

---

## МИГРАЦИОННЫЕ ПРОЦЕССЫ

---

### Labor Migration of Armenians into Russia: Problems and Prospects

A. ALEKSANYAN\*

\***Ashot Aleksanyan** – Doctor of Politics, Expert of the Migration Competence Center, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Faculty of International Relations, Yerevan State University. Address: 1 Alex Mannogian St., 0025, Yerevan, Armenia. E-mail: ashalex@ysu.am

**Citation:** Aleksanyan A. (2015) Labor Migration of Armenians into Russia: Problems and Prospects. *Mir Rossii*, vol. 24, no 2, pp. 105–128 (in Russian)

*This article provides a comparative analysis of the main factors of Armenian labor migration and the Indices of social development in Armenia (1990–2012). The article discusses the general trends of labor migration from Armenia. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia has become not only the “initial center” of labor migration, but a transit zone for labor migrants from Armenia. Since the establishment of the CIS, the mechanisms of the regulation of labor migration issues between Armenia and Russia have been formed. The integration of Armenian labor legislation began with the establishment of the Eurasian Customs Union (ECU), the Eurasian Economic Community (EurAsEC) and the Eurasian Economic Union (EEU). Armenia, after signing several agreements, also had the opportunity to actively participate in the development of a common labor market in the Eurasian space. In this context, the article discusses some statistics on labor migration.*

**Keywords:** Armenian labor migration, effective migration policy, active citizenship, the social integration of migrant workers, civilizational participation, the social challenges of democratization, social partnership, trade unions, corporate social responsibility

In the context of globalization and the demographic changes in the Eurasian space, labor migration is becoming an important factor in economic development and social progress. Despite the fact that migrant workers play a vital role in Russian society, they are exposed to various forms of discrimination. The main reasons for these negative phenomena are the lack of effective mechanisms for the protection of their social rights, freedoms and interests.

After the collapse of the USSR, the formation and preservation of a new independent national statehood was an issue for the republics of the former Soviet Union. In modern Armenia, the democratization of the political system and the development of civil society was an important step towards independent statehood [Libman, Vinokurov 2012; Sakwa 2015, pp. 12–30]. First of all, the democratic development of Armenia in the first years after the collapse of the USSR followed from the constitutional reform of the Armenian state. The constitutional and legal framework of the modern Armenian state is still in development and is controversial Armenia inherited because from the USSR various political, social, economic, spiritual and cultural issues, on top of the transition to a new system of public administration. The main issues for labor migration not limited to the new post-soviet nations: an inefficient labor migration policy, a weak legal framework of social partnership and dialogue, the lack of representativeness of trade unions, and a lack of social competence and trust. The relevance of this study is determined by modern trends of labor migration and the socio-political and economic characteristics of the development of Armenian society. This study analyzes the main trends in labor migration, the processes of social integration, and the formation of transnational Armenian social networks in Russia. The ineffective management of Armenian labor migration has led to the fragmentation and marginalization of social groups, which negatively affects the labor market and is linked to various social issues in Russia.

### **Unrealized potential of labor migration**

In recent years, increased internal and external labor migration has greatly weakened traditional Armenian social structure. Because this migration is unregulated Armenian society risks losing a significant part of its labor force, reduced population growth, population aging and problems related to families of migrant workers. This unregulated labor migration is a challenge for social progress, and urgent measures are needed for the development of human capital.

The mechanisms of the Soviet labor market are still evident; mechanisms which do not contribute to civilized labor migration in the Eurasian space. The absence of strong trade unions and social organizations, and negative trends in the institutionalization of labor migration do not protect the social rights and freedoms of workers in the country nor of migrant workers. An analysis of the work culture, the main stages of migration and, the transformation of the world economy shows that only strategic management and the implementation of social policies in the field of labor migration can enhance human and social capital in Eurasia [Bara, Di Bartolomeo, Brunarska, Makaryan., Mananashvili, Weinar 2013, pp. 69–70; Chudinovskikh 2012, pp. 251–272]. A comparative analysis of changes in labor migration shows that weak statehood has a negative impact on social relations, social trust and social capital.

In the field of labor migration there are still no complementary mechanisms or harmonization, so very often there is a conflict between the migration rules of post-Soviet countries. Taking into account the post-Soviet economic and social heritage, and the general rules of social policy, there is a need to develop a universal model of labor migration for the protection of the rights and freedoms of migrant workers. Currently post-Soviet migration is growing because of the free movement of labor migrants and the free visa regime among the CIS countries. This liberal migration

policy, contradictory relations between private and public property, a weak market economy and the low level of corporate culture and social responsibility increase the risk for social labor migrants [Hohmann, Mouradian, Serrano, Thorez 2014; Hollifield 2012, pp. 277–291]. The labor migration policy of CIS countries should regulate labor migration flows in the Eurasian Economic Union and the Customs Union, within the greater context of European and Eurasian integration. Of particular importance is the implementation of the progressive labor migration policies of the EU, the Council of Europe, OSCE, and ILO. A dialogue on migration and social integration between CIS countries is possible if it is based on universal principles of labor migration, which ideally form a mutually beneficial system balancing migration flows [Gabriel, Pellerin 2008; Tishkov, Zayinchkovskaya, Vitkovskaya 2005, pp. 3–9]. In particular, this new concept for the Armenian labor strategy should take into account national legal features of the Eurasian space and offer instruments for the migration of corporate responsibility. Increased mobility of the labor force can have a positive impact on the internationalization of human capital in Armenia. Administrative reforms of labor migration in Armenia could facilitate the integration of the models of CIS labor migration. Such an approximation of the labor market and the harmonization of the legal framework between Armenia and Russia can develop social benefits and a new migration space. In a situation of an insufficient implementation of migration legislation, administrative barriers to legalize labor migrants and inconsistencies in migration policy among the CIS countries form a negative socio-economic environment, where trade unions cannot effectively protect the social rights and freedoms of migrant workers [Choudinovskikh, Denissenko 2013, Zayinchkovskaya, Mkrtchian, Tyuryukanova 2014, pp. 200–244].

## **Labor migration management**

A transformation of labor migration in the social development of the South Caucasus emerged after the collapse of the USSR. New social and economic relations were and are necessary for the formation of partnerships to develop mechanisms of labor migration. The relevance of the implementation of an effective labor migration policy is:

- 1) the need for systemic change in social and labor relations which would be capable of combining the interests of employers, employees and the government;
- 2) a lack of adequate economic conditions for the development of social and labor relations;
- 3) the need to improve the legal and regulatory framework governing the relationship of social policy actors, especially for the fulfillment of state obligations and responsibilities;
- 4) the weakness of trade unions in the protection of social rights and freedoms;
- 5) an unequal relationship between trade unions and the business community.

Social partnership in the field of labor migration should resolve the contradictions and conflicts of interest on the basis of compromise and consensus. The strategy of labor migration partnership in Armenia should represent the interests of all social groups, as this will ensure social stability and socio-economic development. Labor migration partnership ensures the constructive engagement of all actors of social policy, and the formation of the welfare state.

Table 1. Labor force (total): the South Caucasus<sup>1</sup>

	Georgia	Azerbaijan	Armenia
1990	2,320,417	2,921,075	1,680,806
1991	2,367,941	2,969,160	1,663,464
1992	2,435,890	3,060,482	1,616,301
1993	2,464,378	3,134,533	1,570,360
1994	2,443,432	3,189,755	1,531,834
1995	2,385,530	3,234,076	1,502,244
1996	2,331,203	3,284,144	1,483,478
1997	2,292,331	3,343,647	1,471,444
1998	2,279,446	3,409,244	1,468,625
1999	2,270,149	3,474,394	1,471,611
2000	2,194,252	3,556,038	1,473,270
2001	2,280,517	3,638,100	1,478,102
2002	2,214,336	3,725,332	1,463,568
2003	2,263,377	3,810,519	1,451,108
2004	2,232,735	3,899,969	1,436,854
2005	2,264,845	3,986,192	1,422,160
2006	2,293,300	4,078,128	1,406,437
2007	2,293,834	4,161,524	1,392,459
2008	2,300,468	4,294,596	1,379,176
2009	2,327,862	4,457,704	1,394,340
2010	2,356,831	4,514,736	1,451,010
2011	2,380,869	4,626,430	1,464,961
2012	2,393,615	4,741,442	1,480,504

Source: <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.TLF.TOTL.IN>

<sup>1</sup> “Total labor force comprises people ages 15 and older who meet the International Labour Organization definition of the economically active population: all people who supply labor for the production of goods and services during a specified period. It includes both the employed and the unemployed. While national practices vary in the treatment of such groups as the armed forces and seasonal or part-time workers, in general the labor force includes the armed forces, the unemployed, and first-time job-seekers, but excludes homemakers and other unpaid caregivers and workers in the informal sector” (<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.TLF.TOTL.IN>).

In Armenia one of the main conditions for effective labor migration is social stability and the sustainability of society, which can be achieved in a market economy through the mechanisms of social partnership and dialogue. The functioning of a civilized labor market through appropriate mechanisms of social policy, social interaction and a constructive relationship between different groups, will improve human security and the quality of life.

The reform of labor migration management and employment is still being developed, and the new system does not yet provide effective protection of the rights and freedoms of those in the labor market, nor a balance of supply and demand in the labor force (see *Table 1*). *Table 1* shows the changes in the labor force in the South Caucasus. According to these results, the workforce in Armenia has shrunk, in Georgia the numbers fluctuated but grew slightly overall, and the best situation is observed in Azerbaijan, where the labor force continues to grow.

The labor market is still forming in Armenia [*Karapetyan et al. 2011; Makaryan, Galstyan 2012; Serrière 2014*]. The labor market<sup>2</sup> is regulated by supply and demand, and only the strongest trade unions can provide a social dimension to the labor market. In the context of weak competition and market mechanisms is important to ensure the participation of trade unions (and thereby the work force as a whole) in solving the problems of wages, the reduced demand for professional labor, unemployment and other social challenges. The role of trade unions was considered important in the Soviet era and even the totalitarian political system of the USSR gave trade unions legal mechanisms for the protection of the social rights and freedoms of the workers. In democratic countries, trade unions are social partners with the government and business who are given the opportunity to participate in political decision-making, and in the implementation of social policy and they play an important role in protecting workers' rights. In Armenia in determining the goals, the regulation, and the control of the labor market, trade unions can actively influence market mechanisms and the economic and socio-political mechanisms for matching supply and demand. Weak trade unions in Armenia cannot have an impact on the labor force, or be effective for employment regulation, strategic labor force planning, and short-term, intermediate and long-term employment (see *Table 2*). *Table 2* shows the dynamics of labor force participation in the South Caucasus, and that the possibilities of economic growth have not been exhausted, but remain very limited. These data show the evaluation of the quantity of labor force participation. While Armenia had the highest rate in 1990, by 2012 it trailed both Georgia and Azerbaijan.

Trade unions can significantly affect civic culture and the quality of life of employees, as well as influence job culture. Effective cooperation among the government, the business community and trade unions can increase the obligations of employers to employees forming their respective requirements for the workplace. In the knowledge society new criteria of labor policy have formed: professional competence, initiative, creativity, self-discipline, knowledge of a foreign language, the corresponding labor costs, good working conditions, corporate social responsibility, the viability of the profession, and corporate culture. Within the framework of social partnership Armenian unions are cooperating with the government and the Republican Union of Employers, which gives the opportunity to resolve disagreements through discussion and compromise. If in the past trade unions provided social assistance to employees only, today trade unions can achieve changes in labor code through cooperation with the government.

---

<sup>2</sup> Armenia: poverty profile and labor market developments in 2008-2011 // [http://www.armstat.am/file/article/poverty\\_2012e\\_2.pdf](http://www.armstat.am/file/article/poverty_2012e_2.pdf).

Table 2. Labor force participation rate, total (% of total population ages 15+) (modeled ILO estimate): the South Caucasus<sup>3</sup>

	Georgia	Azerbaijan	Armenia
1990	64	62	68
1991	65	62	68
1992	66	63	67
1993	66	64	67
1994	66	64	66
1995	66	64	66
1996	66	64	66
1997	66	64	65
1998	66	64	65
1999	66	64	65
2000	64	64	65
2001	66	64	64
2002	64	64	63
2003	65	64	62
2004	64	64	61
2005	64	64	60
2006	64	64	60
2007	63	64	59
2008	64	64	59
2009	64	65	59
2010	64	65	62
2011	64	65	62
2012	65	66	63

Source: <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.TLF.CACT.ZS>

<sup>3</sup> “Labor force participation rate is the proportion of the population ages 15 and older that is economically active: all people who supply labor for the production of goods and services during a specified period” (<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.TLF.CACT.ZS>).

On April 29, 2009, the first time since the collapse of the Soviet Union a tripartite collective agreement was signed. This collective agreement on additional guarantees in social and labor relations was signed by the Prime Minister of the Republic of Armenia, the President of the Republican Employers' Union of Armenia, and the Chairman of Trade Union Confederation of Armenia. This culture of social partnership is a new phenomenon in Armenian society and in the field of labor legislation. It is obvious that collective agreements and collective bargaining are essential tools of trade unions, because the collective agreement implements legal provisions for employees, and creates more favorable conditions. The collective agreement is the basis of the formation and development of social partnerships in Armenia.

Post-Soviet labor migration has positive and negative elements, and has social, economic progress and cultural features [Imanov 2005, pp. 231–243]. Labor force development is a guarantee of human capital, which determines the quality of competitiveness and profitability. A feature of the labor force is that the actors of social policy should always be interested in preserving the mobility and dynamism of the labor force (*Table 1*). The initial stage of labor migration has led to economic, financial and social losses. The main problem was and is the inefficient management of labor migration, and weak market economy mechanisms. Russia still retains in the post-Soviet space “the image of the USSR” and as traditionally, labor migration continues to flow into Russia from all the former Soviet republics. In particular, the lack of experience in administrative management of migration flows, has led to both legal and illegal mass migration from the former Soviet Union and social and economic risks for Russia, and even in financial losses to the Russian budget. An effective migration policy could lead to positive effects: overcoming the deficit in the economy; ensuring the competitiveness of the labor market, supplying a cheap labor force and low labor costs. Therefore, legal and illegal labor migration has led to negative consequences: ethnic and religious conflicts; an increase in crime; a lack of professionalism, additional costs for deportation, and additional costs in health care and medical insurance.

## **Labor migration regime**

After independence in the South Caucasus, labor migration began inside and outside the region. The attractiveness of the capitals for internal migrants comes from the fact that capitals are where the political and bureaucratic institutions of governance are concentrated. Population growth in the capitals of the South Caucasus are still supported mainly by internal labor migration. Since the 1990s, the social and demographic transformation of domestic labor migration has led to an ongoing reduction of the rural population, the negative intensity of migratory flows, a decrease in the volume of migration cycles within districts, cities and villages. The main problems of labor migration within the country was and is to provide all the economically active population with jobs, and the growing bureaucratic system was not able to implement adequate social policies [Batten, Szilagyi 2011; Gutiérrez, Hondagneu-Sotelo 2009; Héran 2014, pp. 23–36]. As a result, since the 1990s the countries of the South Caucasus are donors in the mass labor migrations (*Table 3, 4, 5, Figure 1*). On the external level the flow of migrant workers is mainly from the rural population, who initially migrated to Russia. *Tables 3–5* and *Figure 1* show the dynamics of changes in migration in the South Caucasus. The most stable migration dynamics are in Azerbaijan. Following the data on migration rates Azerbaijan has a positive result, in contrast to Armenia and Georgia.

Table 3. Net migration rate (per 1,000 population)<sup>4</sup>

	Georgia	Azerbaijan	Armenia
1985–1990	-2,3	-3,4	-3,4
1990–1995	-20,7	-2,8	-29,3
1995–2000	-15,9	-3	-14,2
2000–2005	-13,4	0,3	-9,5
2005–2010	-6,8	0,2	-9,1
2010–2015	-5,8	0	-3,4

Source: <http://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/Excel-Data/migration.htm>

Table 4. Net migration<sup>5</sup>

	Georgia	Azerbaijan	Armenia
1987	-61577	-118757	-58313
1992	-544069	-105573	-496288
1997	-390036	-119785	-223873
2002	-309021	10655	-143966
2007	-150000	10655	-136009
2012	-125007	0	-50001

Source: <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SM.POP.NETM>

Table 5. Net number of migrants, both sexes combined (thousands)<sup>6</sup>

	Georgia	Azerbaijan	Armenia
1985–1990	-62	-119	-58
1990–1995	-544	-106	-496
1995–2000	-390	-120	-224
2000–2005	-309	11	-144
2005–2010	-150	11	-136
2010–2015	-125	0	-50

<sup>4</sup> Net Migration Rate: “The number of immigrants minus the number of emigrants over a period, divided by the person-years lived by the population of the receiving country over that period. It is expressed as average annual net number of migrants per 1,000 population” (World Population Prospects: The 2012 Revision, <http://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/Excel-Data/migration.htm>).

<sup>5</sup> “Net migration is the net total of migrants during the period, that is, the total number of immigrants less the annual number of emigrants, including both citizens and noncitizens. Data are five-year estimates” (<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SM.POP.NETM>).

<sup>6</sup> Net Number of Migrants: “The net number of migrants, that is, the number of immigrants minus the number of emigrants. It is expressed as thousands” (World Population Prospects: The 2012 Revision, <http://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/Excel-Data/migration.htm>).

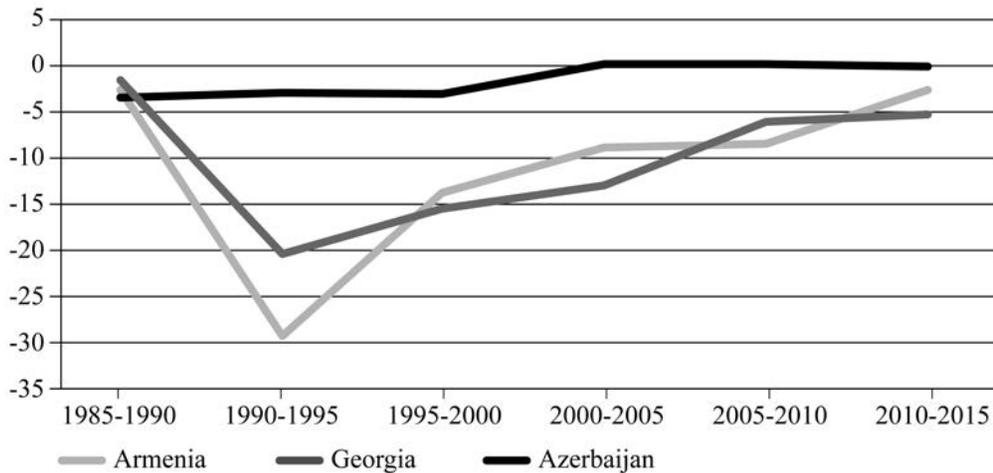


Figure 1. Net migration rate (per 1,000 population)  
 Source: <http://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/Excel-Data/migration.htm>

In the future, the economic prosperity of Armenia will be even more dependent on migrant workers. The modern pattern of labor migration and the migration situation in Armenia still has a positive impact on socio-economic development. In the modern world Russia and other European countries compete for high-quality professional migrant workers. The conflicting labor migration policies in the post-Soviet area are hampering efforts to develop effective labor migration and balanced migration policies, including the legal and institutional support of employment and the social integration of migrant workers.

The economic blockade of Armenia by Turkey and Azerbaijan still negatively affects the internationalization of economic relations, the mobility of capital, services, technology and human resources. At the same time manipulation techniques of labor migration have formed, which have turned into illegal business behavior in the post-Soviet labor market. The post-Soviet legacy and the visa-free regime between the Russian and Armenian migration space and the labor migration regime are relatively liberal. In the former Soviet Union, Russia—the main host country for Armenian labor migrants—has an immigration policy which cannot effectively protect the social rights of migrant workers (Table 6). Legal and illegal labor migration is still inconsistent and irrational—a feature of the contemporary migration regime in Russia.

The inefficient management of labor migration in Russia is reflected in the inability of the labor market to shape immigration policy and socio-economic supply and demand (Table 6). Most of the groups of Armenian migrants are illegal migrants in Russia, because very often migrant workers cannot legally get jobs. Armenian labor migrants in Russia are mainly engaged in the informal employment sector and are exploited. Illegal migration provides the ground for the networks of semi-official, informal and criminal organizations which provide “extensive services” to migrant workers in the employment market [Batten, Szilagyi 2011; Gutiérrez, Hondagneu-Sotelo 2009; Héran 2014, pp. 23–36]. In this context, illegal labor migration creates many economic, social and cultural risks for Armenian and Russian society. The main reason for the worsening labor conflict and ensuing social tension is the inefficient mechanisms in Russia for protecting the rights of migrant workers.

Table 6. CIS: Migrant workers abroad estimates (thousands), early 2000s<sup>7</sup>

CIS country	Migrant workers abroad	Migrant workers in Russia
Armenia	800–900	650
Azerbaijan	600–700	550–650
Georgia	250–300	200
Kyrgyzstan	400–450	350–400
Moldova	500	250
Tajikistan	600–700	600–700
Ukraine	2000–2500	1000–1500
Uzbekistan	600–700	550–600
Russian Federation	2000–3000	–

According to the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (adopted by General Assembly resolution 45/158 of 18 December 1990) public authorities should create legal mechanisms to protect the rights and freedoms of migrant workers and their families, and the legal conditions for legitimate migration [Zayonchkovskaya 2004, pp. 8–9]. The Convention defines the legal framework for the status of migrant workers, and identifies several terms of migrant workers: “frontier worker”, “seasonal worker”, “seafarer”, “worker on an offshore installation”, “itinerant worker”, “project-tied worker”, “specified-employment worker”, “self-employed worker”<sup>8</sup>.

### Social ties and social capital of labor migrants

The Armenian diaspora and transnational Armenian social networks are the main channel of the labor employment and employment information. These structures form an informal structure facilitating labor migration from Armenia. Information about the possibilities of labor migration and employment in Russia is almost entirely provided by social networks and informal channels. Labor migration is facilitated by transnational networks and the weakness of the public authorities [Piracha, Tani, Vaira-Lucero 2013; Poros 2011; Xue 2007; Xue 2008]. Transnational networks and their intermediaries operate effectively in Russia: first, because of weak labor migration legislation and the difference between migration policies at the federal and regional levels, and secondly, the high level of corruption. The network organization of labor migration includes social services: applying for jobs, housing, temporary registration or illegal residence, salary, medical services.

<sup>7</sup> Ivakhnyuk I. (2006) Migrations in the CIS Region: Common Problems and Mutual Benefits // International Symposium “International Migration and Development”, June 28–30, 2006, Turin, Italy, [http://www.un.org/esa/population/migration/turin/Symposium\\_Turin\\_files/P10\\_SYMP\\_Ivakhniouk.pdf](http://www.un.org/esa/population/migration/turin/Symposium_Turin_files/P10_SYMP_Ivakhniouk.pdf).

<sup>8</sup> International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (Adopted by General Assembly resolution 45/158 of 18 December 1990), Article 2 // <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cmw/cmw.htm>

Table 7. Comparative role of remittances in the smaller CIS states<sup>9</sup>

Country	Migrant transfers BOP* 2003	Migrant transfers estimate	FDI** millions 2003	Exports of goods and services 2003	ODA*** and official aid 2002	GDP**** 2003
<b>in millions of U.S. dollars</b>						
Armenia	162	850	121	678	293	2 760
Azerbaijan	156	700	2 352	2 167	349	7 341
Georgia	237	275	334	477	313	3 984
<b>as a share of GDP</b>						
Armenia	5,9	30,8	4,4	24,6	12,4	
Azerbaijan	2,1	9,5	32,0	29,5	5,7	
Georgia	6,0	6,9	8,4	12,0	9,2	

\*BOP – balance of payments, IMF data; \*\*FDI – foreign direct investments, World Bank data; \*\*\*ODA – official development aid, World Bank data; \*\*\*\*GDP – gross domestic product.

Table 8. Official data on remittances to Armenia in million USD

Remittances	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Non-emigrant remittances (seasonal workers)	58	50.6	56.6	77.3	106.2	147.3	97.85	320.9
Emigrant remittances	14.9	9.3	10.2	10.2	9.3	32.52	41.95	55.85
Diaspora transfers	88	94.7	114.9	132.9	173.7	405.27	463.19	608.03
Total current remittances	160.9	154.6	181.7	223.7	289.2	585.09	602.99	984.78

Source: Migration in Armenia: A Country Profile 2008. International Organization for Migration (IOM), October 2008, p. 19.

Remittances from migrant workers play a significant role in the Armenian economy as they are direct investment. Armenia is traditionally one of the donor countries of migrant labor in Russia (Tables 7, 8). The study of remittances in Armenia also indicates that “according to the Central Bank of Armenia, remittances from the diaspora are double the size of the country’s budget and keep many families above the poverty line” and “according to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) study, most of the remittances sent to Armenia come from the Russian Federation (70%), and correlate strongly with Russia’s GDP growth” [Migration in Armenia: A Country Profile 2008, p. 20]. Labor migration from Armenia is not only a source of foreign exchange earnings, but also contributes to

<sup>9</sup> Ivakhnyuk I. (2006) Migrations in the CIS Region: Common Problems and Mutual Benefits // International Symposium “International Migration and Development”, June 28–30, Turin, Italy, [http://www.un.org/esa/population/migration/turin/Symposium\\_Turin\\_files/P10\\_SYMP\\_Ivakhniouk.pdf](http://www.un.org/esa/population/migration/turin/Symposium_Turin_files/P10_SYMP_Ivakhniouk.pdf)

the development of social capital. A social benefit from the strategic management of labor migration develops labor market efficiency and the export of labor services from Armenia.

A comparative analysis of labor migration policies shows that there is no post-Soviet discourse on the topic: “Do migrants steal jobs from the local population or take jobs for which the local population do not apply?” Effective cooperation between employment services and migration services of Russia and Armenia<sup>10</sup> can solve many labor migration issues, as the employment service authorizes and permits employers to attract foreign workers, and this confirms that jobs are available. Over the past 20 years, transnational networks and the diaspora have formed an informal labor market, providing legal and illegal employment to migrant workers in Russia, gradually increasing the supply, as migrant workers are ready for any jobs and work in those areas where the local population does not. This situation contributes to the relatively high quality of life in Moscow, intensive labor immigration, the informal division of labor between the local population and migrant workers. Common migration policies could solve problems in the field of labor migration: the registration of foreign citizens, a work permit, and the fulfillment of social and administrative obligations, the protection of social rights and freedoms of the labor force.

Employment is the most important social and economic characteristic of population welfare. In this context, state employment policies are the strategies to establish effective conditions for an actively employed population. In Armenia, “Employment Strategy for 2013–2018” (adopted 08.11.2012)<sup>11</sup> functions in conditions of a weak market economy, and using basic mechanisms approved by the Law of Armenia “On Employment” (adopted 11.12.2013) and the Armenian Constitution. In Armenia in 1991–2012 the state policy of employment promotion was implemented in the context of a reduction of social tensions in the labor market (*Table 9*).

Armenian transnational and informal social networks are resources for the mobilization and adaptation of migrant workers, they reduce conflict, control migration flows and social tensions [*Galkina 2006; Johansson 2008; Dyatlov, Melkonyan 2009; Dyatlov 2007*]. Modern migration processes show the problems of social adaptation for migrant workers, and are key issues for social development and human resources. Transnational networks are key elements in the social integration which support migrants and promote social and cultural adaptation and the establishment of relations between migrant workers on the basis of ethnic, religious and cultural values. The adaptation of migrant workers to new social conditions provides protection from other transnational social networks, informal organizations, criminal organizations, and the illegal actions of state officials [*Buckley, Ruble 2008; Genov, Savvidis 2011; Münz, Ohliger 2003*]. In the post-Soviet area these networks actively support the process of labor migration and social activities of migrant workers from Armenia. The communicative environment of transnational networks reduces the social distance for migrant workers from Armenia and helps maintain identity, culture, national traditions, language and values. The primary socialization of migrant workers occurs within a framework of social networks, where different groups organize the exchange of information among migrants; teach them how to behave so as not to cause conflict with the local residents. This attitude to the local community is very important,

<sup>10</sup> The “Concept for the policy of state regulation of migration in the Republic of Armenia” (Approved by the RA Government, Protocol Decision N. 51, 30/12/2010) // <http://eapmigrationpanel.org/page33576.html>; “The Action Program for Implementation of the Policy Concept for the State Regulation of Migration in the Republic of Armenia in 2012–2016” (Approved by the RA Government, Protocol Decision N. 1593, 10/11/2011) // <http://www.smsmta.am/?id=1011>

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.mlisa.am/up/MAR45-9.pdf>

because effective social network minimize social risks and economic costs, facilitating integration and personal security. Networks of labor migrants are primarily interpersonal social bonds and relationships that connect people based on ethnicity, tradition, kinship, friendship, so these networks play a crucial role at all stages of the organization of labor migration (job search, employment, help in difficult situations).

Table 9. **Employment to population ratio, 15+, total (%) (modeled ILO estimate):  
the South Caucasus<sup>12</sup>**

	Georgia	Azerbaijan	Armenia
1991	57	59	54
1992	59	60	54
1993	59	60	54
1994	58	60	52
1995	57	60	47
1996	58	60	52
1997	58	60	52
1998	58	60	48
1999	57	60	52
2000	57	60	49
2001	59	61	41
2002	56	61	46
2003	58	61	45
2004	56	61	42
2005	55	60	44
2006	55	60	45
2007	55	60	42
2008	53	60	42
2009	53	61	48
2010	54	61	50
2011	55	62	51
2012	55	62	51

Source: <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.EMP.TOTL.SP.ZS>

<sup>12</sup> “Employment to population ratio is the proportion of a country’s population that is employed. Ages 15 and older are generally considered the working-age population” (<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.EMP.TOTL.SP.ZS>).

The negative side of these networks is that these transnational networks facilitate the formation of a “parallel existence” in the host country. In particular irregular migrant workers do not need to go out to shops and other public places. If medical care is necessary, they can go to a compatriot doctor recommended by the network. Even when it is necessary to send the money home, the illegal migrant workers give the money to someone legally working and this person sends all the money. This is done because the services of international money transfers require a passport and a migration card<sup>13</sup>. It is obvious that in the management of labor migration there are a lot of contradictions. On the one hand, there is a positive role for diasporas and transnational social networks in the self-regulation of labor migration, and on the other, there is a growing, but still minor role of public authorities and the private sector in the management of labor migration. In particular, taking into account that the number of illegal migrant workers is likely to be many times greater than number legally employed, the adaptation of legal migrant workers is difficult, and often legal labor migrants learn illegal practices in the course of their adaptation [Di Bartolomeo et al. 2014; Nohl et al. 2014; Smyth, Opitz 2013].

A comparative analysis of legal and illegal migration shows that an effective migration policy must take into account the socio-economic dimensions of the labor market, legal and institutional frameworks, and the cultural features of transnational networks and diasporas. In the process of social adaptation, Armenian labor migrants in the Russian labor market still need to do a lot [Analytical report 2009], and this is primarily the social responsibility of the state, civil society and transnational networks, because migrants should contribute to the socio-cultural integration. Within the framework of effective migration policies, public authorities and local governments should promote trade unions, non-governmental organizations, transnational social networks and the diaspora itself to protect the rights of migrant workers and migrant organizations<sup>14</sup>.

For the actors of migration policies to improve the effectiveness of the national migration model it is necessary to cooperate with international organizations and countries with successful experience of labor migration. Depending on the level of adaptation of migrants to the new social conditions, transformations can occur in the following types of transnational social networks:

- a) Positive—these ensure stability, the integrity of value orientation, and the motivation for social activities;
- b) Passive—these do not provide consistency in moral priorities nor motivation for the activities of migrant workers;
- c) Negative—these reflect a crisis of value orientations, and attitudes, and lead to social apathy and conflict.

The main role of transnational social networks it is to find a balance among the interests of different socio-economic groups of migrant workers, “therefore, there is a need to regulate cooperation and the scope of responsibility of all institutions involved in the migration management process, as well as to improve the information exchange

<sup>13</sup> Remittances in Armenia: size, impacts, and measures to enhance their contribution to development. USAID/ Armenia, October 1, 2004 // [http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf\\_docs/PNADB948.pdf](http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNADB948.pdf); Ghazaryan A., Tolosa G. (2012) Remittances in Armenia: dynamic patterns and drivers // <https://www.imf.org/external/country/arm/tr/2012/062012.pdf>.

<sup>14</sup> Yeghiazaryan A., Avanesian V., Shahnazaryan N. (2003) How to reverse emigration? // <http://www.amerialelegal.am/pdf/d5c0447534321fa8e3db55f97def1070.pdf>; Rybakovsky L., Ryazantsev S. (2005) International migration in the Russian Federation (UN/POP/MIG/2005/11) // [http://www.un.org/esa/population/meetings/ittmigdev2005/P11\\_Rybakovsky&Ryazantsev.pdf](http://www.un.org/esa/population/meetings/ittmigdev2005/P11_Rybakovsky&Ryazantsev.pdf).

between these” [Schmelz 2012, p. 29]. Moreover in the context of the social consequences of immigration “migration has a profound impact on host societies beyond quantifiable economic consequences, which to a large extent, explains the controversies that surround migration policy” [Towards a Fair Deal for Migrant Workers 2004, p. 41]. Consensus and compromise are directly connected to the peculiarities of the socio-economic and political development of society, the qualitative and quantitative characteristics of local populations where migrant workers make up a significant part of the population, and can increase their social capital. The process of Eurasian integration occupies a central place for Armenia; to sign an agreement on the accession of Armenia to the Customs Union and the subsequent formation of social guarantees and legal conditions for the Armenian labor migrants in Russia would have a huge effect. At this stage the Eurasian integration model is dominated by issues regulating temporary residence for citizens of Armenia in Russia and the effective management of labor migration.

The issues of labor migration between Russia and Armenia, and improving the management of labor migration processes are important topics on the bilateral agenda, as these issues have political, economic and socio-cultural consequences. An important step was the agreement on labor and the social protection of Russian citizens working in Armenia and Armenian citizens working in Russia signed July 19, 1994, as previously this protection was absent without the appropriate legal mechanisms. Currently, bilateral programs are being implemented to improve the legal mechanisms for the management of labor migration between Russia and Armenia in accordance with changes in the national legislation of the two countries, and contemporary international trends in the field of labor migration. At this stage, highly qualified specialists independently assesses the competence and qualifications of migrant workers, and the employer takes on the relevant social risks: damage to health, disability, absence of demand for labor, the additional costs associated with treatment, (insurance for family members), pension. The employer may be any commercial, scientific or educational institution, or a branch of a foreign company in Russia. As a result, based on the features of the labor market, the employer determines all criteria because the employer is willing to pay a highly qualified specialist. However, there is a second category of migrant workers who can apply independently to office of the Federal Migration Service (FMS) of Russia in Armenia<sup>15</sup> and declare themselves highly qualified specialists. However, those applying for this status must first fill in a form on the official website of FMS, and after checking the reliability of the data, the profile will be made publicly available on the internet, but in this case the choice is up to the employer.

This year, an agreement was signed between the Migration Service of Armenia and the FMS of Russia which will regulate Armenian labor migration in Russia. From the beginning of 2015, this mechanism allows Armenian citizens to work in Russia without additional administrative barriers, and this agreement will regulate labor migration not only in Russia but also in Belarus and Kazakhstan, as this agreement is part of the formation of a common labor market<sup>16</sup>. It will be difficult to solve all the major issues of labor migration from Armenia in the near future. In the process of European integration and in the framework of the Eurasian Economic Community, competition for labor will

---

<sup>15</sup> Representation of Federal Migration Service (FMS) of Russia in the Republic of Armenia // <http://www.fms.gov.ru/about/abroad>

<sup>16</sup> Армения и Россия пока не пришли к смягчению миграционных правил (10.04.2014) // <http://www.regnum.ru/news/polit/1789656.html>

increase, which will lead to changes in national legislation in the field of migration and labor relations. Labor migration is a serious problem for Armenia and the Armenian diaspora, as the level of education and professionalism is higher, and wages of qualified specialists are several times lower. Modern labor markets in a knowledge society are in dire need of highly qualified labor.

The biggest issues of the migration policy of Russia are the legal regulation of labor migration and the employment of immigrants. According to Federal Legislation the development and implementation of labor migration policy is assigned to the FMS of Russia. It is obvious that there is a close relationship between state migration policies and the state employment policy. This means that the labor market creates a need for an inflow of migrant workers from crisis areas with high unemployment. The limitation of federal and regional public authorities becomes apparent when these institutions cannot regulate illegal migration (especially in large cities). As experience has shown, labor migration in Russia it is impossible to effectively control labor migration not only from CIS countries, but also from the regions of Russia. In this context, it is important that trade unions are able to participate in all stages of the implementation of the migration policy in Russia: the first stage (2012–2015), the second stage (2016–2020), and the third (2021–2025)<sup>17</sup>. In order to effectively protect the social rights of migrant workers there is a need for cooperation between the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia (FNPR)<sup>18</sup> and Confederation of Trade Unions of Armenia (CTUA)<sup>19</sup>, which are members of the General Confederation of Trade Unions (GCTU)<sup>20</sup> and actively cooperate with the International Labor Organization (ILO).

## Conclusions

The current labor migration situation in the post-Soviet space is a social partnership and civil dialogue issue. Russia is an attractive country for migrants—Russia needs migrant workers, and many arrive to work, legally or illegally so it is necessary to strategically manage the foreign labor force. Many of the problems in the field of labor migration could be resolved within the framework of the Eurasian Economic Union (EEU), such a resolution could affect the flow of legal labor migrants in Russia. In 2014, changes were made to the Federal Law “On the Legal Status of Foreign Citizens in the Russian Federation”, and in 2015 stricter migration legislation in Russia came into force. There are no data yet to assess the effects of these change—it is not known how many labor migrants will remain in Russia and what the outflow will be, what is known is that change is likely to be unavoidable.

Social partnerships in the field of labor migration are between migrant workers, trade unions, employers (or representatives of employers), national authorities and local authorities, which aim to coordinate the interests of both employees and

---

<sup>17</sup> See “The State Migration Policy Concept of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2025” (<http://www.confidencegroup.ru/news.aspx?sid=71&id=183&back-url=/default.aspx?sid=71&language=en-us>).

<sup>18</sup> See the official website of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia (FNPR): <http://www.fnpr.ru>.

<sup>19</sup> See the official website of the Confederation of trade unions of Armenia: <http://hamk.am>

<sup>20</sup> See the official website of the General Confederation of Trade Unions (GCTU): <http://en.vkp.ru/news/index.html>

employers. For effective labor migration it is necessary to harmonize their interests, as social partnership is possible only on the basis of cooperation. Given the urgency of resolving the problems of Armenian labor migration in Russia, the social partners should have an interest in mutual cooperation. It is obvious that the governments of the two countries cannot effectively implement the social function of caring for the workers and the credibility of the public authorities, if the process does not involve trade unions and employers' unions. Social dialogue should provide a system which balances the rights and responsibilities both. In this context, if employers seek to lessen the number of strikes and reduce the tax burden, then trade unions have a real opportunity to achieve greater social guarantees and higher salaries.

The basic regulations which regulate social and labor relations at the national level are in the Russian Labor Code, the Federal Law "On Collective Contracts and Agreements", the Federal Law "On Trade Unions, their Rights and Guarantees", and in Armenia in the Labor Code of Armenia, the RA Law "On Trade Unions". The constitutions and legislation in Russia and Armenia harmonize policies; harmonize the criteria for social justice; codify universal human values; agree on the degree of participation of trade unions and workers in the management of work in the public and private sector organization.

Both countries have a number of obligations as members of the ILO, which states that workers shall enjoy the right to unionize and trade unions and employers' organizations shall enjoy adequate protection against interference. If there is such a need, then measures to encourage and promote the development of procedures for negotiating on a voluntary basis between employers' organizations and trade unions should be taken (to regulate working conditions through collective bargaining).

To ensure the socio-economic security of Russia and Armenia it is necessary to organize labor migration in the Eurasian space, this will regulate various socio-economic problems: the growth of social tension, the reduced productivity of workers, the deterioration of economic growth and development. Because of labor migration, Russia supports the necessary (re)organization of national labor markets to ensure the competitiveness of the economy, because of the relatively high productivity and low cost of labor migrants. In ignoring the rights of migrant workers and the lack of effective integration policies in Russia's socio-economic environment there is a real threat to social security and political stability. The scale of labor migration in Russia will increase, which increase social risks: the isolation migrant workers; the exploitation of migrant workers; the escalation of social conflicts between the local population and migrant workers; an increase in illegal migrant workers; the occurrence of false documents. At present getting information about the possibilities of labor migration and the employment of migrant workers in Russia is almost entirely done through informal channels. The reason for this is the weakness of the state authorities, and the lack of public or private legal information services who select migrants, provide legal support for employment and assistance during their stay in the country. Considering that migration behavior in Russia is one of the most important indicators of socio-economic development, it is clear that the positive aspects of labor migration remain "hidden". The reasons for this are weak mechanisms of social partnership and social responsibility. In this context, it is necessary that the migration legislation of Russia not only regulates the employment of migrants, but also to provides migrant workers guarantees on health and housing, education and resolves the issues of pensions and taxation.

## References

- Analytical report (2009). *The Impact of the Economic Crisis on Migration Trends and migration policy in the Russian Federation and the Eastern Europe and Central Asia area*, Moscow.
- Bara A., Di Bartolomeo A., Brunarska Z., Makaryan Sh., Mananashvili S., Weinar A. (eds.) (2013) *Regional Migration Report: South Caucasus. The Migration Policy Centre at the European University Institute*, Florence.
- Batten J., Szilagyí P.G. (eds.) (2011) *The Impact of the Global Financial Crisis on Emerging Financial Markets*, Emerald Group Publishing Limited.
- Buckley C.J., Ruble B.A. (eds.) (2008) *Migration, Homeland, and Belonging in Eurasia (Woodrow Wilson Center Press)*, Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Choudinovskikh O., Denissenko M. (2013) Migration Between CIS Countries: Trends and Policy. *Search Working Paper (January)*. WP3/06. Available at: [http://www.ub.edu/searchproject/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/WP\\_3\\_6.pdf](http://www.ub.edu/searchproject/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/WP_3_6.pdf), accessed 30 December 2014.
- Chudinovskikh O. (2012) Migration and Bilateral Agreements in Commonwealth of Independent States. *Free Movement of Workers and Labour Market Adjustment: Recent Experiences from OECD Countries and the European Union*. OECD, pp. 251–272.
- Di Bartolomeo A., Makaryan Sh., Weinar A. (eds.) (2014) *Regional Migration Report: Russia and Central Asia*, European University Institute.
- Dyatlov V. (2007) Armyane Rossii: diasporal'nye strategii integratsii [Armenians of Russia: Diaspora Strategy for the Integration]. *21 Vek*, no 2, pp. 60–70.
- Dyatlov V., Melkonyan E. (2009) *Armyanskaya diaspora: ocherki sotsiokul'turnoi tipologii* [The Armenian Diaspora: Essays on Sociocultural Typology], Yerevan.
- Gabriel Ch., Pellerin H. (eds.) (2008) *Governing International Labour Migration: Current Issues, Challenges and Dilemmas*, London: Routledge.
- Galkina T. (2006) Contemporary Migration and Traditional Diasporas in Russia: The Case of the Armenians in Moscow. *Migracijske i etničke teme* 22, no 1–2, pp. 181–193.
- Genov N., Savvidis T. (eds.) (2011) *Transboundary Migration in the Post-Soviet Space: Three Comparative Case Studies*, Peter Lang GmbH, Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften.
- Gutiérrez D. G., Hondagneu-Sotelo P. (eds.) (2009) *Nation and Migration: Past and Future*, Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Héran F. (2014) Demographic Trends, Labour Market Needs and Migration. *Matching Economic Migration with Labour Market Needs*, OECD, pp. 23–36.
- Hohmann S., Mouradian C., Serrano S., Thorez J. (eds.) (2014) *Development in Central Asia and the Caucasus: Migration, Democratisation and Inequality in the Post-Soviet Era*. I.B. Tauris.
- Hollifield J. (2012) Governing Migration: Public Goods and Private Partnerships. *Free Movement of Workers and Labour Market Adjustment: Recent Experiences from OECD Countries and the European Union*. OECD, pp. 277–291.
- Imanov N. (2005) Political and Economic Development: Correlation in Southern Caucasus. *Towards Social Stability and Democratic Governance in Central Eurasia: Challenges to Regional Security* (eds. Morozova I.), Amsterdam: IOS Press, pp. 231–243.
- Johansson A. (2008) *Return Migration to Armenia: Monitoring the Embeddedness of Returnees*, Amsterdam: AMIDSt/University of Amsterdam, CIDIN/Raboud University Nijmegen.
- Karapetyan S., Manasyan H., Harutyunyan N., Mirzakhanyan A., Norekian M. (2011) *Armenia: Social Protection and Social Inclusion. Country Report*, Yerevan.
- Libman A., Vinokurov E. (2012) *Holding-Together Regionalism: Twenty Years of Post-Soviet Integration*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Makaryan G., Galstyan M. (2012) *Costs and Benefits of Labour Mobility Between the EU and the Eastern Partnership Partner Countries. Country Report: Armenia*, Yerevan.
- Migration in Armenia: A Country Profile* (2008) (October), Geneva: International Organization for Migration.
- Münz R., Ohliger R. (eds.) (2003) *Diasporas and Ethnic Migrants: Germany, Israel and Russia in Comparative Perspective*, Routledge.

- Nohl A.-M., Schittenhelm K., Schmidtke O., Weiss A. (2014) *Work in Transition: Cultural Capital and Highly Skilled Migrants' Passages into the Labour Market*, University of Toronto Press, Scholarly Publishing Division.
- Piracha M., Tani M., Vaira-Lucero M. (2013) *Social Capital and Immigrants' Labour Market Performance*, Bonn: IZA DP No.7274.
- Poros M. (2011) *Migrant Social Networks: Vehicles for Migration, Integration, and Development*. Migration Policy Institute. Available at: <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/migrant-social-networks-vehicles-migration-integration-and-development>, accessed 30 March 2011.
- Towards a Fair Deal for Migrant Workers in the Global Economy* (2004). Sixth Item on the Agenda. International Labour Conference, 92nd Session, June 2004, International Labour Office, Geneva.
- Sakwa R. (2015) Challenges of Eurasian Integration. *Eurasian Integration – The View from Within* (eds. Dutkiewicz P., Sakwa R.), London: Routledge, pp. 12–30.
- Schmelz A. (2012) *Analysis of Migration Strategies in Selected Countries (Albania, Armenia, Croatia, Kosovo, Kyrgyzstan, Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Serbia and Tajikistan)*, Bonn: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH, Sector Project Migration and Development.
- Serrière N. (2014) *Labour Market Transitions of Young Women and Men in Armenia*, Geneva.
- Smyth S., Opitz C. (eds.) (2013) *Negotiating Linguistic, Cultural and Social Identities in the Post-Soviet World*, Peter Lang AG, Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften.
- Tishkov V., Zayinchkovskaya Z., Vitkovskaya G. (2005) Migration in the Countries of the Former Soviet Union: A Paper Prepared for the Policy Analysis and Research Programme of the Global Commission on International Migration. *The Global Commission on International Migration*.
- Xue L. (2007) *Portrait of an Integration Process – Difficulties Encountered and Resources Relied on by Newcomers in Their First Four Years in Canada*. Research Working Paper, Canada: Citizenship and Immigration Canada.
- Xue L. (2008) *Social Capital and Employment Entry of Recent Immigrant to Canada*, Canada: Citizen and Immigration Canada.
- Zaionchkovskaya Z., Mkrtchian N., Tyuryukanova E. (2014) Russian's Immigration Challenges. *Russia and East Asia: Informal and Gradual Integration* (eds. Akaha T., Vasilieva A.), London: Routledge, pp. 200–244.
- Zayonchkovskaya Z. (2004) The Protection of the Rights of Migrants Workers in the Countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the CIS and Perspectives of Joining the 1990 UN Convention. *International Migration and Multicultural Policies Section: UNESCO Series of Country Reports on the Ratification of the UN Convention on Migrants* (SHS/2004/MC/6/ REV).
- 
- 

## **Трудовая миграция армян в Россию: проблемы и перспективы**

**А.С. АЛЕКСАНИЯ\***

\*Алексания Ашот Сейранович – доктор политических наук, эксперт Центра по изучению миграции, доцент, кафедра политологии, факультет международных отношений, Ереванский государственный университет. Адрес: 0025, Ереван, ул. Алекса Манногяна, д. 1. E-mail: ashalex@ysu.am

**Цитирование:** Aleksanyan A. (2015) Labor Migration of Armenians into Russia: Problems and Prospects. *Mir Rossii*, vol. 24, no 2, pp. 105–128 (in Russian)

В контексте глобализации и демографических сдвигов на евразийском пространстве трудовая миграция становится важным фактором экономического и социального развития. Однако формы регулирования рынка труда на постсоветском пространстве не могут гарантировать права и свободы работников. При этом отсутствие комплексных механизмов регулирования трудовой миграции ведет к конфликтам, которые вынуждают вести поиск более эффективной миграционной политики, включая законодательную и институциональную поддержку занятости и социальной адаптации трудовых мигрантов. Вполне очевидно, что в данной ситуации необходимо выработать универсальную модель трудовой миграции и защиты прав трудовых мигрантов на евразийском пространстве.

После крушения СССР Россия стала основным центром притяжения иностранной рабочей силы из стран бывшего Союза. Несмотря на то, что трудовая миграция имеет жизненно важное значение для российского общества, приезжающие работники подвергаются различным видам дискриминации ввиду отсутствия эффективных механизмов регулирования этой сферы.

Особую роль в миграционных потоках играют выходцы из южно-кавказского региона, где после распада Советского Союза активизировалась внутренняя и международная миграция. Необеспеченность экономически активного населения работой, отсутствие адекватной социальной политики на рынке труда привели к тому, что страны этого региона стали донорами трудовой миграции. Однако Азербайджан довольно быстро вышел из состава поставщиков рабочей силы, тогда как Грузия и Армения продолжают терять численность населения из-за оттока населения за рубеж. По данным статистики, численность экономически активного населения в этих странах имеет разную динамику: худшая ситуация сложилась в Армении, где по сравнению с 1990 г. произошло сокращение экономически активного населения, тогда как в Грузии и Азербайджане наблюдается постепенное увеличение, причем в Азербайджане этот рост, продолжающийся и в настоящее время, наиболее заметен. Кроме того, очевидно и различие в возможностях трудоустройства в этих странах: самая неприглядная картина вновь наблюдается в Армении: так, по сравнению с 1990 г. в Армении востребованность экономически активного населения на рынке труда сократилась, а в Азербайджане, пусть и незначительно, но возросла.

Проблемы внутреннего рынка труда Армении усугубляются неразвитостью культуры социального партнерства: лишь в апреле 2009 г., впервые после крушения СССР, в Армении было подписано трехстороннее коллективное соглашение между правительством, профсоюзами и работодателями. Этот договор стал важнейшим инструментом для профсоюзов, предоставив им возможность отстаивать права работников.

По мнению автора, сближение и гармонизация законодательств России и Армении могут создать новые возможности для контроля над миграционными процессами. Однако неэффективное использование рычагов правового пространства, административные барьеры для легализации трудовых мигрантов, неконсистентность миграционной политики в странах СНГ формируют негативный фон, препятствующий защите прав и свобод приезжающих на заработки иностранцев.

Следует отметить, что постсоветская трудовая миграция имеет отчасти и негативные последствия, охватывающие социальную, экономическую и культурную сферы. Россия, обладая «имиджем СССР», традиционно притягивает большинство миграционных потоков из бывших союзных республик, но отсутствие опыта

их администрирования создает серьезные социальные и экономические риски для России, ведет к потерям для российского бюджета, этно-религиозным конфликтам, росту преступности, расходам на депортацию и т.д.

Ввиду этого армянская диаспора и транснациональные социальные сети взяли на себя роль основного организатора трудовой миграции: практически вся информация о возможностях трудоустройства в России обеспечивается именно данными структурами. Значимость этих сетей, их эффективность связаны с рядом обстоятельств: во-первых, проблемы миграционного законодательства усугубляются различиями в российской миграционной политике на федеральном и региональном уровнях, во-вторых, трудовая миграция сталкивается с высоким уровнем коррупции, в-третьих, сетевая организация трудовой миграции решает широкий спектр задач – от поиска жилья, получения официальной регистрации до урегулирования вопросов с медицинским обслуживанием и т.д. Можно смело утверждать, что за последние 20 лет транснациональные сети и диаспора сформировали неформальный рынок труда, обеспечивая легальное и нелегальное трудоустройство мигрантов в России.

Давая качественную оценку транснациональным социальным сетям, надо отметить, что коммуникативное пространство сетей создает условия для сохранения идентичности, культуры, национальных традиций, языка и ценностей армян в России. В контексте отношений с местным сообществом необходимо отметить важную роль этих сетей, которые снижают социальные риски и экономические издержки, решают проблемы безопасности; именно благодаря им происходит первоначальная социализация трудовых мигрантов. Однако членство в сети имеет и негативные последствия, создавая возможность мигранту жить в параллельном мире. Нерегулярные мигранты вообще без особой нужды не появляются в публичных местах, стараются реже выходить на улицу; даже денежные переводы своим семьям они отправляют «сообща», отдавая деньги своему представителю, имеющему легальный статус.

Для самой Армении последствия нерегулируемой трудовой миграции неоднозначны: страна рискует потерять значительную часть трудовых ресурсов, столкнуться с сокращением и старением населения, с проблемами в семьях мигрантов. Вместе с тем денежные переводы уехавших на заработки в Россию имеют особое значение для социально-экономического развития Армении, поскольку представляют собой прямые инвестиции в армянскую экономику. По данным ЦБ Армении, финансовые поступления со стороны диаспоры превышают бюджет страны в два раза и поддерживают многие армянские семьи выше черты бедности, а согласно оценке специалистов МВФ, около 70% денежных переводов поступает в Армению именно из России.

В связи с вступлением Армении в январе 2015 г. в единое экономическое пространство (Евразийский экономический союз (ЕАЭС)) для армянских граждан снимаются административные барьеры в отношении трудоустройства в России. Таков характер соглашения, подписанного между Миграционной службой Армении и ФМС России; этот же принцип должен распространиться на Беларусь и Казахстан.

Очевидно, что существует тесная связь между государственной миграционной политикой и положением в сфере занятости. Это означает, что российский рынок труда нуждается не только в притоке мигрантов, но и в механизмах их оттока из сфер с растущей безработицей. Продуктивная кооперация департаментов занятости, миграционных служб России и Армении может решить многие вопросы трудовой миграции, поскольку именно государственные структуры ответственны за выдачу разрешений на привлечение иностранной рабочей силы при наличии незанятых рабочих мест.

Россия до сих пор нуждается в приезжающих на заработки иностранцах, поэтому так важно отладить стратегическое управление рабочей силой из-за рубежа. В этой связи игнорирование прав трудовых мигрантов и отсутствие эффективной интеграционной политики создают угрозу социальной безопасности и политической стабильности: при дефиците стратегического менеджмента будут обостряться проблемы изоляции мигрантов, конфликты с местным населением, нелегальные формы занятости, фиктивная регистрация и прочее.

Тем не менее до сих пор получение информации и трудоустройство мигрантов в России остаются полем деятельности неформальных структур ввиду несовершенства государственного регулирования, недостатка общественных и частных информационных служб, которые взяли бы на себя отбор мигрантов и организацию их легального трудоустройства. Незрелость механизмов социального партнерства и социальной ответственности не позволяют в полной мере проявиться позитивным эффектам трудовой миграции. Представляется, что российское миграционное законодательство не должно ограничиваться регулированием вопросов трудоустройства: необходимо предоставлять мигрантам гарантии в области здравоохранения, жилья, образования, пенсий и налогов.

**Ключевые слова:** армянская трудовая миграция, эффективная миграционная политика, активная гражданственность, социальная интеграция трудовых мигрантов, цивилизационное участие, социальные вызовы демократизации, социальное партнерство, профсоюзы, корпоративная социальная ответственность

## Литература

- Дятлов В. (2007) Армяне России: диаспоральные стратегии интеграции // 21-й Век. № 2. С. 60–70.
- Дятлов В., Мелконян Э. (2009) Армянская диаспора: очерки социокультурной типологии. Ереван: Институт Кавказа.
- Analytical report (2009) The Impact of the Economic Crisis on Migration Trends and migration policy in the Russian Federation and the Eastern Europe and Central Asia area. Moscow: IOM.
- Bara A., Di Bartolomeo A., Brunarska Z., Makaryan Sh., Mananashvili S., Weinar A. (eds.) (2013) Regional Migration Report: South Caucasus. The Migration Policy Centre at the European University Institute, Florence.
- Batten J., Szilagyi P.G. (eds.) (2011) The Impact of the Global Financial Crisis on Emerging Financial Markets, Emerald Group Publishing Limited.
- Buckley C.J., Ruble B.A. (eds.) (2008) Migration, Homeland, and Belonging in Eurasia (Woodrow Wilson Center Press). Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Chudinovskikh O., Denissenko M. (2013) Migration Between CIS Countries: Trends and Policy. Search Working Paper (January). WP3/06. Available at: [http://www.ub.edu/searchproject/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/WP\\_3\\_6.pdf](http://www.ub.edu/searchproject/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/WP_3_6.pdf), accessed 30 December 2014.
- Chudinovskikh O. (2012) Migration and Bilateral Agreements in Commonwealth of Independent States. Free Movement of Workers and Labour Market Adjustment: Recent Experiences from OECD Countries and the European Union. OECD, pp. 251–272.
- Di Bartolomeo A., Makaryan Sh., Weinar A. (eds.) (2014) Regional Migration Report: Russia and Central Asia. European University Institute.
- Gabriel Ch., Pellerin H. (eds.) (2008) Governing International Labour Migration: Current Issues, Challenges and Dilemmas, London: Routledge.

- Galkina T. (2006) Contemporary Migration and Traditional Diasporas in Russia: The Case of the Armenians in Moscow // *Migracijske i etničke teme* 22, no 1–2, pp. 181–193.
- Genov N., Savvidis T. (eds.) (2011) *Transboundary Migration in the Post-Soviet Space: Three Comparative Case Studies*. Peter Lang GmbH, Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften.
- Gutiérrez D. G., Hondagneu-Sotelo P. (eds.) (2009) *Nation and Migration: Past and Future*, Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Héran F. (2014) Demographic Trends, Labour Market Needs and Migration. Matching Economic Migration with Labour Market Needs, OECD, pp. 23–36.
- Hohmann S., Mouradian C., Serrano S., Thorez J. (eds.) (2014) *Development in Central Asia and the Caucasus: Migration, Democratisation and Inequality in the Post-Soviet Era*. I.B. Tauris.
- Hollifield J. (2012) *Governing Migration: Public Goods and Private Partnerships. Free Movement of Workers and Labour Market Adjustment: Recent Experiences from OECD Countries and the European Union*. OECD, pp. 277–291.
- Imanov N. (2005) Political and Economic Development: Correlation in Southern Caucasus. Towards Social Stability and Democratic Governance in Central Eurasia: Challenges to Regional Security (eds. Morozova I.), Amsterdam: IOS Press, pp. 231–243.
- Johansson A. (2008) Return Migration to Armenia: Monitoring the Embeddedness of Returnees. Amsterdam: AMIDSt/University of Amsterdam, CIDIN/Raboud University Nijmegen.
- Karapetyan S., Manasyan H., Harutyunyan N., Mirzakhanyan A., Norekian M. (2011) *Armenia: Social Protection and Social Inclusion. Country Report*. Yerevan, CRRC, EPF.
- Libman A., Vinokurov E. (2012) *Holding-Together Regionalism: Twenty Years of Post-Soviet Integration*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Makaryan G., Galstyan M. (2012) Costs and Benefits of Labour Mobility Between the EU and the Eastern Partnership Partner Countries. Country Report: Armenia. Yerevan.
- Migration in Armenia: A Country Profile (2008) (October), Geneva: International Organization for Migration.
- Münz R., Ohliger R. (eds.) (2003) *Diasporas and Ethnic Migrants: Germany, Israel and Russia in Comparative Perspective*. Routledge.
- Nohl A.-M., Schittenhelm K., Schmidtke O., Weiss A. (2014) *Work in Transition: Cultural Capital and Highly Skilled Migrants' Passages into the Labour Market*. University of Toronto Press, Scholarly Publishing Division.
- Piracha M., Tani M., Vaira-Lucero M. (2013) *Social Capital and Immigrants' Labour Market Performance*, Bonn: IZA DP No.7274.
- Poros M. (2011) *Migrant Social Networks: Vehicles for Migration, Integration, and Development*. Migration Policy Institute. Available at: <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/migrant-social-networks-vehicles-migration-integration-and-development>, accessed 30 March 2011.
- Serrière N. (2014) *Labour Market Transitions of Young Women and Men in Armenia*. Geneva.
- Smyth S., Opitz C. (eds.) (2013) *Negotiating Linguistic, Cultural and Social Identities in the Post-Soviet World*. Peter Lang AG, Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften.
- Towards a Fair Deal for Migrant Workers in the Global Economy (2004). Sixth Item on the Agenda. International Labour Conference, 92nd Session, June 2004, International Labour Office, Geneva.
- Sakwa R. (2015) Challenges of Eurasian Integration. Eurasian Integration – The View from Within (eds. Dutkiewicz P., Sakwa R.), London: Routledge, pp. 12–30.
- Schmelz A. (2012) *Analysis of Migration Strategies in Selected Countries (Albania, Armenia, Croatia, Kosovo, Kyrgyzstan, Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Serbia and Tajikistan)*, Bonn: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH, Sector Project Migration and Development.
- Tishkov V., Zayinchkovskaya Z., Vitkovskaya G. (2005) *Migration in the Countries of the Former Soviet Union: A Paper Prepared for the Policy Analysis and Research Programme of the Global Commission on International Migration*. The Global Commission on International Migration.
- Xue L. (2007) *Portrait of an Integration Process – Difficulties Encountered and Resources Relied on by Newcomers in Their First Four Years in Canada*. Research Working Paper, Canada: Citizenship and Immigration Canada.
- Xue L. (2008) *Social Capital and Employment Entry of Recent Immigrant to Canada*, Canada: Citizen and Immigration Canada.

- Zaionchkovskaya Z., Mkrtchian N., Tyuryukanova E. (2014) Russian's Immigration Challenges. Russia and East Asia: Informal and Gradual Integration (eds. Akaha T., Vassilieva A.), London: Routledge, pp. 200–244.
- Zayonchkovskaya Z. (2004) The Protection of the Rights of Migrants Workers in the Countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the CIS and Perspectives of Joining the 1990 UN Convention. International Migration and Multicultural Policies Section: UNESCO Series of Country Reports on the Ratification of the UN Convention on Migrants (SHS/2004/MC/6/REV).