If employers pay taxes, we are not against it. If there is one Mardikor Centre in the district centre, I may submit reports on my workers there, but it is not possible to collect taxes right now.”

*Brigadier of a female brigade, mardikor bazaar,
Namangan province.*

Table 63. Who helps migrants to solve their problems
(% of respondents)

	Total sample	men	women	Survey areas		
				Tashkent	Kashka-darya	Naman-gan
nobody helps	43,9	38,6	47,2	39,7	55,6	50,0
relatives, friends, acquaintances	49,4	53,5	46,8	55,3	34,4	39,4
staff of labour bodies, TEAs	2,5	5,2	0,8	1,6	2,5	6,3
staff of khokimiyats	0,1	0,3	0	0,1	0	0
the police	0,1	0	0,2	0,1	0	0
makhalla committee	0,3	0,8	0	0,1	1,3	0
brigadier, recruiter	2,5	5,0	1,0	2,9	0,6	2,5
Employer	9,5	11,2	8,4	9,0	15,0	6,3
bazaar management	0,3	0	0,5	0	1,9	0

TEA managers say that migrants often complain about violation of their rights by employers and their refusal to pay for the work done. As a rule, TEAs manage to solve these problems in favour of a migrant. TEAs also organise emergency health services for migrants. As migrants without registration do not have full access to medical services, the assistance provided by TEAs is of critical importance.

As a rule, migrants may expect support from their relatives and acquaintances only. Unfortunately, government organisations seldom participate in solving migrants' problems (Table 63).

Nearly half of female migrants are not helped with solving their problems, TEAs, khokimiyats and makhalla committees do not pay adequate attention to solving migrants' problems (especially women's).

Gender characteristics of internal migration

Based on the survey results it is possible to identify key characteristics and peculiarities of internal female labour migration and characteristics of female migrants.

Demographic characteristics

Internal female migration is equally distributed in both urban and rural areas – the distribution of female migrants is proportionate to the distribution of urban and rural population.

The average age of female migrants is 34. There are representatives of all ages among female migrants, but the most numerous group includes women aged 36-45 that makes up 39% of all female migrants interviewed.

There is a disproportionately large share of single women among female migrants – 45% (22% of them have never been married, 16% of them have divorced, 7% of them are widows). The average size of female migrants' families is less than men's (5.2 and 5.8 people respectively), although male and female migrants have the same number of under age children (2.1 and 2.2 children). Only 16% of female migrants do not have under age children and 11.5% do not have dependents. On average female migrants have 2.8 people as their dependents.

Female migrants are characterized by quite high education rates as compared to similar national rates; this might reflect higher economic activity and more ambitions of persons with relatively high educational attainment.

Only 30% of female migrants do not practice any profession. These women mainly practice the following professions – seamstresses, teachers, medical professions, and office managers. It is quite obvious that these professions are usual in “female” labour markets that are fiercely competitive. This conclusion is correct because despite good educational indicators, 32% of female migrants interviewed have never worked officially, and another 32% of them have not officially worked for over 2 years. Only 5.5% of them have visited labour bodies seeking employment.

2.4% of female migrants have official permanent jobs in places of their permanent residence. Over a half of them (53%) work in shirkats or farms that do not belong to their families, the rest of them work for public institutions.

Migratory activity

Less than a half of female respondents have independently made a decision to go to earn money. A family plays the most important role in making this decision. The key reason for a woman to go to earn money is that it is impossible to find employment in a place of permanent residence. In this regard, women without vocational education are not able to find any kind of employment, but as for women with secondary vocational education or higher education, in most cases they are not interested in available jobs because they are low-paid or not relevant to their professions. However, among women with any educational level, especially in rural areas, and particularly among teachers and medical personnel, extremely large is the share of women who cannot find any jobs.

The migration experience of 72% of the women interviewed is over 2 years. On average the female respondents were not at home over 11 months within the last 1.5 years. 68% of female migrants were not at home over 6 months, and 21% of them did not come back at all during that period of time. Migrants seem to meet difficulties during the adaptation period in the place they go to. In most cases women prefer going to the same place (city, district centre, etc), even if the duration of their migratory activity is quite long – only 2.4% of the women interviewed intend to go to another province of Uzbekistan or another country to earn money in the near future.

Only 8% of women intend to go home in the coming 6 months. Nearly a half of female migrants (46%) would like to come back provided that they are able to find jobs in their places of residence. The intention to go back is declared by young rural women with low educational level and short migration experience. Probably, the intention to go home is caused by significant difficulties and problems these women meet during the adaptation process.

30% of the women interviewed do not want to go back home under any conditions (over 40% of urban women). There are a lot of these women among female migrants with higher education (55%), secondary vocational education (33%) and among uneducated women (36%).

Female migrants' usual activities

The usual activities of female migrants interviewed are the following:

- trade (including the shuttle one) - 39%
- agricultural work, sorting and packaging of agricultural products – 39%
- providing cleaning and washing services, etc. – 35%
- working as waiters and dish-washers – 18%.

However, this distribution is determined first of all by peculiarities of the sample that reflects the peculiar features of the informal labour market in the capital. There is much more demand for cleaning services in Tashkent, and there are much more people engaged in shuttle trade than in the other surveyed provinces. Working in the agricultural sector and sorting agricultural products are more common for Tashkent and Namangan province, but this is not common for Kashkadarya province. In Kashkadarya province, there is little demand for female migrants' services in catering, but more women are engaged in trading as compared to Tashkent. There are reasons to assume that in general most female migrants in Uzbekistan are engaged in agriculture, and trade might rank second.

Nearly all categories of female migrants are engaged in trading irrespective of places of their permanent residence (city or village), age, education, etc. However, rural women with low educational level are mostly engaged in hawker trade, whereas urban women over 30 with relatively high educational level are mostly engaged in shuttle trade and selling goods in shops. Women with vocational education, especially higher, often practice their professions (providing educational and medical services), and also find jobs in offices.

Rural women under 45 without education or with basic education are mostly engaged in agriculture (harvesting, weeding, hilling, topping, etc.) and sorting of agricultural products. Cleaners, laundresses and dish-washers are mainly recruited from this category of female migrants.

The educational level is a key factor that determines the type of employment and activities of female migrants. Those with higher education have more opportunities to find official permanent employment, especially in education and culture sector. This group of female migrants is often hired by public institutions to work as office workers or support staff. Health professionals may find jobs according to their professions but it is infrequent in Tashkent. Female migrants with higher education are rarely engaged in unskilled labour.

Female migrants with secondary vocational education rarely practice their professions (except for nurses), but many of them have permanent jobs (both official and without making labour contracts). In general, this category of women do unskilled jobs in the service sector or in offices (cleaners, laundresses, dish-washers, waiters), but there are also many of them among agricultural workers and sorters of agricultural products. Women with secondary vocational education form the most numerous group of self-employed shuttle traders.

Secondary education does not allow female migrants to find official employment, but very many of them are permanently employed in trade sector (including their own businesses that are not registered in most cases). Unskilled jobs including agricultural work are also common among them.

Basic 9-year secondary education and lack of education certificate do not actually offer opportunities to find permanent employment even in non-registered segment. In most cases women with basic school education may expect to find only low-paid temporary or odd jobs, including agricultural work.

Remuneration of female migrants' labour

Remuneration of female respondents' labour is on average by 25% less than men's, no matter what sector the migrants work in. The highest money per day is earned by women who are engaged in temporary non-agricultural work – 9,320 soums (men are paid by 19% more – 11,100 soums). The lowest daily money is earned by women engaged in official permanent work – 5,380 soums (men

are paid by 22% more – 6,560 soums). The daily earnings of women who work on the unofficial permanent basis make up 5,940 soums (men are paid by 15% more – 6,850 soums). Female migrants searching for jobs in mardikor bazaars earn on average 5,780 soums per day (men by 37% more – 7,900 soums). The difference between labour remuneration for men and women is attributed not only to a qualification gap (as it is in the registered sector), but also to common mentality patterns related to assessing what kind of labour is hard. For instance, construction and loading and unloading works the men are mostly engaged in are considered to be harder than cleaning, washing, etc. the women are engaged in.

It is a paradox, but labour remuneration for female migrants actually does not depend on the level of skills, occupational hazard and whether the work is hard – the differences in women’s daily earnings are explained by the fact that different categories of female workers have different working hours. Perhaps, the only exception is agricultural work because it is a lower paid job than jobs in any other sectors.

The female migrants interviewed earned on average 130,000 soums in the month prior to the survey. Taking into consideration that women transfer no less than a half of their money home, and they also spend 15-20% to pay for housing, it is not possible to say that the level of their personal consumption is high.

Labour conditions and risks at working places

Almost all female migrants face unfavourable working conditions, including those having official permanent employment. The key negative factors are as follows:

- unfavourable temperature regime due to outdoor work or specific production facilities
- overtime and night work, lack of breaks for rest and lunch
- carrying heavy things
- dust, dirt, lack of elementary sanitation

The most hazardous is the work of temporary female workers, especially of those who search for jobs in mardikor bazaars. They more often face non-payment, sexual harassment, rudeness, insults and physical violence than other female migrants. Employers refused to pay money for the work done to nearly two thirds of women-mardikors. It is necessary to mention that rudeness and offences are usual characteristics of labour activities carried out by the overwhelming majority of female respondents.

In most cases employers do not want to spend money if their migrant workers are sick or traumatized. Even those women who work officially in the public sector are offered sick leave by their employers only in 55% of cases. It is interesting to note that almost all employers in the private sector offer partial sick leave to their female workers, though they hire female migrants without

making a labour contract. Only 25% of temporary workers are offered this kind of compensation by their employers.

There is no labour protection of migrants in the majority of cases. 46% of women who have official permanent jobs, 32% of women who have unregistered permanent jobs, and 70.5% of temporary workers need protection means. About one third of female migrants who need protection means at work buy them themselves. However, 8.5% of registered permanent workers, 14.4% of unregistered permanent workers and 37% of temporary workers have to work without protection means.

Living conditions, domestic and administrative problems

Domestic conditions of female migrants are as unfavourable as their working conditions. Many female migrants, especially in Tashkent, live together with their children or with their children and husbands. A separate apartment or a house are expensive so 36% of women rent a room or a bed, 4.5% of them sleep at their working place. On average there are 4 people in a room where migrant women stay overnight. At the same time, the rented dwelling often does not have elementary sanitation facilities. Migrants who search for jobs in the city face the problems related to high prices for housing, and migrants in rural areas face the problems related to renting an apartment because it is very difficult to rent a dwelling in rural areas.

Another important problem is related to availability of basic free-of-charge medical services for migrants, including their children. Taking into account the migrants' low wages and heavy spending (meals, dwelling, financial support for families), the fee-based medical services are not available for many of them. Lack of residence registration and registration is the reason for refusal to provide free-of-charge medical services. Moreover, children who live together with their migrant parents outside places of their permanent residence, as a rule, are not immunized. It is necessary to note that almost always only women are fully responsible for solving the problems related to health service provision to their children.

As for medical services for migrant women, it is very difficult for those who are engaged in agricultural activities to be provided with medical services in rural areas as there are sometimes no health facilities and drugstores.

The problem of special importance for migrants is registration and residence registration in some cities, especially in Tashkent. As residence registration is granted by permission and it is associated with heavy expenses and much time, the overwhelming majority of migrants (not only in Tashkent) live and work illegally. Law enforcement bodies always apply sanctions against migrants as they infringe passport regime. At any time they can be kept in administrative detention and deported to places of their permanent residence. They are often deported so quickly that they cannot pack their things and take their money, kept at temporary apartments, with them. On average the women interviewed have to talk to the

police once a week at places of their temporary residence, at working places and during their trips. 27% of women noted that authorities apply administrative and even court sanctions against them.

Social effects of female migration

Many migrant women suffer from psychological discomfort because of their low social status together with inadequate labour and living conditions. Migrant women are treated ambiguously by their social surrounding and this depends on the type and success of their activities. The most prestigious activity is trade (especially, if it generates high profit) and practicing the profession acquired. The least prestigious are low-paid and unattractive jobs – temporary employment in agriculture and sorting of agricultural products. Men are never engaged in such activities. Over half of migrant women of this category experience negative and scornful attitude towards them and their jobs. Poor attitude by people around form low self-assessment of migrant women: every third of them is ashamed of her job.

Despite very bad labour and living conditions, 90% of migrant women interviewed positively assess the results of their activities. The majority of migrant women have managed to improve their families' financial situation, they could buy necessary property, etc. At the same time, half of migrant women engaged in temporary agricultural employment think that the money they earn only help to make both ends meet. 38% of the women interviewed have faced negative effects of their departure, mainly in family life (lack of time to raise children, deterioration of family relations and even divorces). 13% of women have mentioned the negative effects their work produced on their health.

Policy implications and recommendations

Based on the survey results, it is safe to say that there is plentiful supply and demand for labour migrants' work in specific areas of employment. The major part of labour relations, in which migrants participate, is maintained outside the formal sector. Nationally, some 500,000 of internal labour migrants (about 3% of able-bodied population) regularly carry out various activities and make a notable contribution to families' income generation and regional development.

Internal labour migrants are engaged in all labour market segments in both formal and informal sectors. Their employment status may differ – they may be hired workers, self-employed, and entrepreneurs. In terms of sectoral distribution, migrants' labour is most often used in service, trade and construction sectors. A few migrants are engaged in education, healthcare, and governance bodies. Employment in the formal sector makes the least use of migrants' labour. There is both registered and unregistered employment in the formal sector. An employer

often hires migrants without making a labour contract with them, and they are paid from employers' unregistered incomes. Most migrants are self-employed or temporary casual workers in the informal sector. These workers are not actually protected against employers' arbitrary behaviour. As these workers do not pay any taxes, they do not attempt to protect their rights because they are afraid of being fined by taxation bodies, and especially by law enforcement bodies. This is especially true for the capital of the country with its stringent passport regime.

Expansion of internal migration in Uzbekistan has played a positive role in transition. Migrants' employment has played the role of a buffer which mitigates the impact of decreased income and other acute social problems related to rural and remote areas development. At present, labour migration makes it possible to maintain acceptable employment and income indicators of the relatively large portion of the population, and the damage incurred to the government budget due to a reduced taxable base is compensated by saving money allocated to social security.

It is also obvious that migration growth is accompanied by the growth of problems in the socio-labour sphere. The key negative trends are the following:

- intensive outflow of labour force (skilled and unskilled) from provinces; the majority of these people (over 50%) try not to come back to their home town /village, despite the employment conditions that could be established over there in the future;
- labour migration is getting more long-term. Contrary to the wide-spread perception that labour migrants are the people who want by making one or two trips to solve all their current domestic problems, save money for a marriage, construction, etc., 40% of migrants have not lived in places of their permanent residence registration for 6 years and over;
- unskilled, low qualified and underproductive activities with big share of heavy and hand labour prevail in the area of labour migration. The share of unskilled labour force among migrants gets larger every year. Quite a few migrants with higher education (40%) have actually lost their qualification and social status because they can find jobs only in construction, trade and service sectors. The main inflow of unskilled labour force is formed from 1) young people who finished schools and have not gained any work experience; 2) the long-term unemployed who have lost almost all their work skills and are not competitive with the others in the formal labour market; 3) low qualified workers in the agricultural sector; 4) other categories of the population that face problems related to finding employment (women, especially after maternity leave, people who have never been employed before and who are in search of their first jobs, etc.). Low qualification and lack of vocational education of many internal labour migrants not only are the causes of their low incomes, but also maintain them at the low level.

- stagnation of labour productivity growth in the informal sector and migrants' inflow to local labour markets provide fierce competition, especially in agricultural production, trade and construction. The hidden unemployment grows very fast, the problems related to competition and sale are getting more acute, incomes and profits are decreasing in the informal sector. Lack of government measures to protect migrants and give an impetus to labour mobility significantly hinders from optimum intersectional and interregional redistribution of labour force.
- labour migrants are especially vulnerable in territorial labour markets because they have to 1) pay additional costs for arranging their life in another city 2) offer their services at lower prices in comparison with those set at local labour markets, 3) address restrictions on launching their own businesses which may be registered only in places of their residence registration and 4) bear extra financial and moral costs due to the lack of temporary residence registration/ registration and be under the pressure of both law enforcement bodies and local self-governments.
- internal labour migrants, except for a small part of those who are employed under official contracts, do not have access to the government social security system. They are not covered by social security system in the areas of labour protection, labour rights protection, medical and social services, etc. Low and unregistered incomes of most labour migrants will lead to low social pensions in the near future.
- except for the official permanent employment sector (which is the most attractive and safe for labour migrants in terms of wages, labour conditions, and social benefits, etc.), labour migrants are engaged in vulnerable jobs, mostly temporary. Legislative provisions for labour relations are almost irrelevant to these jobs. The majority of labour migrants work outdoors under unfavourable temperature regime, without breaks, with non-observance of labour protection rules, etc.
- internal labour migration, especially related to mardikor practice, in many cases has a negative impact on family relations. If men leave families to search for earnings, women and children are fully responsible for meeting family needs. Women less often go to earn money for a long time as compared to men but even their short absence from home causes breaking off family and kinship relations, and results in an irresponsible attitude to their family duties. On the other hand, low and irregular incomes of internal migrants cause apathy and provoke conflicts in families, asocial behaviour thus producing a destructive effect on the institution of family.
- lack of protected employment guarantees and incomes and lack of legal support for labour migrants reduce social capital and result in the negative social image

of labour migrants. Unfortunately, significant contributing factors were lack of attention by central and local authorities to labour migration problem and their attempts to solve it through administrative and enforcement measures. To date, a vicious circle is characteristic of labour migration in Uzbekistan as individuals have to leave places of their permanent residence to search for jobs, and the government that is not able to offer them jobs at home makes all possible efforts to send them back home instead of helping them to find employment in a new labour market and legalize their incomes.

Thus, labour migration in its present form inevitably reproduces a lot of unskilled labour force, and is not able to facilitate sustainable improvement of living standards and self-esteem of migrants and their family members. Therefore, the government has to play the role of a guarantor of labour and civil rights of labour migrants, and also to start solving problems caused by growing labour migration in a comprehensive way.

In this regard, the government policy should focus on the following:

1. **The system of migration flows registration.** It is necessary to develop and implement the effective system of regular government and independent monitoring of internal migration based on multiple data sources, including at least employers' reporting, conducting sample surveys of enterprises, labour force and households. Statistical data that are collected during these surveys should be subject to compulsory disaggregation by gender.

2. **Regional policy.**

a. *At the level of regions where working force outflows from,* it is necessary to develop employment program regarding local peculiarities and accelerated job creation. On the other hand, it is necessary to give legal and administrative support to organization of agencies that will legally help people to find protected employment outside their provinces.

b. *At the level of regions where working force inflows to,* it is necessary to develop the network of Temporary Employment Agencies, and to give them wider powers and opportunities to meet employers' demands on self-supporting basis, and also to provide fee-based services to migrants (for instance, to offer dormitories or information on apartments to rent, communal services, etc.).

c. Additional specific measures aimed to support female migrants should include establishing special TEAs for women. Staff of labour bodies at all levels thinks that this is a good idea. The results of the survey have shown that as a rule female mardikor bazaars are not located next to men's. Therefore, the women's access to TEA services is significantly limited. Thus, TEAs for women should be located according to the information about unregulated female mardikor bazaars. The female TEAs should be fully adapted to working with women while performing their functions (more female staff in TEAs, sanitation rooms, a room of mother and baby, etc.)

d. Local authorities should reconsider the policy for mardikor bazaars. It is necessary to cancel a policy aimed to abolishing mardikor bazaars. On the contrary, it is necessary to develop infrastructure, establish new TEA offices and expand staff to ensure law enforcement on sites where mardikors gather (or next to them).

3. **Taxation policy.** The introduction of the tax preference system for employees and employers who hire people through the TEA network and want to legalize labour relations could become a critical factor in increasing the safety of migrant workers and protecting employers' interests.

4. **Social policy and protection of labour migrants' rights.** This area of activity needs special attention of the government.

a. The system of residence registration and its links with provision of basic social security services in the areas of employment, health and education significantly infringe the rights and considerably impact on the incomes and structure of expenditures of the migrants and their families, including their children. Although the problems related to registration only involve the people who are in search of jobs in Tashkent, this is the acute and major problem because a great many people (300,000-400,000 at the least estimate) face this problem. Thus, the initial step should be to simplify registration procedures for people who are in search of a job in Tashkent, and residence registration procedures for the people who are actually employed, at least in the formal public sector.

b. It is necessary to continue developing legal framework of labour migration (not only internal) that meets today's requirements and is relevant to the scales of internal and external migration flows. Developing relevant legislation, establishing special state migration agency and stimulating development of private service providers' network (recruitment, advocacy, etc.) that regulate migrants' employment, redistributing migration flows, and providing information and legal protection to migrants would significantly improve the current situation

c. The majority of labour migrants desperately need to be informed about elementary rights and responsibilities of employees and employers in the socio-labour sphere and passport regime requirements. Extensive information campaigns on these issues could significantly reduce the risks for people who search for jobs outside places of their permanent residence.

5. **Forming a positive public opinion** about people involved in labour migration should become an important part of the government and mass media activities. Many problems that labour migrants face now are due to the fact that on the one hand the government does not recognise their contribution to the development of regional and national economy, and the negative attitude of family members and the nearest social surrounding to people with high labour mobility on the other. Local self-governments must play an important role to break stereotypes related to women-mardikors, primarily the specialists in working with women (maslakhatchi).

6. **Specific measures to support vulnerable groups of labour migrants** should first of all target women and migrants who are hired in mardikor bazaars for doing temporary and odd jobs. These groups are the most vulnerable, more often subject to discrimination in terms of labour remuneration, have the worst working and living conditions, and exposed to health risks and risk to be involved in human trafficking, sex services, etc. It is necessary for both government organisations (first of all, the TEA network and the Women’s Committee of the Republic of Uzbekistan) and international donors and NGOs involved in protection of women’s rights, social and rehabilitation activities to focus on this category of migrants.

III. EXTERNAL LABOUR MIGRATION

MIGRATION OF UZBEK CITIZENS: OPINIONS, ATTITUDES, VECTORS AND SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS

The migration is one of the main features of socio-economic and political development of Central Asia and of Uzbekistan, in particular. This process can be divided into several stages. Since the beginning of 1990s, the Uzbek citizens mainly moved to other countries for permanent residence. This process had reached its peak by the mid 1990s. The second stage began thereafter, and the number of immigrants became to scale down and got stabilized by early 2000. Currently, one can observe the third stage, expressed in stabilization and absence of sharp fluctuations of both increase and decrease in the overall number of out-migrants.¹

In parallel with changing scales of migration, its qualitative features are changing as well.

First, the migration behaviour initially was more directed towards departure for permanent residence in other states. Currently, the migrants mainly go to work abroad (temporary labour migration).

Second, in the beginning and mid of 1990s, the ethnic nationalities were mostly out-migrating, such as Russians, Ukrainians, Jews, Byelorussians, Armenians, Tatars and others. However, during the last five-six years, the major part of out-migrants is Uzbeks.

Third, the rural population is prevailing in the general composition of out-migrants; particularly they leave the country for labour migration. Finally, individual immigration of women is a new qualitative feature of migration.

To study and prognosticate the process of external labour migration, several social migration-specific surveys were conducted by the Public Opinion Research Centre “Ijtimoiy Fikr” from 2001 to 2006. This Chapter provides a general overview of the data related to the latest survey of 2006.

Survey goals

- identify general trends of out-migration and labour migration from Uzbekistan, along with the key features and peculiarities of migration behaviour of Uzbek citizens;

¹ Other estimates indicate significant growth of labour migration, particularly since the beginning of 2000. See Introduction. – *Editorial comment.*

- develop recommendations and proposals for strengthening performance of concerned government authorities being responsible for regulating the processes of labour migration from Uzbekistan.

Survey objectives

- reveal public attitudes with respect to migration, including labour migration;
- identify the key motivations for leaving the country both for permanent residence and for income generation;
- determine priority ultimate goals and major routes of permanent residence and labour migration;
- identify social expectations of potential migrants concerning their future jobs and social status in the country of destination;
- study the level of their legal awareness.

The survey was conducted in 2006 in 12 provinces of the Republic of Uzbekistan, the Republic of Karakalpakstan and Tashkent city through applying the method of contact interviews based on the standard questionnaire. In total, 1,514 people were interviewed, including: in Andijan province – 137 (9.0%), in Bukhara province – 88 (5.8%), in Jizzak province – 61 (4.0%), in Kashkadarya province – 135 (8.9%), in Navoi province – 48 (3.2%), in Namangan province – 121 (8.0%), in Samarkand province – 167 (11.0%), in Surkhandarya province – 110 (7.3%), in Syrdarya province – 40 (2.6%), in Tashkent province – 144 (9.5%), in Ferghana province – 165 (10.9%), in Khorezm province – 81 (5.4%), in the Republic of Karakalpakstan – 92 (6.1%) and in Tashkent city – 125 (8.3%).

The gender composition was: men – 47.2%, women – 52.8%; city-dwellers – 36.4%, rural people – 63.6%.

The age of informants: 18–19 year old – 6.0%, 20–29 year old – 23.7%, 30–39 year old – 25.5%, 40–49 year old – 24.9%, 50–59 year old – 12.4%, 60–69 year old – 5.0%, over 70 – 2.5%.

The ethnicity of respondents: Uzbeks – 87.2%; representatives of the Central Asian nations (Kyrgyzs, Kazakhs, Tajiks, Turkmens and others) – 9.1%; Slavs (Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians) – 2.7%; other ethnic groups (Tartars, Koreans and others) – 1.1%.

The education status of informants: higher education – 16.7%, incomplete higher education – 5.1%, secondary technical education – 13.3%, secondary specialised education – 16.9%, secondary education – 42.4%, incomplete secondary education – 5.1%, basic education – 0.6%.

The estimates of sampled population was made using the method of proportional classification of the country's entire population through applying probabilistic sampling by territorial profile (a multi-step selection structure: province – district – village administration – makhalla).

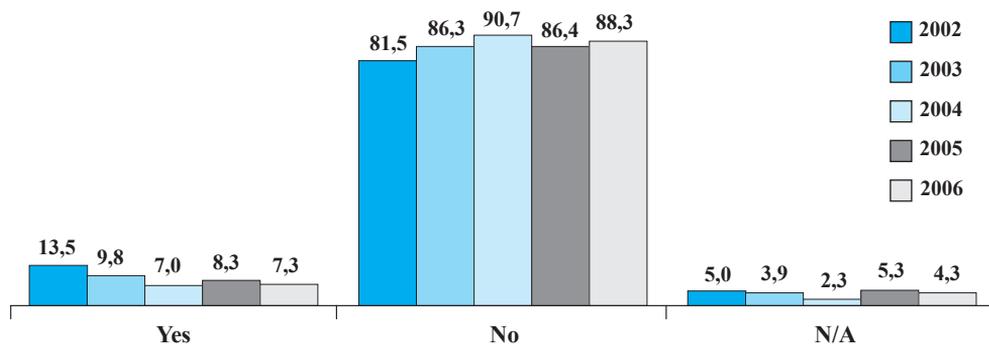
Out-migration for permanent residence from Uzbekistan

The interviews demonstrate stability of indicators that measure the citizen's attitudes with regards to going to other countries for permanent residence. The absolute majority of the informants (88.3%) in 2006 did not express their wish to change the country of residence.

Table 64. Do you want to go to another country for permanent residence?
(% of respondents)

Province	Yes		No		N/A	
	2005	2006	2005	2006	2005	2006
Andijan	14,6	4,4	70,1	81,5	15,3	14,1
Bukhara	11,4	2,3	87,5	97,7	1,1	0,0
Jizzak	9,8	15,0	80,3	85,0	9,8	0,0
Kashkadarya	3,0	4,4	95,6	94,9	1,5	0,7
Navoi	14,6	10,6	85,4	89,4	0	0,0
Namangan	2,5	0,8	97,5	99,2	0	0,0
Samarkand	3,0	9,1	89,8	89,7	7,2	1,2
Surkhandarya	8,2	1,8	91,8	95,5	0	2,7
Syrdarya	5,0	23,1	90,0	66,7	5,0	10,2
Tashkent	20,8	16,3	73,6	74,5	5,6	9,2
Ferghana	3,0	2,4	92,7	96,3	4,2	1,2
Khorezm	2,5	1,2	92,6	86,7	5,0	12,0
Republic of Karakalpakstan	1,1	8,9	93,5	85,6	5,4	5,6
Tashkent city	16,8	15,4	72,8	79,7	10,4	4,9

Fig. 7. Do you want to go to another country for permanent residence?
(% of respondents)



By territorial profile, as of 2006, it was identified that substantially more people wanted to go to another country for permanent residence from Jizzak, Samarkand, Syrdarya provinces and the Republic of Karakalpakstan. As for Andijan, Bukhara, Namangan and Surkhandarya provinces, the number of people who wanted to leave Uzbekistan was declining during the same period.

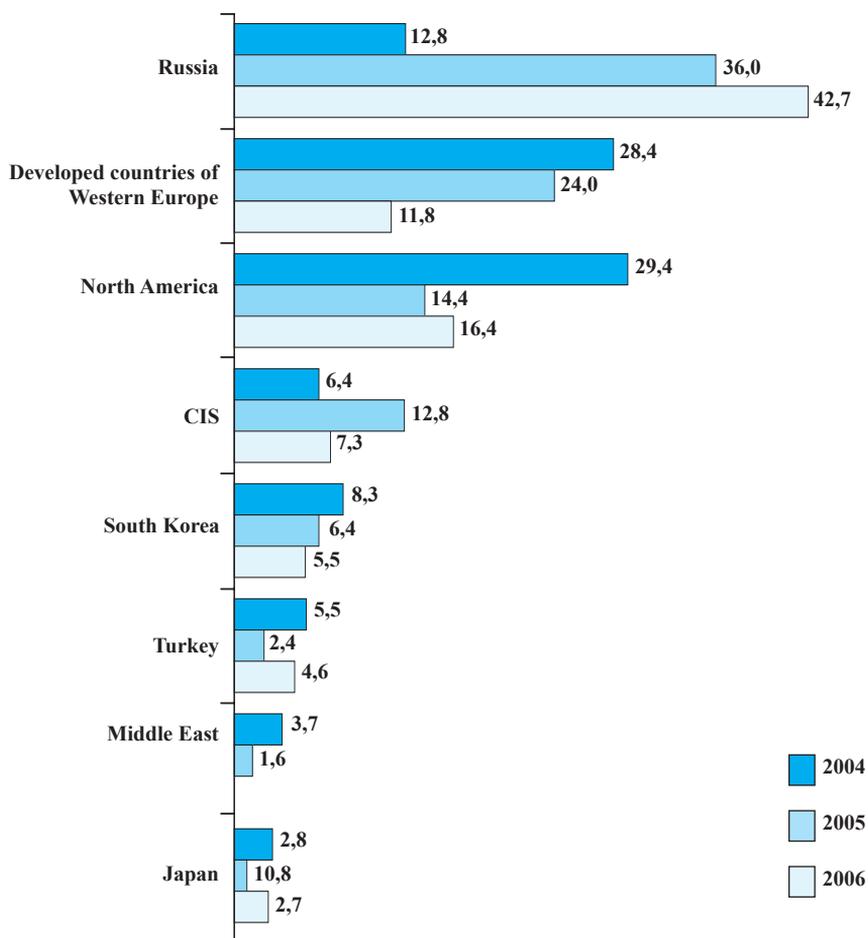
Table 65. Do you want to leave the Republic of Uzbekistan and to go to another country for permanent residence? (% of respondents)

Age	Yes		No		N/A	
	2005	2006	2005	2006	2005	2006
18-19 years	8,9	11,1	87,3	82,2	3,8	6,6
20-29 years	10,5	12,4	84,8	82,5	4,8	5,1
30-39 years	10,7	4,4	82,2	92,4	7,1	3,1
40-49 years	7,7	7,2	87,4	88,8	4,9	4,0
50-59 years	3,5	3,8	93,6	93,5	2,9	2,7
60-69 years	0	2,7	90,4	90,7	9,6	6,6
70 and over	0	7,9	96,9	81,6	3,1	10,5

City-dwellers more often expressed their wish to leave Uzbekistan for permanent residence than rural people (11.2% and 4.7%, respectively). Also, more men than women among the interviewed wanted to go to another country for permanent residence (10.6% and 6.3%, respectively).

In 2006, there were some changes in the age profile of those who wanted to go to another country for permanent residence. In 2005, more citizens of middle and old age wanted to go to other countries for permanent residence, however, in 2006 more young people voiced similar opinion. The key reason behind it is that

Fig. 8. What country would you like to go to for permanent residence?
 (% of people who want to go to another country for permanent residence)



people of older age leave Uzbekistan for reunion with their children who live in other countries and have already solved their problems with accommodation

The survey identified a relatively high level of migration intentions among ethnic Slavs: Russians, Ukrainians and Byelorussians. Almost every third individual out of the total number of this group representatives expressed his/her wish to leave Uzbekistan for permanent residence - 32.5%. However, less Uzbeks expressed their wish to leave the country (6.0%). This indicator does not exceed 37.5% among representatives of other ethnic groups.

During 2006, people considerably changed their attitudes with regards to countries they preferred to go to for permanent residence. Thus, the number of informants who considered Russia as a possible country of residence considerably grew (from 36.0% in 2005 to 42.7% in 2006). Accordingly, the number of citizens

who wanted to go to other CIS countries for permanent residence considerably decreased (12.8% in 2005 and 7.3% in 2006). The number of citizens who wanted to go to Western Europe for permanent residence continued to decrease, but the number of those who wanted to go to the USA and Canada slightly increased.

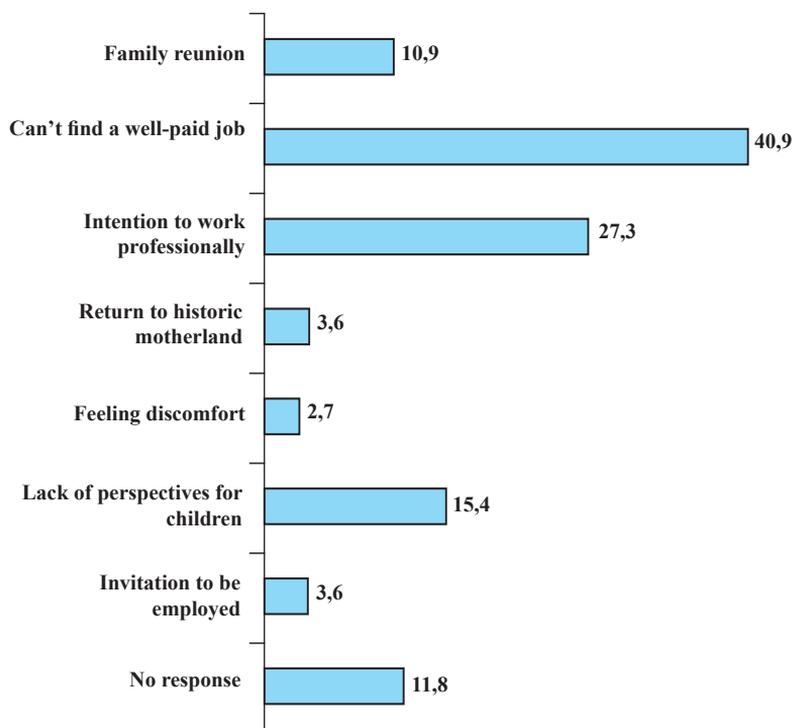
The majority of informants who want to permanently live in Russia are city-dwellers – 52.3%. More city-dwellers are willing to go to the countries of Western Europe for permanent residence rather than the rural ones. Russia is a priority country for rural people in terms of leaving for permanent residence. The next priority countries are the USA, Korea, and the CIS countries – Kazakhstan, in particular.

Table 66. What country would you like to go to for permanent residence?
(% of people who want to go to another country
for permanent residence)

	Western European countries	USA	Russia	CIS	Turkey	Japan	India	South Korea	N/A
Type of settlement									
City	12,3	15,4	52,3	4,6	4,6	1,5	1,5	0,0	7,7
Village	11,1	17,8	28,9	11,1	4,4	4,4	0,0	13,3	8,9
Gender									
Men	8,1	17,7	48,4	9,7	1,6	3,2	0,0	6,5	4,8
Women	16,7	14,6	35,4	4,2	8,3	2,1	2,1	4,2	12,5
Ethnic origin									
Uzbeks	13,9	20,3	38,0	1,3	6,3	2,5	1,3	6,3	10,1
Other CA nations	0,0	8,3	25,0	50,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	8,3	8,3
Slavs	15,4	7,7	69,2	0,0	0,0	7,7	0,0	0,0	0,0
Others	0,0	0,0	83,3	16,7	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0

Some differences can be identified by gender profile. As for men, 48.4% out of the interviewed male population would like to go to Russia for permanent residence and 35.4% of females. The interviewed women mentioned the countries of Western Europe and Turkey twice as often as men. Also, many more women did not simply want to answer the question about their preferences for a permanent residence country.

Fig. 9. What is the reason behind your wish to go to another country for permanent residence?



The analysis of the data by ethnic profile demonstrates the following differences:

- the representatives of the Slav ethnic groups mainly mentioned four countries where they wanted to go for permanent residence: Russia – 69.2%; the countries of Western Europe – 15.4%; the USA and Japan – by 7.7%;
- the largest number of Central Asian nations want to go to the CIS countries for permanent residence – 50.0%; to the Russian Federation – 25.0%; to the USA – 8.3%; and to the Republic of Korea – also 8.3%;
- the Uzbek informants answered differently: 38.9% of them want to go to Russia for permanent residence; 20.3% – to the USA; 13.9% – to the countries of Western Europe; to South Korea and Turkey – by 6.3%, respectively.

The key reason for the majority of citizens for changing the country of residence (40.9%) is impossibility to find a relatively well-paid job in Uzbekistan. 27.3% of respondents suppose that they could apply all their professional skills only if they go to another country; 15.4% say that they wish to create more favourable opportunities for their children. Only every tenth informant is motivated to go to another country for permanent residence to reunion with his/her family.

The similar distribution of the answers is observed by all examined profiles except for age and ethnicity. The interviews revealed that the reason “well-paid job that can ensure good living standards” is mentioned by the citizens belonging to all age groups but more frequently by young people aged 20-29 (76.2%). The citizens at the age of 30-39 would like to go to another country for permanent residence mainly for family reunion – 9.6%, and at the age of 40-49 – 17.9%. The citizens aged 50-59 more often mentioned that they wished to go to another country to return to their country of origin (16.7%).

Table 67. What is the reason behind your wish to go to another country for permanent residence?

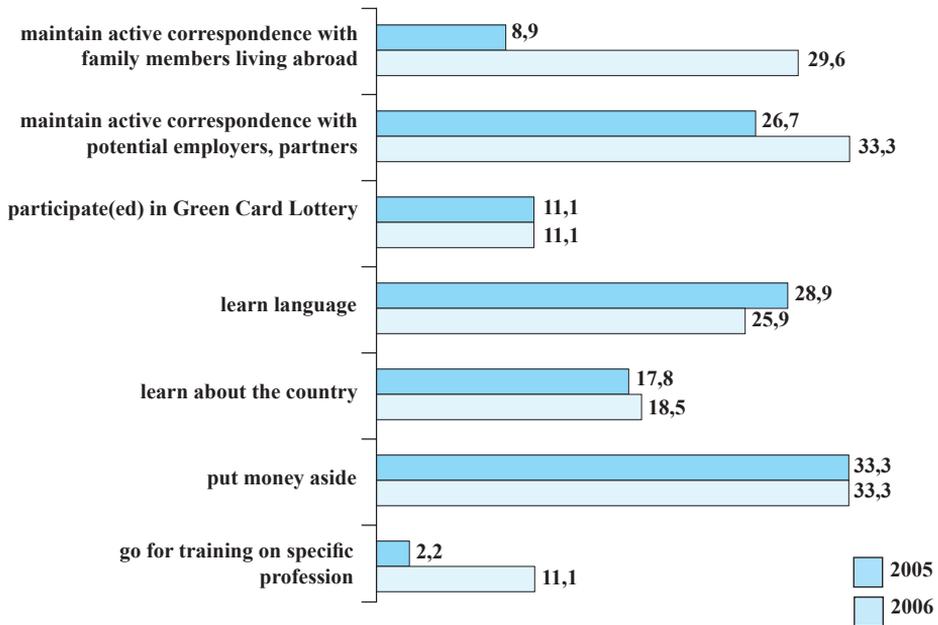
	Family reunion	Cannot find a well-paid job	Intention to work professionally	Coming back to ethnic motherland	Do not see the opportunities for my professional growth	Feeling discomfort	Lack of prospects for children	Invitation to be employed	N/A
Province									
Andijan	0,0	50,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	33,3	16,7	0,0
Bukhara	0,0	100,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
Jizzak	10,0	20,0	10,0	0,0	20,0	0,0	20,0	0,0	20,0
Kashkadarya	0,0	83,3	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	16,7	0,0	0,0
Navoi	16,7	66,7	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	16,7	0,0	0,0
Namangan	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	100,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
Samarkand	6,2	43,8	12,5	0,0	0,0	6,2	6,2	0,0	25,0
Surkhandarya	0,0	50,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	50,0
Syrdarya	0,0	18,2	18,2	0,0	18,2	0,0	18,2	9,1	18,2
Tashkent	13,8	31,0	13,8	3,4	17,2	0,0	17,2	0,0	3,4
Ferghana	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	40,0	0,0	0,0	40,0	20,0
Khorezm	0,0	100,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
Republic of Karakalpakstan	37,5	25,0	25,0	0,0	12,5	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
Tashkent city	8,0	28,0	20,0	12,0	4,0	8,0	12,0	0,0	8,0
Type of residence									
Urban	9,1	31,2	10,4	5,2	9,1	2,6	16,9	5,2	10,4
Rural	9,8	41,2	15,7	0,0	13,7	2,0	7,8	0,0	9,8

Gender									
Men	9,0	40,3	11,9	1,5	10,4	1,5	11,9	4,5	9,0
Women	9,8	29,5	13,1	4,9	11,5	3,3	14,8	1,6	11,5
Age									
18-19 years	8,3	25,0	16,7	8,3	16,7	0,0	8,3	0,0	16,7
20-29 years	6,1	30,6	14,3	4,1	18,4	0,0	14,3	6,1	6,1
30-39 years	11,1	50,0	11,1	0,0	5,6	0,0	5,6	5,6	11,1
40-49 years	9,7	45,2	6,5	0,0	3,2	6,5	12,9	0,0	16,2
50-59 years	9,1	27,3	27,3	0,0	9,1	0,0	27,3	0,0	0,0
60-69 years	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	33,3	33,3	0,0	33,3
70 and older	50,0	25,0	0,0	25,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0

Table 68. Which activity would you like or intend to be engaged in the country you plan to go to? (% of people who want to go to another country for permanent residence) (% of people who want to go to another country for PR)

Answers	In total		Gender				Type of settlement			
			male		female		urban		rural	
	2005	2006	2005	2006	2005	2006	2005	2006	2005	2006
Business, commerce, finance	28,8	23,6	20,9	22,4	32,7	14,8	36,2	19,0	15,3	19,0
Production, industry	19,2	20,0	17,4	17,1	16,4	14,8	14,5	13,9	19,4	19,0
Construction	16,0	9,1	22,1	13,2	1,8	0,0	8,7	7,6	19,4	6,9
Service sector	15,2	16,4	11,6	10,5	16,4	16,4	18,8	13,9	8,3	12,1
Programming, computer design	9,6	12,7	7,0	6,6	10,9	14,8	10,1	8,9	6,9	12,1
Transport	4,8	5,5	5,8	6,6	1,8	1,6	2,9	6,3	5,6	1,7
Healthcare	4,8	3,6	3,5	1,3	5,5	4,9	2,9	2,5	5,6	3,4
Culture, arts	4,0	2,7	2,3	0,0	5,5	4,9	1,4	2,5	5,6	1,7
Science	3,2	6,4	2,3	3,9	3,6	6,6	1,4	5,1	4,2	5,2
Education	2,4	8,2	1,2	2,6	3,6	11,5	1,4	6,3	2,8	6,9
Handicraft	1,6	3,6	2,3	5,3	0	0,0	0	2,5	2,8	3,4
Do not know, whatever I can	3,2		3,5		1,8		1,4		4,2	

Fig. 10. What specific actions have you undertaken so far with the purpose to leave Uzbekistan for permanent residence in another country?

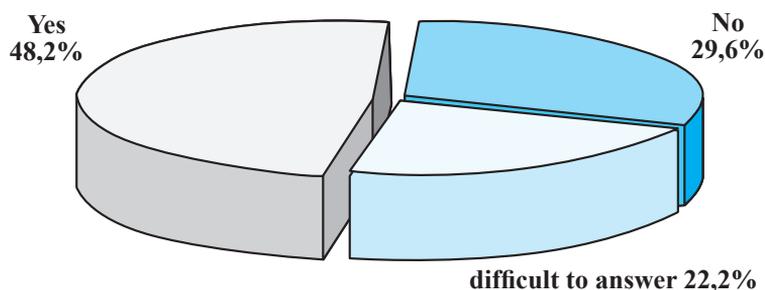


The Uzbek informants and the representatives of other Central Asian nations mainly wish to go to other countries for permanent residence because of impossibility to find a well-paid job ensuring better living standards. Every third representative of Slavic ethnic group (37.5%) would like to go to another country for permanent residence since “there are better prospects for development and future of my children”, whereas only 7.5% of Uzbek informants indicated this reason. The reason “prospects for professional development and career” was mainly mentioned by the representatives of Central Asian nations (22.2%) out of whom 12.3% were Uzbeks.

Thus, while selecting a country for permanent residence, the respondents of all ethnic groups first of all pay attention to the socio-economic indicators: the opportunity to find a job, the level of wages, the opportunity to develop a career, etc.

Social expectations with regard to the social demand for employment in the country where migrants want to go for permanent residence are an important indicator. On the one hand, it is possible to identify, though indirectly, the profession, specialty and labour characteristics of out-migrants. On the other hand, labour intentions of the respondents demonstrate the level of their social demands for this or that social niche in the country of destination. It should be emphasized that these demands of the respondents demonstrate their ideas about

Fig. 11. Do you intend to go to another country for permanent residence in the next 12 months?



expected success and luck in employment where they could be engaged and most quickly adapt themselves to living and working conditions in the new country.

Most informants (23.6%) intend to work in the sphere of business and entrepreneurship. Most likely, they have acquired some relevant business experience, and have relatives, close friends or business partners and hope to be provided with their support and assistance in the country where they intend to go for permanent residence. Every fourth potential out-migrant (20.0%) would like to be employed in industrial sector. Representatives of this group intend to work as professionals and probably rely on the level of their qualification and working experience. Out of them, 16.4% suppose to be employed in the service sector, mostly women. 12.7% of respondents would like to work in the sector of high technology, software and computer design.

Table 69. How do you assess the level of your awareness of your rights with regard to changing the country of residence? (% of people who want to go to another country for permanent residence)

Answers	Gender				Type of settlement			
	male		female		urban		rural	
	2005	2006	2005	2006	2005	2006	2005	2006
Aware quite well	9,5	38,9	5,9	33,3	9,7	36,8	6,3	37,5
Just general awareness	28,4	44,4	45,1	55,6	40,3	42,1	30,2	62,5
A little aware of, poor awareness	44,6	16,7	31,4	11,1	35,5	21,1	42,9	0
Not aware	13,5		15,7		12,9		15,9	
No response	4,1		2,0		1,6		4,8	

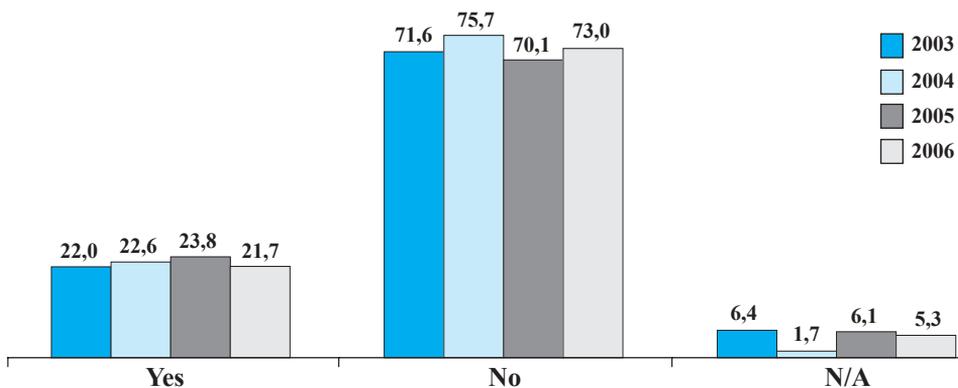
Relatively big number (24.6%) of the informants who wish to go to another country for permanent residence take specific actions to implement their plans. 29.6% of them maintain active correspondence with their family members living abroad, and every third (33.3%) maintains liaisons with their potential employers. It is noted that only 11.1% of the informants who want to leave Uzbekistan for permanent residence receive special professional training to get ready for life in another country. The same insignificant number of informants of the above group takes part in Green Card Lottery that gives a right to enter the USA and naturalize thereafter.

The success of changing the country of residence heavily depends on the level of legal awareness and knowledge-based information of the potential out-migrants. According to the survey, the level of understanding of how important it is to know better the rights and laws regulating the procedures of changing the country of residence significantly increased during the last year. Thus, over a third of the informants (37.0%) assessed the level of their awareness about their rights as relatively high. A little less than a half of the interviewed said that they knew their rights in general. And only 14.8% of the informants said that they knew almost nothing about their rights.

The survey identified that according to their own self-assessment, city-dwellers are better aware of their rights with regard to changing the country of residence than rural people. Also, men and people at the age of 20-49 with the education level higher than secondary are better informed about their rights in this area.

A little less than a half of potential out-migrants (48.2%) intend to leave the country in the next 12 months. As many as 29.6% of the informants do not plan to go to other countries during the current year. More than every fifth participant of the survey (22.2%) refused to discuss his/her intentions related to out-migration from the country in the next months.

Fig. 12. Would you like to go to another country for a certain period of time to work? (% of respondents)



Labour migration to other countries

The labour migration from Uzbekistan is much higher than the out-migration level (departure for permanent residence). This is explained by the socio-demographic and economic characteristics of the country, irregular distribution of population and uneven level of industrial development in different areas.

The labour migration from Uzbekistan is not a phenomenon being peculiar only to the last decade of the country's history: Uzbek residents were leaving their homes to earn money both twenty and thirty years ago. The reason for that is explained by a high birth rate especially noticeable in the second half of 1950s. The government made specific efforts to regulate the process of labour migration, to channel it into activities meeting the interests of the national socio-economic development. Thus, the government policy was to resettle people from densely populated regions with high level of human resources to the undeveloped regions. Thousands of people and their families have been resettled from Ferghana Valley to the steppes of Syrdarya and Jizzak provinces since late 1940s. Then the government reinforced the targeted regulation of labour resource displacement that resulted both in expanding the geography of working force and personnel movement and an increase in the number of different types and forms of involving people in this process. The government strongly supported resettlement to the regions with severe climate, where oil and gas were under exploration and steppe lands were under development. The people were provided with housing and many social benefits: they were paid decent wages and offered moral incentives.

The current socio-economic situation in Uzbekistan still demonstrates high excess of labour resources. However, the labour market has been constricted in the last years due to a considerable decrease in industrial production and disintegration of shirkats. The unemployment and the problems related to creating of full-time and well-paid jobs for all people of working age with ensured regular wages enabling them to support every day family needs were recognized at the official level.

At present, the process of labour migration is mainly unregulated; the state involvement is just limited to registration of people who leave the country to generate income and of those who arrive in the country for similar purposes. Unlike previously observed trends, the modern labour migration has the following peculiarities:

- More distinct mass character: several millions of citizens (the exact and even estimated data are not available) are working in other countries, sometimes for several years;
- Expanded age structure of labour migrants: whereas previously mainly young people aged 20-30 were going out, currently people of middle and even old ages go to other countries to earn money;

- The current labour migration has a “female look”: some years ago it was impossible to imagine that an Uzbek or Tajik woman would leave her home and family to go to far away countries to earn money; today everybody accepts it as a trivial phenomenon.

Table 70. Why do you want to go to another country to work and go back?

Region	Impossible or difficult to find a well-paid job	Gain experience, upgrade qualification	Family reunion	N/A
Total	74,3	4,9	2,2	18,7
Andijan	73,9	4,3	0,0	17,4
Bukhara	76,5	5,9	5,9	0,0
Jizzak	57,1	0,0	0,0	42,9
Kashkadarya	66,7	11,1	0,0	22,2
Navoi	73,3	0,0	0,0	20,0
Namangan	87,5	0,0	0,0	12,5
Samarkand	45,0	7,5	2,5	42,5
Surkhandarya	75,0	0,0	4,2	20,8
Sirdarya	30,0	10,0	0,0	40,0
Tashkent	68,3	9,8	2,4	19,5
Ferghana	69,2	0,0	7,7	19,2
Khorezm	100,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
Republic of Karakalpakstan	89,5	0,0	5,3	5,3
Tashkent city	74,4	7,7	0,0	7,7

The outcomes of the surveys conducted in 2003-2006, demonstrate that on average 22.5% of respondents express a wish to temporarily go to other countries to earn money i.e. every fourth interviewed individual planned to become a labour migrant.

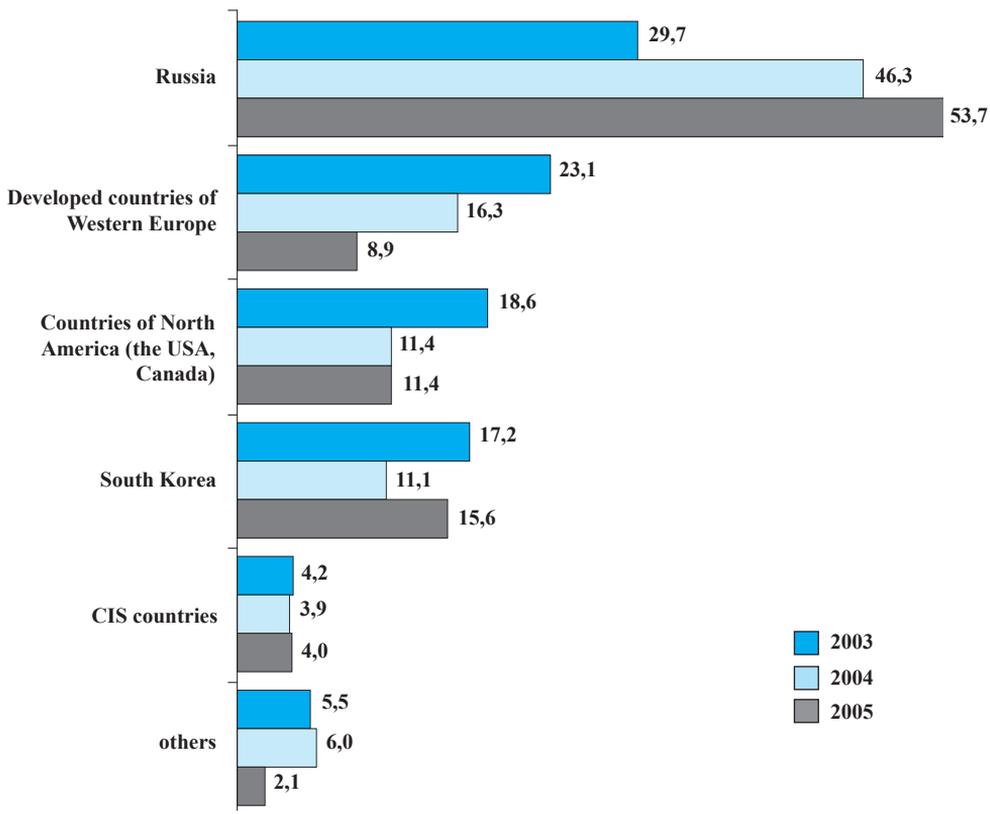
In 2006, the number of people wishing to go abroad to work increased in Navoi (14.6% to 31.9%), Syrdarya (7.5% to 25.6%), Khorezm (17.3% to 36.1%) and Samarkand (19.2 to 24.2%) provinces.

The majority of respondents wishing to go abroad to earn money are men (30.6%), city-dwellers (22.2%), the people aged 20-49 (20-29 – 32.4%, 30-39 – 21.1%, 40-49 – 18.7%). The survey results have shown a rather high level of

migration intentions among young people aged 18-19 (30%), which indicates that they are not confident of finding well-paid jobs in their country. If this trend is not changed, Uzbekistan will face the risk of losing a great many of its able-bodied population.

The level of migration intentions is also quite high among women. 14.2% out of the women interviewed have expressed their strong wish to leave Uzbekistan to earn money, and 5.9% of them have not come to any decision but they do not deny the possibility of going to another country to earn money.

Fig. 13. What country would you like to go to for a certain period of time to work and go back later on? (*% of the people who want to migrate*)



Since 2005, the Russian Federation has become increasingly popular among potential labour migrants as the country where they prefer to go to earn money. Thus, only 29.7% of the total number of potential labour migrants planned to go to this country in 2004 as compared to over a half of them – 53.7% in 2006. In terms of this indicator Russia is an undisputed leader among all the other countries, including the developed Western countries.

Fig. 14. Why do you want to go to another country to work and go back?

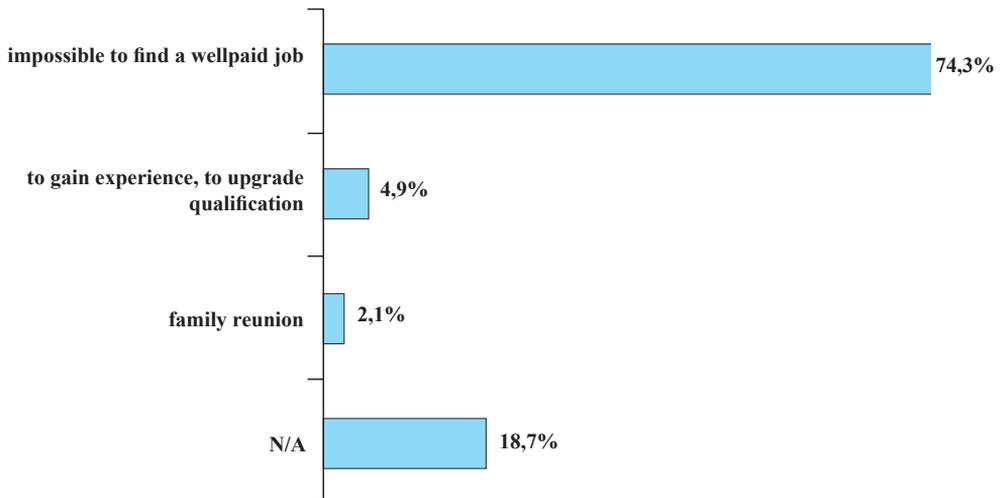
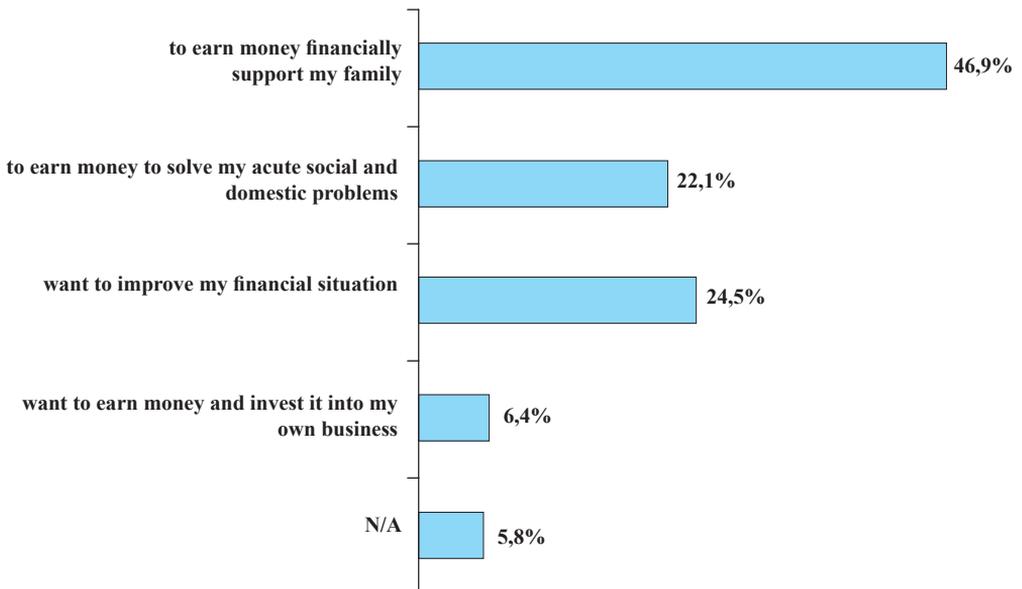
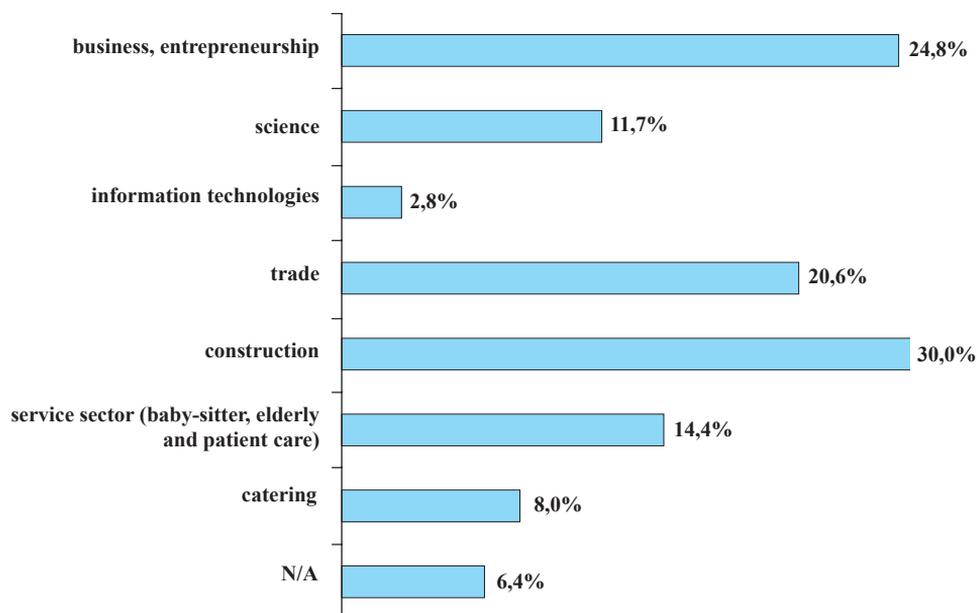


Fig. 15. For what purpose do you wish to go to another country to work and go back?



There are several reasons fostering the high rating of Russia in migration preferences of respondents who want to go abroad to earn money: economic development of this country that has resulted in the labour market growth and relatively high average wages; lack of the language barrier that makes easier the process of adaptation, establishing and maintaining social contacts; similarities

Fig. 16. What activity would you like to practice in another country?



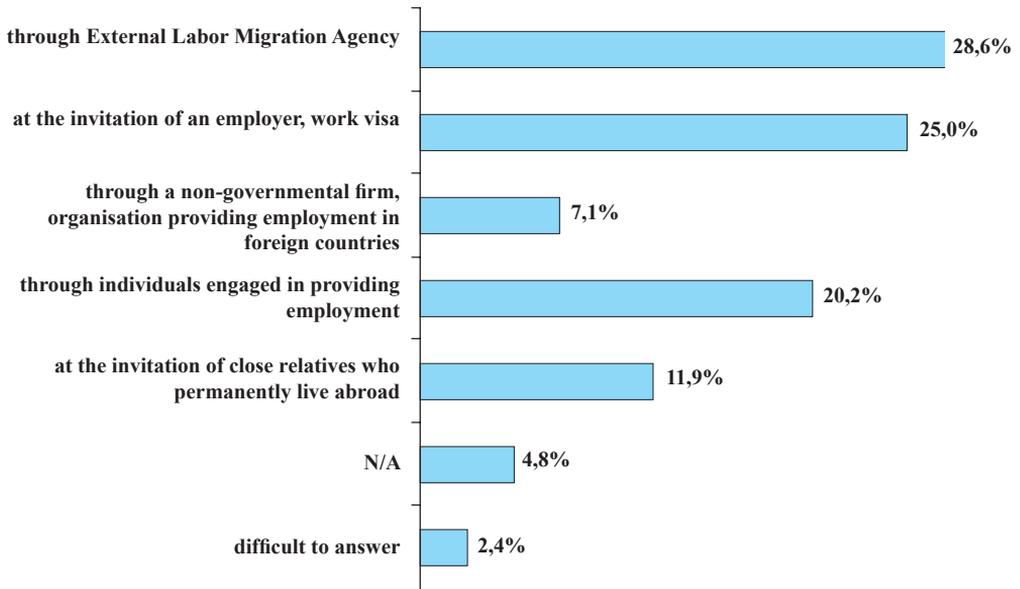
in culture that foster establishing quite tolerant relations between labour migrants from Uzbekistan and citizens of Russia; Russia is located relatively close to Uzbekistan, and there is no visa regime between them.

South Korea is the second preference after Russia (15.6% of respondents). This country is attractive because labour migration from Uzbekistan to Korea is regulated by the signed bilateral agreements. The results of the survey have shown a considerable reduction in the number of respondents who want to go to Western Europe and North America to earn money.

The survey has shown that the main reason for going to other countries to earn money is impossibility to find a well-paid job. This reason was mentioned by three-thirds of potential labour migrants – 74.3%. Only 4.9% of them intend to go abroad to get advanced training, which they think they cannot get in their home country. (2.1% of potential labour migrants understood the question differently, as why they were going to come back to their home. They explained their wish to come back because of their commitments to their families).

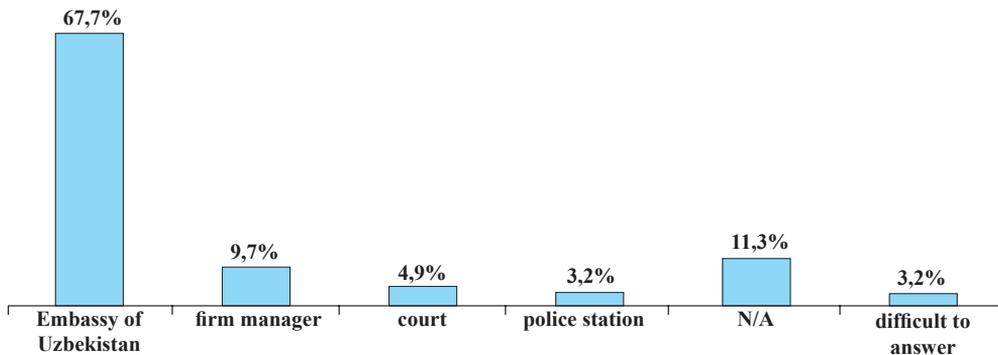
A little less than a half of informants (46.9%) intend to earn money to financially support their families. 22.1% of potential labour migrants aim to earn money to solve their acute social and domestic problems. Every fifth participant of the survey (24.5%), who wants to go to another country to work, aims to improve his/her financial situation. 6.4% of respondents said that they wanted to accumulate start-up capital to launch their businesses.

Fig. 17. How do you intend to leave Uzbekistan for another country to work and go back?



The survey results show that most respondents who want to go to other countries to earn money would like to work in the sectors that produce quick results (income) and do not require additional training. Most respondents (30.0%) intend to work in construction sector; 24.8% would like to engage in entrepreneurship; 20.4% in service sector, and 8.0% in catering. Thus, most potential labour migrants aim to work in manual labour-related sectors. Only 11.7% of respondents would like to work in science and education.

Fig. 18. Where and who will you go to if your rights of a labour migrant are violated?



Most of the respondents who expressed their wish to go to another country to work, do not plan to do it in the nearest future. Thus, only every fourth potential labour migrant (25.8%) said that s/he intended to go to another country in the next 12 months. Over half of respondents (52.1%) do not plan to do that within this period. 13.8% of respondents have not planned yet, and 8.3% did not want to share their plans.

Only 28.6% of the potential labour migrants interviewed intend to go to another country through the External Labour Migration Agency. The other survey participants intend to migrate through private nongovernmental organisations or individuals: 25.0% – invited by an employer that undertakes to provide a work visa to them, and 20.2% – through individuals. Almost 12.0% of potential labour migrants rely on support from relatives living abroad.

Most respondents are poorly aware of their rights as labour migrants. Although 73.8% of potential labour migrants said that they knew where to apply to and who to contact in another country if their rights are violated, to the clarification question – where and who they would go to in this case – 67.7% answered that they intended to seek support from the embassy of their country. This indicates that labour migrants are not aware of the existing mechanism and rights protection procedures in a country of destination. Other answers confirm this conclusion.

Conclusions

- The results of the surveys carried out within the last 4 years suggest that migration intentions of Uzbekistan citizens are at a relatively high level. Some 30.0% of respondents somehow wish to migrate.
- Although the number of citizens who want to move to other countries for permanent residence decreases year by year, labour migration from Uzbekistan tends to grow steadily. However, the current labour migration causes rather concern than optimism. This is due to not only the prevalence of illegal, uncontrolled migration, but also the fact that labour migrants often do not want to come back after several years of working abroad. They fully adapt to the new environment, start new families and stable social relations, and thus they transform from labour migrants to residents; becoming a citizen of a host country enables them to make their wages comparable to other citizens’.
- The main destination country for Uzbekistan citizens, both for permanent residence and for labour migration, is the Russian Federation. Russia is likely to remain the most attractive country for migrants in the years coming.
- The survey identified low social expectations of potential out-migrants and labour migrants in terms of employment in the country of origin and lack of adequate information on employment opportunities and wages, civil rights

and legal instruments including international acts specifying the procedures for citizens' movement from one country to another.

Recommendations

- The legal framework regulating labour migration from the Republic of Uzbekistan needs to be improved, including adoption of the “Law on Labour Migration.”
- Social surveys should be carried out to identify and explore migration intentions, expected migration routes, reasons for and objectives of migration, social and professional expectations of potential migrants; surveys should be carried out among citizens of Uzbekistan who already migrated, work and live in the country where a large number of them can be found to explore the status of migrants from Uzbekistan, their expectations and plans for the near future. Special attention should be given to identification and study of illegal labour migration, specifically the reasons why citizens prefer illegal channels rather than open and legitimate. A survey on human trafficking prevention should be conducted.
- To raise awareness and inform Uzbekistan citizens on out-migration and labour migration, it is necessary to organise a special section, page or card (working title “Migration”) in the leading and most popular newspapers, weekly publications, television and radio programs. This section will be aimed at informing Uzbekistan citizens on the laws of the Republic of Uzbekistan and international legal acts and documents regulating in-migration and out-migration of citizens, including labour migration.
- Taking into account that the main flow of labour migrants from Uzbekistan goes to cities of the Russian Federation, it is necessary to open Uzbekistan consular services in major industrial centres of this country. First of all, this is about those cities of Russia where a lot of labour migrants from Uzbekistan concentrate now and account for thousands or tens of thousands people. They are Yekaterinburg, Khabarovsk, Samara, Novosibirsk, Omsk, Nizhniy Novgorod, and one of the cities in the Russia's black soil region.

Survey 2

VOICES OF LABOUR MIGRANTS*

Introduction

This report addresses the effects of labour migration on both men and women having migrated from Uzbekistan to find employment as well as on their spouses left in their home country. The report is based on the field survey conducted in several regions of Uzbekistan.

Survey areas. The interviews were conducted in rural and urban areas of Andijan and Tashkent provinces and the Republic of Karakalpakstan.

Target groups. (1) Labour migrants (men and women), (2) migrants' families (including abandoned families), (3) intermediaries.

Survey objectives:

1. Identify living strategies of the population relative to labour migration;
2. Identify opportunities/economic basis of labour migrants and their families to observe national traditions;
3. Study the impact of migration on formation of a new middle class (values, views on traditional distribution of roles in a family);
4. Identify to what extent migration impacts on health and family relations;
5. Identify the scale, causes and effects of external migration;
6. Explore the attitude of the population to labour migration;
7. Analyze positive and negative effects of labour migration.

Methodology. The survey made use of the qualitative method of an in-depth interview. Overall, 51 interviews were conducted.

Migration is primarily unregistered and illegal both in Uzbekistan and, in many cases, in other countries of destination. Therefore, due to the lack of reliable statistical data the “snowball” method was used – the search started with the survey of local population in selected areas which resulted in identification of migrants or families including labour migrants. Later on, the interviewed migrants or families referred the interviewers to other migrants/migrants' families, and the number of respondents increased as a

* The social survey report was prepared under the Gender Programme of Swiss Embassy in Uzbekistan. The authors' opinions expressed in this report do not necessarily reflect the official views of Swiss Embassy.

snowball and became representative. The regions were selected according to the following characteristics:

- Difference in farms (agricultural or stock raising);
- Environmental situation;
- Employment;
- Infrastructure development.

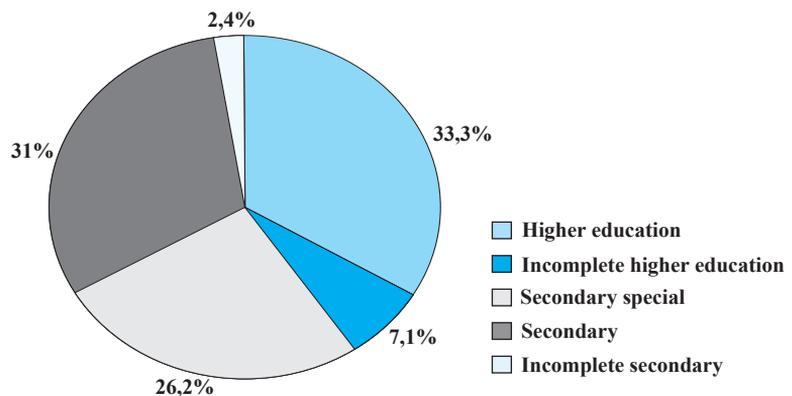
Andijan province is the region with the irrigated agriculture-based economy where population is noted for its very low mobility. On the contrary, Karakalpakstan has traditionally prevailing stock raising economy with high mobility of population. Tashkent province and Tashkent city were selected owing to their special position as metropolis and the region with many employment and self-employment opportunities.

Migrant's profile

Over a half of respondents have either higher or secondary special education. The insignificant share of respondents has incomplete secondary education (7.1%).

Some half of respondents are 40-50 years old (45.4%). These are the respondents whose children are adults and can take care of themselves when their parents are abroad. The second age group of migrants (30-40 years) has at least one, eldest, child in the age when s/he can take care of younger children and help the remaining parent with household chores.

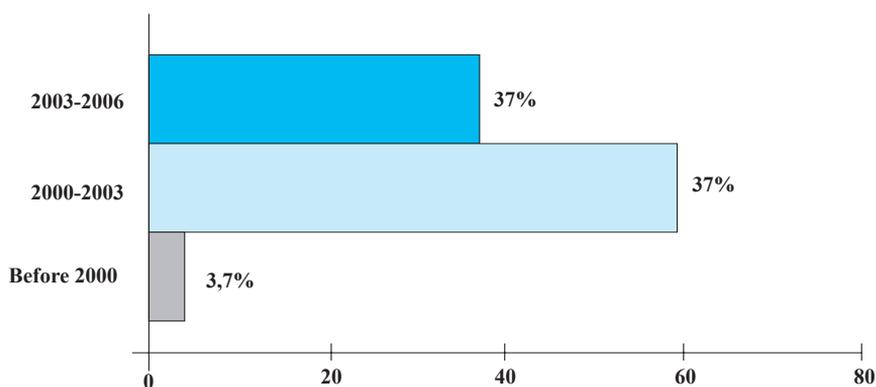
Fig. 19. Education of migrants



Age	%
Under 30 years old	30,3
30 – 40	24,2
40 and above	45,4

The survey showed that practically all respondents started migrating abroad in the last 6 years. The peak was in 2000-2003. The number of those who joined migrants after 2003 has insignificantly decreased. Evidently, they are the youngest group of migrants under 30 years old. They have the lowest level of education, qualification and work experience.

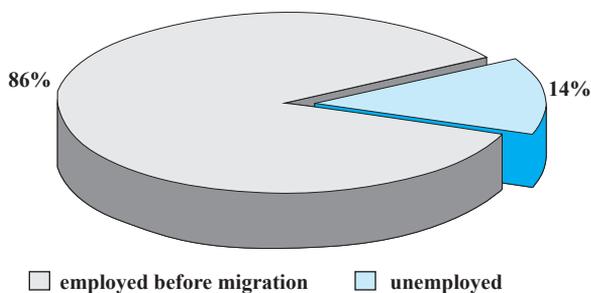
Fig. 20. When did you start labour migration?



Reasons for labour migration

The majority of the migrants interviewed (86%) had been employed before migration, have relevant skills and are proficient in at least one occupation.

Fig. 21. Employment before migration.



The usual motivation to migration is dissatisfaction with the wages and late payments. Quite often migrants keep their jobs in their home countries and return to them when they come back from their seasonal work trips.

“The prices in the market grow, but the salary is not enough. I work at a cable television station. I install equipment. My labour card is also there. I work for 1-2 months, when I come back here from Kazan. We have an agreement with my boss (manager): I install all the equipment and then other boys operate it, and I go back to Kazan to work. There I work at my wife relatives’ home appliances repair firm and they pay me 400 USD, here I receive 147,000 soums (some 100 USD).”

*Man-migrant, urban area,
Karakalpakstan.*

“We used to work for private construction companies on a contract. One cannot say that they paid us very well. They made late salary payments by instalments. All the time they blamed the bank that the money were not transferred to the account on time. They used to give us small amounts during the long period. When you start working, they promise you mountains of gold. When it is time to pay, they start different swindles. Once it happened so that we had worked at a private firm for about two months and since we did not receive money for our work, we refused to work further. As a result, we were not paid at all.”

*Man-migrant,
Andijan.*

“I entered graduate school and started teaching. But I had to leave it as my academic adviser started to harass me. I had to change my job but I could not continue my work there as well. As soon as the exams started, they kept coming to me asking to give some students excellent grades. I was outraged and tried to resist them. Finally, I was kicked out with admonition in my personal file.”

*Woman-migrant,
Tashkent.*

“What job can one find in rural areas? We just work in the fields all the year round. My husband thought that he would earn more and used to work in the field both when it is hot and when it rains. We used to be paid mere pittance. It was not enough for anything. When he died, I had to bear the whole burden: children, household, etc. It is difficult for a woman with children to live in a rural area.”

*Woman-migrant, rural area,
Andijan.*

“I used to work as a waitress in a café, then after the birth of my first son I was at home for several years. When I divorced, I started to work at a café-bar again, worked for my friends and acquaintances. The work mainly was in the evenings until late at night. I used to leave my son with my mother. Then demand for such work in the city decreased as all cafes were being closed. They mainly used to hire their acquaintances, relatives or lovers. My son was growing up. I did not have my own apartment. I could not find a job in the city to get enough money to buy an apartment. Most of my (female) friends went to Russia in search of a job. That is why I also decided that I had to go to earn money to buy a separate apartment. I did not see any other solution. Otherwise, you have to become somebody’s second wife to get an apartment.”

*Woman-migrant, urban area,
Karakalpakstan.*

While males migrate because they are usually unsatisfied with low salary, women have other reasons to seek external employment: divorce, death of the breadwinner, and staff reduction. There are cases when a woman loses her job due to sexual harassment by her employer.

“...As it became difficult to live and besides, I need to arrange my children’s lives. We wanted to complement our girls’ dowry. We planned to celebrate weddings of our daughters. This is probably the main thing – to arrange life of my children.”

*Rural family,
Andijan.*

“My elder daughter was of marriageable age, therefore we needed money. You know, there are rites, preparation of large dowry, and housing, if possible. Also, my middle daughter studied at the institute. My younger son was studying in the 9-10th form. Therefore, we had to prepare for his future study in the college or military service.”

*Man-migrant, urban area,
Tashkent.*

An indirect, but very frequently mentioned, reason is future expenditures for marriage and education of grown-up children.

Who makes a decision to migrate?

The survey findings suggest that in most cases a decision to migrate for employment is made by a migrant. Men discuss their decision with their family, while women make this decision by themselves. This demonstrates that “female” labour migration is mainly typical of independent or single women.

In most cases, respondents migrate to neighbouring countries where there

“It was my own decision on external migration, because I understood that there was nobody to rely on. However, I have a son to raise.”

*Woman-migrant, urban area,
Andijan.*

“My husband died. Villagers and my sister’s husband offered me to search for a job in Moscow together with them. I agreed. My sister also supported me. I have to raise my children but I could not make any earnings at home. Now at least my children are not hungry. I am also able to send parcels to my grandson and money to my children.”

*Woman-migrant, urban area,
Tashkent.*

“Basically, it was my idea, but my mother was pleased at hearing that. She was mostly happy that there will be money at home.”

*Man-migrant, urban area,
Andijan.*

is a demand for labour force. They are mainly Kazakhstan and Russia. Besides, people go to both capitals and provinces. The main motivation for selection of certain migration destination is whether there is a labour demand and whether the migrants have acquaintances or relatives who can make their adaptation easier. In most cases, people migrate practically not knowing where they go to and what they will be doing there, relying only on their good luck.

There are quite a few cases of migration to Western countries as well. In these cases, as a rule, the decision comes unexpectedly owing to a good opportunity. At the beginning, migrants are registered as tourists or those who are going to study.

In case of finding a job through intermediaries, people go wherever they are taken to. Intermediaries usually form teams to go to the CIS countries and border areas.

“Although the decision was made solely by him, all his family supported him, as they did not see any other way out. Now he earns 300 USD a month in cash.”

*Rural family,
Andijan.*

“... We lived on our pension only. Although my son graduated from a university, he could not find a well-paid job. As for school, they paid in kind with food products. Besides, the salary was low, while the children wanted to be well-dressed and buy something to bring home, and we could not afford all that on our pension.”

*Rural family,
Karakalpakstan.*

“The decision to migrate came unexpectedly: my mother’s relative – my aunt’s son who had already worked (for 5-6-years) there, suddenly called us and suggested to go with him urgently. In 2 hours, we were in the Andijan airport.”

*Man-migrant, urban area,
Andijan.*

“Six years ago, my sister got married, her husband was regularly coming to Russia to work and successfully found a job there. Her husband had relatives there and he tried to went there for good and bring his family with him. That is how my sister came to Moscow. In 2003, she suggested that I come to her and find a job there.”

*Woman-migrant, urban area,
Andijan.*

“A lot of people from our village go to Moscow. Women remain alone along with male invalids and old men. When my husband died, (they all respected him) they felt sorry for me and therefore they offered me a job. They bought me an air ticket. That is how I started to go with them.”

*Woman, migrant.
Tashkent province.*

“In the institute, someone offered me to pay a certain (quite big) amount of money for preparing documents for a one-month study in the U.S. We discussed that at home and my parents borrowed money from their friends and relatives and sent me to the States.”

*Man-migrant, urban area,
Tashkent.*

“My friend said that his cousin hired a team to go to a construction site in Primorskiy Kray. The intermediary has already settled everything there, he was given a site and he offered my friend to go with him. I also asked him to take me with him.”

*Man-migrant, rural area,
Karakalpakstan.*

“I went on my own by tourist visa, stayed there to work, and worked there illegally for one year. Then they issued an order that those who had worked for more than one year had the right to get a 5-year work visa. Our employers had to come and warrant that their workers had worked for them for more than one year. Those who had worked for less then one year had to go back home and come back again to work in 6 months. I got my work visa free of charge.”

*Woman-migrant, urban area,
Tashkent.*

Also, there were cases of official labour migration among the respondents, although this form is not widespread so far. This survey noted that these cases were isolated.

Migrants' problems

The major problem is lack of seed money. Often it is borrowed from acquaintances or relatives.

The problems also face migrants when they cross the border. Lack of agreements between countries regulating movements of labour force makes labour migrants legally unprotected. This contributes to violation of labour migrants' rights.

Migrants usually face the following problems during their first days after arrival:

- Where to find cheap accommodation?
- How to do the registration?
- Where to find a job?
- Where to find information on what rules and laws the migrants need to comply with, etc.

Cheap accommodation most often means bad living conditions. Often they need to share it with other migrants, and in most cases, it is not fit for living.

Lack of registration results in illegal residence and limits migrants' access to social services (health, etc.). Migrants always feel the threat of deportation.

Migrants do the registration exclusively with the help of their acquaintances. Migrants do not seem to know or do not believe in other ways of registration. The registration often is done only for a short period up to 3 months that makes them even more dependent on their acquaintances, for whom it becomes a permanent source of income.

Migrants often have to work illegally, that brings about problems with the police and implies informal methods of their solution.

Employers often withhold passports of migrants so they cannot leave; they turn them into their "serfs." Migrants cannot show up in the streets without passport, because the police has the right to stop any person and check his/her

"The decision on my wife's migration made me get into extreme debts as we had to sell everything from the house. Our relative covered travelling and living expenses, and my wife went with her. Then I had to work her debt out during 6 months."

*Rural family,
Andijan.*

“Working is not as difficult as passing the customs. There are many people who want to work in Russia. Customs officers check their documents, take money both when they leave the country and bring money to pay for the first-days’ accommodation and when they come back bringing their earnings and presents for their families.”

*Rural family,
Andijan.*

“I took a train, because the train ticket was cheaper. There was a complete inspection when we crossed Kazakhstan border and I had to give my money for no particular reason. They told us the amount, which I paid, not knowing what I paid for, because I was too frightened that they could drop me out of the train. On Russian border, they asked me about my visa.* I told the truth that I did not have any documents and permits, and I was going to find a job as I live poorly. For my honesty, they looked over it.”

*Woman-migrant, urban area,
Karakalpakstan.*

identity. Afterwards, the case is being transferred to the migration police and later on to the court, which in many cases passes a decision about deportation.

“At first they lived in our neighbours’ apartment. There were 6-7 people in one room. Generally, it is very difficult to find accommodation as soon as you arrive in Russia. But if you have accommodation, you can look for a job, but before you need to do registration.”

*Urban family,
Andijan.*

“For accommodation we had to pay 80 USD per bed. In that apartment people lived like cockroaches, with big lines to WC in the morning. Sometimes we had to look for WC in the city. I used to go to the bathhouse to take bath. All my things were stolen there.”

*Woman-migrant, urban area,
Tashkent.*

If a migrant manages to keep his passport and relative freedom of movement, he faces a different challenge. In conditions they live in, there is no way to keep documents and money. They cannot keep money in banks too since to open an account one needs to have residence registration. It is also difficult to transfer money via post offices without the help of local residents.

Migrants often become deceived by employers and intermediaries. There are cases when migrants cannot contact their families until they complete the assigned tasks. In addition to other factors – back-breaking work, unregulated

* She probably means not Russian visa (as no-visa regime is set up between Uzbekistan and Russia) but exit visa obtained by Uzbekistan citizens in the Visa and Registration Department – *Editorial comment.*

“I got sick in a week. I had to spend everything I earned on medicines. I took care of myself, it’s a good thing that my parents are doctors. People are not admitted to hospitals without registration there.”

*Woman-migrant, urban area,
Tashkent.*

“... We are living without registration. You can live without it for 90 days there. And in 85-88 days our boss sends us home for a couple of days or gets a bus which takes us to Uzbekistan for a couple of hours then drives us back. Again, we can work for 2-3 months. Why spend extra money?”

*Man-migrant, urban area,
Tashkent.*

“Once in Russia, I incidentally heard from a Russian woman in the market that there was a job in a milk workshop producing cheese. She said it was an hourly paid piecework job so there was a chance to work longer. I got a job there, moreover, they didn’t require my registration. They didn’t even check my passport.”

*Woman-migrant, urban area,
Karakalpakstan.*

“At first it was hard all over: people are often deceived with registration and residence registration. They get promises to do registration for them and give money, and nothing is done finally. We found a way out; the owner of an apartment we lived in helped us with registration: she introduced us to a person who could make a legal registration (but only for 3 months). Of course we paid him and gave him presents. In 3 months we again had problems with registration, but once again the apartment owner helped us, and each registration cost us a relatively big sum of money – some 2,000 Russian roubles.”

*Urban family,
Andijan.*

“... Even though it was dangerous to leave the territory as we didn’t have any registration, the person that hired us took care of that. He was an influential man from the bank. The police knew that we didn’t have any registration but they didn’t try to take any action against us because they were paid 2,000 roubles for each of us.”

*Man-migrant, urban area,
Andijan.*

working day, lack of housing and undernutrition – this affects their physical and mental health.

Respondents told many stories that had occurred with them or their fellow countrymen. They were cheated not only by their employers, but also by intermediaries, who can sell them into slavery. That is why labour migrants prefer

“He is working illegally. That’s why on the pay day a police officer is waiting for illegal workers at the exit door and each of them pays him 500 roubles.”

*Rural family,
Andijan.*

“My husband while working in Kazakhstan was paid a different sum of money to what he earned and to what he was promised. He was promised to get 400 dollars per month but instead was paid that money for 3 months of work. They promised to send the rest, but the money still did not come. Thus they owe us 800 dollars, and we still hope they will send to us.”

*Family, rural area,
Karakalpakstan.*

“The intermediary, who brought my husband to work, took their passports supposedly for registration. He brought the whole brigade somewhere in Moscow region to a deep forest where they were supposed to build a cottage, and transferred them to another person. The intermediary didn’t appear at the building site after that. The workers didn’t have their passports so they couldn’t just walk away without money and passports. My husband worked at the construction site for 2 years without getting paid just as if he was a slave, until a relative of one of the workers found the intermediary and took all the passports back. Certainly, no one paid them. It turned out that the intermediary sold them for 2,000 dollars; there were 15 persons. We couldn’t take legal action against them as the brigade worked illegally, and couldn’t make any claims. Over these 2 years my husband got seriously sick, became thin, broke his back and almost died. He somehow found his sister who was working in the market with her children. She called us and said that my husband was found, but he was very sick and would probably die and we needed to take him home.”

*Urban family,
Andijan.*

“We were given the following terms of work – we had to do the work in a given time period; for each day of delay our wages were decreased by 3%. It is really hard to do the job on such terms as our job has a lot of unforeseen aspects. We tried very hard. We worked from 8 in the morning till midnight or 1 a.m. We got very tired. However, we didn’t want to get lower wages. They even promised to pay us bonuses if we finish the job before time, but we weren’t given any. They were trying to hold us longer instead, saying that there were no flights to Uzbekistan at the moment and they would start in a month. But we managed to find out whether it was really so. We met with an accountant who helped us get the tickets. So we requested our money, once we received it we left the construction site.”

*Man-migrant, urban area,
Andijan.*

“At the end I was deceived. They didn’t pay me for the work done. I lived and ate there but was not paid. It was good that they took me over the border to Tashkent. They didn’t even give me money for the taxi. My wife paid for it once I arrived at home. First they had to pay me 200 dollars, I was waiting long for it, they said they didn’t have any at the moment and they would send the money to me. But they never did and said that it went to cover my stay and food. I wanted to clear the matter so I went there but I was not allowed through the customs. I got arrested. I was sent home after they took my 100 dollars.”

*Man-migrant, rural area,
Andijan.*

to go with people whom they can trust. Some respondents noted the advantage of individual employment, when a migrant does not depend on anybody. Others think that group migration provides more security and support from compatriots. Men are more often exposed to cheating than women.

Migrants’ life

Types of jobs done by labour migrants

Generally, migrants agree to do any job even hard and unskilled one. Choice of employment is determined by the wages.

The survey shows that there are some gender differences in migrants’ division of labour. Urban women usually work as sellers in the market. Some of them who have university education and computer operation skills gradually find office jobs (secretaries, etc.). Rural women mostly work as housekeepers and babysitters.

Urban men sometimes manage to find employment at private enterprises, construction sites (as construction managers), and public catering. Most rural males mostly work as unskilled workers at construction sites.

Labour conditions

Work conditions depend on employer’s good will. One cannot say that all migrants have bad ones. Female housekeepers usually live in an employer’s house and usually have better working conditions. Males working in teams usually live in barracks, have poor meals and do hard work. However, timely payment and honesty of employer mean more for them than good living conditions.

Sending remittances to families

Migrants use several ways of sending money to their families: for example, via “Western Union” money transfer or with acquaintances, friends or intermediaries.

“Every day after work I went to an internet café to send my CV to various companies. Only in 2 years, I was sent an invitation to a better-paid job. It was a company marketing children toys. I got a job as a technician there. I was provided with a small room.”

*Woman-migrant, urban area,
Tashkent.*

“My friend made an arrangement so I could work with her in the market. Frankly speaking, I thought it was going to be a kiosk or a counter. But it turned out that I had to sell frozen fish in the market. I agreed because there nobody knew me and I needed to make money. However, after a while my boss started harassing me, and the job was out in the cold air. I started looking for another job. I was welcomed everywhere I went to because I am a good-looking woman. I was offered a job of a secretary with wages of 2,000 and 3,000 dollars but once they saw my Uzbek passport, my wages would only be 200 dollars. Finally, I met people I knew from Andijan, with their help I found a family who were my parents’ friends. Their son had a small café, and he hired me as a waitress there, and there I could find a job as a secretary after I talked to one of the clients. When I started working in the office, I was paid 500 dollars so I could regularly send money to my mother so that she could take care of my son.”

*Woman-migrant, urban area,
Andijan.*

“We live there in a house basement. It is good and warm there. Men are working in the district – taking away the garbage, sweeping the streets, sometimes helping people for money: unloading, painting a fence, fixing something, etc. And I with Nasiba (fellow villager, 46 years old) take care of them: cook and clean our dwelling place. We are forbidden to go outside, let alone go into the subway. I only go out when guys find me a job like cleaning somebody’s house or washing the windows, etc.”

*Woman-migrant, rural area,
Tashkent.*

“I had to look after the youngest child – I was paid 500 dollars a month for that. Then they asked me to give Russian language classes to an elder child, 1 hour a day. I was paid 200 dollars extra for that.”

*Woman-migrant, rural area,
Andijan.*

“We opened a café and cook national dishes: shashlik, manti, etc. Now we do not have any problems but we had them in the beginning. We had to find ways to one man, then to another, so they could give us permission to work, and now the things are going well.”

*Man-migrant, urban area,
Tashkent.*

“I work as a construction manager. I am given a site and responsible for the quality of the work done. All workers in my brigade are young and inexperienced so I have to teach them.”

*Man-migrant, urban area,
Tashkent.*

“I am working at a brick factory as a layer, taking bricks out of the oven. I work 12 hours a day 7 days a week. Breakfast, lunch and dinner are provided by the brick factory as well as a satisfactory dwelling place. At first food was good, but then it got worse.”

*Man-migrant, urban area,
Karakalpakstan.*

“We are setting up plastic heating pipes in a student dormitory. We are hired by Turkish contractors. We live in trailers, all in one place. We work for 10 hours a day, 7 days a week. Sometime we work overtime, but we get paid extra money for this. We are given food products so we can cook for ourselves.”

*Man-migrant, urban area,
Karakalpakstan.*

“I went to Kazakhstan – I was supposed to work at a building site but cooked shashlik instead, I am good at it. In Soviet time I used to work at a café doing that. Working conditions were terrible. We slept in the basement. I couldn’t even argue because they would fire me immediately and hire another person. A lot of people are willing to work like that.”

*Man-migrant, urban area,
Andijan.*

“We live right at the construction site, that’s why we tried to make the basement fit for living. We made it warmer before the winter came. We used to sleep on concrete floor in frosty weather. Then our owner felt sorry for us and brought warm blankets and a heater. On holidays, we club and indulge ourselves in meat, but it happens very seldom.”

*Man-migrant, urban area,
Tashkent.*

“The living conditions in...were excellent: your own room and very good food from the shared fridge. The house owner used to do shopping herself with one of her female workers but every time she asked us who needs what, who wants to eat what, what cosmetics or means of personal hygiene is needed. There were no problems in communication and work. The relations were excellent. I was lucky to have such employers.”

*Woman-migrant, rural area,
Andijan.*

“I sent money with a familiar businessman, who made frequent business visits because he had worked here for many years. At that time, we didn’t know that we could send money through bank. Besides we didn’t go out if not needed. Because it’s not only us who came to the city from abroad, there are a lot of people from Sri-Lanka, India, Pakistan. There are a lot of swindlers among them.”

*Woman-migrant, urban area,
Tashkent.*

“I sent the money via “Western Union” to my sister in Andijan. They bought clothes for my son and medicines to my mother, she retired but still works as a doctor in a hospital to help us all.”

*Woman-migrant, urban area,
Andijan.*

“He sends money via “Western Union”, I know that other people do it through private firms like “Contact”, they say they are cheaper, but “Western Union” is more reliable though it is more expensive. The more you send, the less tax you pay.”

*Urban family,
Andijan.*

“They send money with people who are coming back. They bring it themselves whenever we need it. Sometimes I borrow from my neighbours and after my children send me money I pay them back.”

*Rural family,
Karakalpakstan.*

“He used to send money with one of his friends who lives in our makhalla. He sent 200 dollars. My husband once sent me the money through the bank, but he mostly tries to send money with his fellow villagers. When money ends we start saving and borrow from neighbours, and when he sends money, we pay them back. Our neighbours lend us the money because they know my husband is working abroad and we will pay them back.”

*Rural family,
Andijan.*

“My husband sends me the money only through postal services. We tried sending money with acquaintances but in this case the money comes to us late or even doesn’t come at all. Sometimes we would get part of it. People bringing it say either somebody took it out or the police took it or something else happened, so you can’t argue. That’s why we decided to send it through postal services. He tries to send money every month; he makes 300 dollars a month.”

*Urban family,
Karakalpakstan.*

Those who had problems, i.e. when the family did not receive money in time or received a part of it, try to use the first way, or they bring the collected money with themselves. The latter option is not reliable as the money might be taken out under any pretext when crossing the border. Some respondents buy something for their family members for the part of their earnings, as it is cheaper there. In case when a migrant cannot send money every month, the family borrows money and when it receives money, it pays back.

Relationship with countrymen

In general, the respondents mentioned support from their countrymen. They go to work abroad together; they socialize after work and celebrate holidays and birthdays. Migrants, who arrived earlier, support newcomers. They help with accommodation, finding a job, etc. Especially strong support is provided among migrants from rural areas. It seems to be related to their understanding of space and identity. Territorially a rural community is a small unit, therefore, its members know each other. Most of them view their trips abroad as episodes in their lives and intend to come back when they are able to earn enough money. Therefore, they continue to follow the code of behaviour, established at home, with their countrymen, and it regulates their life there.

“I went there to work with my neighbours from our makhalla, I wouldn’t go there alone, and it is not that scary to go in a group. We lived and worked together. When you have close people around it is easier to live far from home.”

*Woman-migrant, rural area,
Andijan.*

“At the place where I sold meat there were a lot of my countrymen. Somebody would treat me with bread, grapes, and others would give me other fruits. Uzbeks there help each other a lot. Uzbeks are very merciful and benevolent people.”

*Woman-migrant, urban area,
Andijan.*

“Of course they help me. When somebody stole my purse, I was left without anything and then they helped me.”

*Woman-migrant, urban area,
Karakalpakstan.*

“I wouldn’t do anything without my fellow villagers. They are good people; they help me with everything, find me various jobs and respect me. They also help my children. Our village is like a big family. We help and protect each other.”

*Woman-migrant, rural area,
Tashkent.*

“We lived together friendly because we are all from the same makhalla and know each other since childhood. We supported each other; if somebody wanted to go home, the others persuaded her to stay saying that soon it all would be over and people at home are expecting her with money.”

*Woman-migrant, rural area,
Andijan.*

“They help each other. If somebody gets sick or is busy with something else, other one will take him over, but he will have to pay that person for that day. Once a worker, our countryman, got sick and another countryman worked instead of him.”

*Man-migrant, urban area,
Karakalpakstan.*

“Countrymen support each other; if they find a job they share it, spend birthdays and holidays together. Once we were sitting for a week without a job and a neighbour lent us 5,000 tenge.”

*Man-migrant, rural area,
Karakalpakstan.*

“At first, countrymen can support you, recommend something, and help with registration. After a while, they all become like sharks in the sea. Everybody tries for himself. However, birds of a feather flock together, and we all in Moscow were together, looked for each other, because Russians won’t understand us, and we are all in the same situation. Countrymen are jealous if somebody gets a better job, and the one who is lucky is afraid that if he helps you, you will make use of this against him in the future.”

*Woman-migrant, urban area,
Andijan.*

“Living without countrymen in an alien city with an unfamiliar language (I didn’t know English) is really hard, but it’s hard to live with our people too, they will either steal something or let you down. In six months I learned to speak, I met other guys who were more honest and moved to live with them.”

*Man-migrant, urban area,
Tashkent.*

“I am lucky to know friendly guys who support each other. If someone gets sick, others take him over and help him. And my son in Chymkent was framed, and everybody shifted the blame to each other. There are a lot of such cases.”

*Man-migrant, urban area,
Tashkent.*

Only those who intend to break all the ties with the community (sometimes even with the family) and start a new life can sacrifice community benefits and endure bad reputation at home. Improper behaviour affects not just migrants

but mostly their families left at home. Their children, especially girls, are not considered as a good party for future marriage. That is why migrants from rural areas value their reputation among their fellow citizens.

In urban areas, on the contrary, social ties are not that strong. Therefore, a migrant from urban area is quite all-sufficient and relies mostly on him/herself.

However, along with support from countrymen, there are also conflicts among them and even competition for better work and earnings.¹

“We were friends and only the senior person (who had been living in Russia since 1991) started to lie, spread gossip, offer more money to some of us, and put people against each other. Money change a person, he probably got dizzy with success. In the end he turned out to be a bad man and as a result we decided to come back home before time.”

*Man-migrant,
Andijan.*

“If relatives or friends are near you, they help you but not always. There are times when friends quarrel with each other over money. A person with whom I went to work got paid and I was not, maybe he received my wages and did not give them to me. I can’t check him. That is how relationships break.”

*Man-migrant, rural area,
Andijan.*

“You know people were different. The most interesting thing was that those who had better jobs cocked their noses more than others. While living in a group, they became arrogant and didn’t do anything. Of course it is easier to keep together living in a foreign country. Sometimes people would set up each other to get a better job but sometimes would give their last money to help their friend.”

*Intermediary, urban area,
Tashkent.*

Frequency of trips

The respondents’ migration periods depend on the distance to a country of destination, registration and contract terms, and the family situation. If a migrant

1 E.V.Tyuryukanova distinguishes between two types of labour migrants’ relations with their fellow countrymen – diasporal (by ethnicity) and through migrants’ networks without distinct ethnic characteristics: “In recent years, the traditional ethnic resource in the form of a diaspora (i.e. a social-administrative institution) have been substituted for a network resource similar in nature but organised in a slightly different and more flexible way. The in-migrants more often rely on recently established and unstable immigrant networks rather than on support from a diaspora” (Tyuryukanova E.V. “Gendernie aspekty trudovoy migratsii iz stran SNG v Rossii.” *Diaspory*, 2005. No.1. p. 49). – *Editorial comment.*

“We work there for 3-4 months and then get back home for 2-3 weeks, and then go back to work. This summer my wife and I went to Kazakhstan together. We left our children with my mother. My wife sold somsa in the market. She also cooked for workers and sometimes washed clothes for money.”

*Rural family,
Karakalpakstan.*

goes to the far abroad, s/he can afford to come home once a year or several years. The situation is similar for those who have work permits and are formally employed under the contract. In case of migration to neighbouring countries, the duration of stay is usually less than 3 months. Some respondents, especially women have to come more often, as they have small children who remained in the country of residence.

Expenditure items in the country of destination and the country of residence

Migrants try to minimise their spending in the country of destination as migration is aimed at earning as much money as possible for their families at home. They often rent cheap accommodation or arrange with an employer and get free accommodation at the site of employment.

The survey data suggest that the main expenditure item in the country of residence is food. The second important item is arrangement of housing. It is either building of a new house or repair of the available one. The Uzbek

“Over a year we couldn’t make enough money to save up, all the money was gone to pay for our dwelling place, food, and transportation. But stability of work comforted my husband – he works as a loader in a shop. A while ago my father-in-law died; he lived in Tashkent with his family. My husband could not go there immediately and came only on the third day of funerals. After he had spent there 4 months he had to come back because he could lose his job. Because he was an honest worker, they hired him again.”

*Urban family,
Andijan.*

“She has been in England for more than 4 years, and she has never come back.”

*Urban family,
Tashkent.*

“We usually go abroad to work when it’s warm, in spring and in summer. In winter we go there less frequently, as in Kazakhstan it is colder and there are fewer jobs there in winter. In winter all people come home for 3-4 months and then come back to work.”

*Man-migrant, rural area,
Andijan.*

“We spend on rites 400 dollars that he made in Kazakhstan. We spent it on our daughter’s wedding ceremony and dowry. We also spend money to commemorate the death-day of our elder daughter.”

*Rural family,
Karakalpakstan.*

“Parents only save up money for the wedding. They found me a good bride. She is a good girl, I liked her. Now I send there good things (clothes), and my mother bought her jewellery. All my mother talks about is my wedding. They are happy that they can hold their head high now with our relatives.”

*Man-migrant, urban area,
Tashkent.*

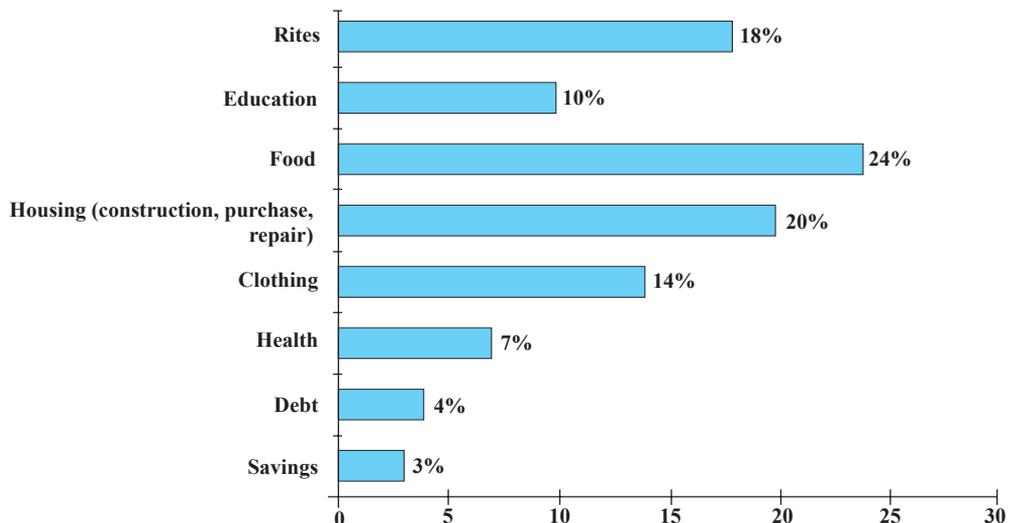
“She mainly went there to make money for the wedding. We spend around 1,000,000 soums, or even more. We were saving up for our daughters’ dowry since their birth. We bought our daughter furniture. We bought our second daughter furniture too, worth 400,000 soums.”

*Urban family,
Tashkent.*

“I mainly need money to commemorate my father’s death-day this winter. Otherwise, what will my relatives or makhalla say? My son doesn’t say anything but I know he wants to get married this summer. My daughter is also marriageable, I need money for their weddings; 2,000,000 soums per wedding.”

*Man-migrant, rural area,
Andijan.*

Fig. 22. How do migrants spend their earnings



“We spent our earnings for an orchard (apple trees). Now we are making money from it. I hired 2 people who are taking care of it. I pay them depending on the harvest.”

*Urban family,
Andijan.*

“I saved up money and spent them to repair my house and my parent’s one. I also bought a car and opened a computer café which brings good profit here. I rarely migrate now and do not work anywhere else as my business produces enough income for me and my family.”

*Intermediary, urban area,
Tashkent.*

“I send home a part of the money I make – around 100-150 dollars a month. I try to save up some of the money. I invest my savings to make more money. For instance, I can hire more people for whom I get paid and thus I get paid more than the firm pays me since the more workers I bring, the more I am paid. That’s how I save up money.”

*Intermediary, rural area,
Andijan.*

proverb says: “An Uzbek repairs his house before wedding.” As if in confirmation of the proverb, most respondents associate migration with the necessity to celebrate their children’s wedding. Daughter’s marriage is considered more important than son’s because a young man can get married later while daughter’s marriage cannot be delayed, as a girl should get married before a certain age (usually 23-25).

“We spend money on essential things: mainly on food, rites, and weddings and save up for a dowry for a younger daughter. She is 19 and already marriageable.”

*Rural family,
Karakalpakstan.*

Clothing and children’s education are also expenditure items, though less significant. Some respondents, mainly intermediaries and urban women, try to make some savings in cash or material values (property, car, jewellery, etc.). Some respondents invest their earnings in business, thus increasing their income.

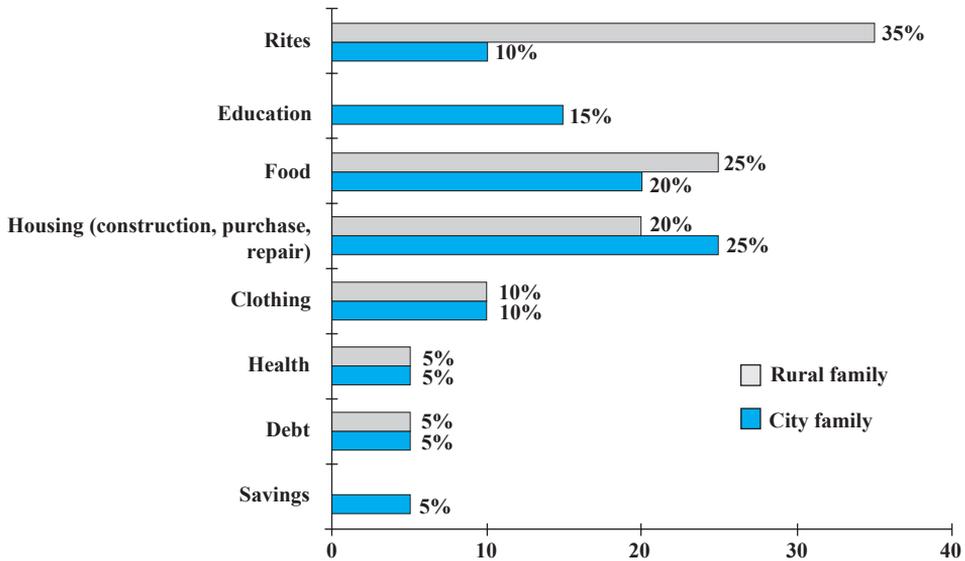
Comparison of expenses between target groups reveals approximately the same picture, but there is some difference between urban and rural areas.

“I borrowed 1.5 million soums to pay for my sons’ study contract. When my son and I went to my husband to Russia I borrowed again, moreover, I borrowed at interest. I have to pay back as my creditors come to my house and ask for their money everyday.”

*Urban family,
Andijan.*

Rural people almost do not spend money for education, while expenses for rites constitute the main part of all expenses.

Fig. 23. How does a family spend its migration earnings?



Housing is more important for urban families rather than for rural ones. As a rule, most respondents from rural families do not have savings.

Some respondents use their earnings to pay back their debts, which they incurred to migrate or to support their families until they earn their first money. Mostly, new migrants, who recently started labour migration, have debts.

Comparison of expenditures by gender shows that women, who play the key role in observing customs and rituals, bear less expenses on these events. It can be explained by the fact that the female migrants interviewed are primarily in their mid ages, i.e. they have not faced the issue of observing relevant rites since their children have not reached marriageable age yet.

Are education and health the essential expenditure items?

While spending on education and health is not dominating in migration income distribution, a number of respondents noted its importance to their families.

When they need to make a choice between their health and education of their children the respondents choose the latter.

Rural families, while not mentioning expenses on education, plan in future to provide their children with university or at least secondary specialised education.

“I think the most important thing is health, that’s why we never save on food. Your look depends on what you eat. You have to prevent the illness as my daughter says. That’s why our family takes vitamins and eats “Evita”, the yogurt that my daughter brought. I make similar one for my grandchildren. My son brings “Bittner” from Moscow. We drink a lemon tea, rosehip tea, eat dried fruit in winter, and drink juice that we make in summer.”

*Rural family,
Andijan.*

“Health of my family is the most important thing to me, that’s why I try not to save on food and tell the same to my son. My wife says that climate of Kazakhstan has a good effect on her health; it is easier to breathe for her there.”

*Urban family,
Karakalpakstan.*

“Well, it is difficult to answer such questions. If you are to choose, health of our family and children is a priority, but rites are important as well.”

*Rural family,
Tashkent province.*

“Our children and grandchildren are educated, have bachelor’s degrees, and it was always important to us; but we have a lot of relatives so we have to observe our rites as we are Uzbeks.”

*Urban family,
Tashkent.*

“First of all, my children’s health is of importance to me. Their education is in the second place as the time passes, children grow up and you understand that lack of education means no prospects in life.”

*Urban family,
Andijan.*

“Currently, my children’s education is a priority. I hope that they will complete their studies, get jobs and be able to help us. Certainly, it would be good to improve health of all our family members, but now it’s just a dream.”

*Urban family,
Tashkent.*

Most of them noted that their children need to acquire some professional skills (construction, cooking, carpentry, etc.).

Many respondents understand that education would open new horizons to their children. Owing to the obtained knowledge, it will be easier for them to find their place in life and get a good job.

“Health and education of my son are the most important things to me now. I want him to get good education, because he is the only child I have. My husband and I never studied after high school, thus we can’t find good jobs and work wherever we can. I have the only son, and I want to make money so he could go to college. I have one more year to save up and get him trained.”

*Woman-migrant, rural area,
Andijan.*

“My younger son is currently going to a building site to learn, he is only an apprentice. He is not paid but he also doesn’t pay for training.”

*Urban family,
Andijan.*

“Both health and education of children are important. The reason why I am at home is because we’ve decided to pay more attention to their education. I will continue to go there and make money so that my children could continue their education.”

*Woman-migrant, urban area,
Karakalpakstan.*

“Education of my children is important to me, but now my daughter studies at a banking college, and she doesn’t want to continue her studies; she wants to start working and make money. We’ve agreed that as far as I have a job I will buy food, clothes and other things, and if she finds a job she will save up for her wedding. So when time comes for her to get married we will not have to borrow money.”

*Woman-migrant, urban area,
Andijan.*

“Most of the money is spent on food and health, while not a single penny is spent on education. On the contrary, we made our younger sister quit her study, because it brings nothing but expenses. She’d better embroider or do some other woman things. If she gets married, let her husband make money.”

*Man-migrant, rural area,
Andijan.*

“Our family has always paid special attention to education, which is why my son wants his children to have higher education. My grandson is keen on computer, his dad sent one to him from Moscow. My grandson helps all the relatives: prints an essay or lecture or something else – he does everything himself. My son wants him to study in Moscow, that is why he goes to private tutors and takes English language classes. Our younger daughter goes to elementary school and learns to sue and embroider.”

*Rural family,
Andijan.*

“In big cities there are more opportunities for children to study, that is why my son wants to take them to Moscow, since he sees how educated the children are there. However, now it’s good for them to live in the village; environment is better here; fresh air and healthy food are better for their growth. Later on they are planning to study in a city, may be even in Moscow.”

*Rural family,
Andijan.*

“I am very serious about my children’s education; my goal has always been to make them educated people. There can be different circumstances in life. I am an educated person. First, it’s not my fault that my high education is not appreciated and I am low-paid. Second, an educated person is notable for his intellect, outlook, and approaches life more seriously. I think it’s easier for him to get oriented in something owing to his thorough knowledge. Uneducated person is weak in every aspect.”

*Urban family
Andijan.*

Urban and some rural respondents admit that in addition to computer skills, it is important for their children to learn Russian and English.

The gender profile suggests that women more often than men said that they would do their best to equip their children with the latest technical knowledge. Preference is given to boys, as they will become future breadwinners. However, when there are only girls in the family parents also pay serious attention to their education.

Migration Assessment

What migrants like in a host country

Despite problems that migrants face, the respondents note a lot of positive sides of labour migration. An indisputable advantage mentioned by the migrants is the growing labour market, employment opportunities and decent pay. This makes it possible to cover the expenses of a migrant and his family and make savings. Their earnings enable them to ensure decent subsistence for their families at home. Moreover, when migrants come back, they try to set up the conveniences and amenities they have seen in the host country.

Staying in host countries enabled the migrants to look with the eyes of an outsider at rites observed at home. Most of them migrated just to prepare for future wedding expenses of their children and younger siblings. However, after seeing how differently these events are organised in their host countries, they start to understand how wasteful the rites of their country are.

In addition to that, their attitude to education, which is usually prestigious in

“There are a lot of well-paid jobs there. And I feel like a real man, especially when I get back home and see my own glamorous house! I can buy whatever I want, so I am not ashamed before my daughter-in-law.”

*Man-migrant, urban area,
Tashkent.*

“I don’t know Moscow as I don’t go out. Every six months I go to a small shop just before I leave. I can see rich people there, it is good. I also like children playgrounds. I haven’t seen anything like them here.”

*Woman-migrant, rural area,
Tashkent province.*

“I liked places where we were. People are different. Nature is beautiful; I wish I stayed there, but right now I need to send my brother to a military school. People live beautiful lives, make absolutely different refurbishments, and I learned from them and now I want to repair my house myself.”

*Man-migrant, rural area,
Andijan.*

“Most of all I like the way they treat their women. I could rarely see such treatment here. My husband humiliated me from the first day of our marriage, as well as all his family; they treated me as if I wasn’t a human being.”

*Woman-migrant, urban area,
Tashkent.*

“I would like to see the education level in Uzbekistan as high as here so that children in Uzbekistan could not only study but also be able to use their knowledge in work, and make good money.”

*Woman-migrant, rural area,
Andijan.*

“They have high living standards there; everything at their houses is automated. They have more cultural activities. People look after their health more, and much attention is paid to education.”

*Man-migrant, rural area,
Andijan.*

the host country, changes as well. Women migrants also noted a different attitude to women in host countries. They are also willing to change and introduce similar behavioural patterns in relations between men and women in their home country.

Some respondents who managed to open their business in a host country noted the simplicity of registration procedures to set up a private enterprise.

Wish to stay in a host country

Mainly young male migrants and single women expressed a wish to stay in a host country. However, some migrants cannot fulfil this wish as they have to take care of their parents in Uzbekistan. In most cases, respondents perceive labour migration

“I come back only because of my son, but I don’t like to stay in the Emirates as well; I would like to move to Europe if possible. I need to think about my son’s future.”

*Woman-migrant, urban area,
Tashkent.*

“I don’t know yet. It’s good there but I will get married soon. Maybe I will continue going there, depending on visa availability; a lot of guys already received residence permits. I am thinking about it too, but my parents are against it.”

*Man-migrant, urban area,
Tashkent.*

“I don’t want to live far from my relatives. I plan to make money there, buy a car here and work as a taxi-driver.”

*Man-migrant, urban area,
Karakalpakstan.*

“If I could stay and work there, I would do that. You can make good money working there.”

*Man-migrant, rural area,
Andijan.*

“I would like to stay there some day as there is a well-paid job and my life depends on it.”

*Man-migrant, rural area,
Andijan.*

“People are forced to go abroad to make money. People from Uzbekistan go to Russia; those with money go to Kazakhstan, those who have less money (Russians) go to Turkey or the United States. I guess it’s a natural process, we don’t know for sure. But it was not like this during Soviet times, which is why it is unusual to us. We used to go to work, get paid and live at home.”

*Man-migrant, rural area,
Andijan.*

“If there was a job in Uzbekistan, it would be great to work at home, close to relatives, rather than abroad. Staying abroad because of work and move somewhere is not something I long for, because it is better at home. My parents are buried there and we will also be buried there some day. I hope the situation here improves with time, and our children won’t try to move. Our friends and relatives are here; everybody knows each other, it’s my makhalla, my city, and my country.”

*Man-migrant, rural area,
Andijan.*

“I have been working for 15 years and I got used to it. There was no point in starting the same business here. For example, market seats were sold in the bazaar I bought one, worked a bit, then after a while I was kicked out. They broke the rows of shopping stalls, built kiosks and said “buy a kiosk.” Where could I get money from? Maybe a person doesn’t have it. And to open such a solid catering business as I have (in the host country), you will have to give away the shirt off your back.”

*Man-migrant, urban area,
Tashkent.*

“I have absolutely no intention to stay there. I am willing to go to work and come back home. If I had a good job here I would never go to Russia.”

*Woman-migrant, urban area.
Andijan.*

“Of course, it is not good to be far from your family, friends and relatives. But that’s the way life is. It would have been better to work here, go home after work to my wife, children and grandchildren. I come back once a year and can’t spend enough time with my family: I have to go visit my relatives, my friends start calling me or some problems arise. There is one good thing: I can go with my wife and have some rest, improve my health and spend time with my grandchildren in the evening. I don’t want to stay there for good; when I retire I will rebuild my house and live here as my roots are here.”

*Man-migrant,
Tashkent.*

as a temporary solution of their financial problems. They understand that once the employment-related problems are solved and they have decent wages to meet their needs in Uzbekistan, there will be no need for labour migration to other countries.

Migration benefits

A major change in migrants’ families is improved financial well-being. Thanks to that, the families can afford sufficient nutrition, purchase all necessary home appliances, and provide good education for their children. Some migrants open their own business or make savings. Besides, respondents gain new skills that they might use in the future after coming back home.

Another positive aspect mentioned by respondents is an opportunity to celebrate weddings observing all traditions. Migration helps migrants to provide a dowry for their daughters since their family status (as well as the bride family’s) directly depends on the dowry size.

An opportunity to earn good money outside home gives economic independence to women. They feel less fear of divorce and being single. They often become real breadwinners, feel confident and are not afraid to

“A positive thing is that it helps us survive and celebrate the wedding properly. We, especially children, don’t feel underprivileged.”

*Rural family,
Andijan.*

“We can’t see the results of my wife’s trip yet. It’s hard but we are motivated to hold on. We can’t let her down, it is hard for her, too. Our main goal is to celebrate our son’s wedding. We won’t be able to do it without this trip.”

*Rural family,
Andijan.*

“A good thing about going to work abroad is that a family gets cash which helps solve some family problems – get better food and clothes. You can celebrate wedding and other rites.”

*Man-migrant, rural area,
Andijan.*

“If it wasn’t for my son’s job I don’t know if we could live the way we do now. He helps his family live adequately, and he helps his relatives: his nephews have contract-based studies at a medical institute, and he helps them pay tuition, because their parents can’t afford it as they live on their low wages.”

*Urban family,
Tashkent.*

“I have seen so many cities and places. I would never be able to do that. I saw how people lived. Then I made money, learned to do refurbishment, I obtained an occupation. I didn’t have the money to study in Andijan either.”

*Man-migrant, urban area,
Andijan.*

“I saw many aspects of life; met many people – good and bad, had some fun, went to the zoo, parks, took a ride on a motor ship... Owing to good food I restored my health in a way.”

*Urban family,
Andijan.*

“I can’t complain on migration, it saved my daughter much trouble. She wanted to commit suicide after she got beaten by her husband once again; we hardly saved her life. It was my fault. I should have let her divorce after he came out of jail, but I was listening to relatives and neighbours’ opinions. People’s judgment was more important to me.”

*Urban family
Tashkent.*

“I don’t know what would have been to me and my family without migration. And now we want for nothing. It will get even better when I take my son from my husband to live with me.”

*Woman-migrant, urban area,
Tashkent.*

“The positive thing is that we improved our financial position. We would not live like that on my pension and my son’s wages (even if he got the job).”

*Urban family,
Karakalpakstan.*

be stigmatised as a divorced woman. However, if a woman intends to come back and raise her children in Uzbekistan, in many cases she thinks that a bad marriage is better than good divorce. Stigma of a single mother means that matchmakers will avoid her house since a bride from a broken family where there is no father to stand next to her during the wedding ceremony is considered flawed.

The survey has shown that one of the labour migration effects is promotion of middle class formation. Representatives of this class see migration as an opportunity to provide good education for their children, improve living conditions and save up in cash, property etc. Some respondents invest their earnings in business.

Although rural families did not mention education expenditures, they plan to give their children at least secondary specialised education, if not higher. Acquiring professional skills by their children is a priority for labour migrants. Urban families and some migrants want their children, especially boys, to master computer operation skills, and know Russian and English languages well. Preference in education is given to boys as future breadwinners. The survey has shown that female respondents are more interested in providing good education for their children.

Adverse effects of migration

As a rule, the negative sides of labour migration mentioned by the respondents are associated with their illegal status in a host country and difficult integration into a new society.

Work in difficult conditions, staying in barracks and trailers in wintertime and unhealthy work have adverse health effects. Migrants often practice self-treatment and are at risk of becoming disabled.

Another negative consequence of migration is deterioration of family relations. Long stay far away from the family tempts husbands into a cheating on their wives and results in family disruption. As the result, women lose not just a husband but

“A negative thing is that you can lose your health. You don’t know what might happen abroad. You are afraid that you may not come back, because I hear about various things. So, if your husband is near you your life is much quieter.”

*Rural family,
Karakalpakstan.*

“Insufferable cold and moistness that worsen your health. Many people get sick. And a lot of them are missing. My husband also drinks there but he says it is only to fight cold and sustain his health.”

*Urban family
Andijan.*

“A negative aspect is that many families break up. Some people make money and drink it away, some forget about their families and start spending their earnings and live like this for many years. Lots of people are missing or die.”

*Urban family
Andijan.*

“Lots of men find wives there and don’t come back to their families.”

*Urban family,
Andijan.*

“I don’t have a family due to migration. I am sitting home alone looking after the grandchildren. We could have survived without migration. And now he found an American woman. It’s very bad. Men shouldn’t go away. His friend’s wife was smarter and didn’t allow him (her husband) to leave last time.”

*Urban family,
Tashkent.*

“Negative sides: great problems with registration as lack of registration means you will get to a lock-up ward or jail, or you will have to work somewhere for free like a slave, and if you are lucky you will be deported.”

*Man-migrant, rural area,
Andijan.*

“A negative side is that a person lives in fear most of the time, has limited rights, and his freedom and actions are also limited. It doesn’t matter if he has registration or a residence permit or not. The police can stop him at any time to extort money. They start intimidating him, saying that registration is illegal and he will be deported. So, they can imprison him under any pretext.”

*Urban family,
Andijan.*

“A negative thing is that you are far away from your family and relatives. You feel homesick and can’t help them with household chores. You want to make money but if you are not paid and deceived you will end up in debt. Another thing is that such trips are always illegal and a lot of people have problems with the authorities.”

*Man-migrant, rural area,
Andijan.*

“Migration negatively affects both husband and wife. If a husband’s at home you can control him, otherwise you don’t know what he does and if he is ok. If a wife gets sick, a husband would take care of her, it is easier for the two to survive.”

*Urban family,
Karakalpakstan.*

“My son needs me. If I don’t phone him he almost cries. As a matter of fact he lives without mom and dad now.”

*Woman-migrant, urban area,
Tashkent.*

“My absence from the family affected my kids’ morale. They don’t have a father. They live with my mother-in-law when I am away, but she treats them very tough. They don’t want to visit her. They say she’s mean and angry. Every time I leave home with a heavy heart, but I don’t have a choice as we need to survive somehow.”

*Woman-migrant, urban area,
Andijan.*

“My absence from my family affected my relationship with my son – he became a different person, I couldn’t bring him up the way I wanted to... He became mercantile and all he needs from me is money. There is no warmth between us any more.”

*Woman-migrant,
Andijan.*

“I have to do almost all household chores. I am responsible for everything in our house. I make all the decisions. When my husband calls I consult with him but I am the only one responsible for everything. We want our daughter to get married in spring 2007, and then we will save up for a wedding and a house for our son. There are a lot of problems and not enough money. Maybe I will have to go to work abroad next year as well.”

*Rural family,
Andijan.*

also a breadwinner and all family members suffer from that, especially children. That is why women prefer to live in poverty but as a family.

That is why many women migrate together with their husbands, leaving their children with parents or relatives which finally brings about new gaps in rearing children.

When a single mother migrates, children fully lose parental care. They become picky and adopt parasitic attitude as mothers try to compensate them for their absence with presents. Besides, a child having lived without parents for a long time can fall under bad influence of the street.

What needs to be done in Uzbekistan and host countries to solve labour migrants' problems?

Many respondents think that labour migrants' problems could be solved if there is free border crossing or at least streamlined border and customs control procedures.

“If people migrate, make it official. More than half of Kurgan people go abroad to look for jobs. It would be good if you could know for sure where you are going and how much you will get.”

*Rural family,
Andijan.*

“If I knew for sure that I would have registration, job, and I would be paid, and would not be killed or deceived and, what is most important, that it is legal, then my son, daughter and I would go to work abroad and then we would come back and live here.”

*Urban family,
Karakalpakstan.*

“I wish my son had double citizenship. Maybe the life will change for the better and he will be able to work in Uzbekistan the same way, make good money, and be useful to his country. Now he is forced to migrate for the sake of his children and their future. I wish the former Soviet Union countries had visa-free entry, something like Schengen visa.”

*Urban family,
Tashkent.*

“I'd say only one thing: if we had jobs and were paid in time, half of labour migrants wouldn't go to work abroad.”

*Man-migrant, urban area,
Karakalpakstan.*

The legalisation-related difficulties bring about most problems both for migrants and for countries where they work. On the other hand, the fact that solution of their problems is mainly delegated to law enforcement bodies contributes to corruption at lower levels of the law enforcement system. Respondents think that to address these issues the states should sign relevant agreements.

The respondents note that more employment opportunities and stable, timely payment of wages will result in return of most labour migrants and in reduced labour migration abroad.

Conclusions

Reasons for migration. As stated by the respondents, the key reason for migration is economic problems. A number of male migrants had been employed before they migrated, and they mastered at least one occupation. Their decision to migrate was not due to unemployment; it was rather due to their dissatisfaction with their income level and untimely wage payment. Women decide to go to work abroad due to loss of their source of income (divorce, loss of breadwinner, unemployment), or failure to continue with their previous jobs (among reasons some female respondents noted sexual harassment).

An indirect, but very frequently mentioned, reason for labour migration is the future expenditures for wedding-related traditional rites and other ceremonies. Forthcoming expenditures on their children's education were mentioned as well.

Making a decision to migrate. Men usually discuss their available options with their family members, while women more often make this decision by themselves – which might be explained by the fact that female migration is more typical of single, divorced or widowed women

As a rule, respondents migrate to neighbouring countries (Kazakhstan and Russia). The main motivation for selection of certain migration destination is whether there are acquaintances able to help with accommodation and adaptation. There are frequent cases of migration outside the FSU. Normally, an opportunity to migrate comes unexpectedly, and the respondents formally start living there as usual tourists or students.

Migration in groups is usually supported by intermediaries. Very few cases of official labour migration, i.e. under bilateral agreements with the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection of Uzbekistan, were noted. This opportunity is more often available to residents of the capital or highly skilled specialists from provinces.

Migrants' problems. The major problem is lack of start-up capital. Not every family can invest in a labour migrant: that would exhaust all the resources of most extended families. Also, the problems at border crossing points and with law enforcement agencies were noted as well as problems related to residence in a host country: search for inexpensive housing (which often means lack of basic living conditions), registration, employment and adaptation to new, unusual environment. Registration is of special importance since its lack means not only the risk of deportation, but also lack of access to health services and social safety net. Thus, migrants depend on people providing them with registration (usually acquaintances and intermediaries). Moreover, employers often withhold migrants' passports and thus turn them into serfs forced to continue working for minimum pay (in many cases this is planned ahead by an intermediary and an employer).

Types of employment. There are some gender differences in migrants' labour division. Urban women usually work as sellers in the market. Some of them who have university education and computer operation skills find jobs as secretaries. Rural women mostly work as housekeepers and babysitters. Urban men sometimes find employment at private enterprises or in catering industry. Rural men are mostly employed in construction industry.

Labour conditions. The women working as housekeepers usually live at an employer's house. The men, recruited by intermediaries to work as construction workers, usually work in brigades and live in barracks.

Expenditures. Migrants try to minimize their spending in host countries to set aside more money. In Uzbekistan, these savings are spent mainly on food. The second important expenditure item is construction or house repair. The third one is weddings, mainly daughters' as parents want them to get married before sons.

Effects. Thanks to labour migration, a number of families have improved their well-being. The experience in other countries enables labour migrants to have a fresh look at many traditional stereotypes, namely, life cycle-related rites and relations between men and women. Migration affects families both in terms of family relations and children upbringing.

Wish to stay longer. Mainly young men and single women would like to stay in a host country for good. Most families consider migration as a temporary employment opportunity to make money. The respondents note that they will come back given the improved economic situation, more jobs and better income in their home country.

Expected government decisions. The respondents think that a lot of migrants' problems would disappear if the governments signed relevant

interstate agreements. They also think that state border crossing rules are highly stringent and impede labour migration. Legalisation remains the migrants' major problem, entailing a range of other issues, thus being the focus of government efforts.

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