

# **LABOUR MIGRATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN KAZAKHSTAN IN 1990-S\***

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## **MIGRATION IN KAZAKHSTAN IN 1990S: DYNAMICS AND MAIN TRENDS.**

The last decade of XX century in Kazakhstan was characterized by large-scale migration. During first nine years of existence as an independent state about 3 mln. people left our country. At the same time in-migration to the republic decreased sharply that led to decrease of a number of permanent population during 8 years: from 16,9 mln (1 January 1993) to less than 14,9 mln people (according to data of current statistics, 1 October 2000), in spite of relevantly high natural growth in indigenous population and some other ethnic groups. (32)

Main migration trends in Kazakhstan of 1990s are as follows:

- Large-scale emigration of Russian-speaking population. In 1992-2000 about 1,8 mln Russian, Ukrainians, Byelorussians left the country.
- Emigration of ethnic Germans and other formerly deported people. 80% of nearly 1 mln German Diaspora (1989 Census) left the country.
- Repatriation of ethnic Kazakhs. About 181 thou ethnic Kazakhs moved into Kazakhstan from the NIS and foreign country since 1991 in accordance with the State repatriation policy.
- Development of new types of migration such as transit and illegal migration, flows of refugees and internally displaced persons.
- Development of new types of labour migration.
- Steady process of brain drain when highly qualified professionals are leaving the country without return. (59, 61)

Labour migration existed during the Soviet period but mainly in the framework of a planned socialist economy and migration movements for the "big construction sites" or industrial programs. Labour migration in the 1990-s has lost its ideological basis and its volume, causes and consequences, trends and patterns have changed dramatically.

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\* The paper presents intermediate results of the comparative international study of labour migration in Kazakhstan. Not for quotation!!! The references can be made with the permission of the author.

## GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF LABOUR MIGRATION

Labour migration in Kazakhstan nowadays is a spontaneous multi-vector process, including:

- Internal migration from the countryside to the cities, especially in the southern regions.
- Migration from the industrial and conversion regions on the North.
- Migration to the West Transcaspian regions, where oil industry develops intensively.
- Migration from the republic mainly to Russia. The greatest area of migration is external labour migration, first of all commercial or trade migration to Russia, China, Turkey.
- Development of not only legal, but also illegal labour migration (61, 66).

Alongside with this a unique process for NIS is going on, specifically transfer of the capital from Almaty to Astana, former regional (oblast) center in the North of in Kazakhstan. Due to this fact there is an intense attraction for foreign investments; increase of construction for infrastructure development of new capital and increase of the number of foreign licensed workers in the construction and others spheres. (64)

What are the causes for the development of the new types of labour migration in Kazakhstan? It emerges based on the the struggle of contradictory trends of contemporary social and economical development in the republic.

On the one hand, after the collapse of Soviet Union the breakdown of traditional economics ties, increase of unemployment, fall of standard of living had happened. It led to mobilization of population, who undertook the independent actions that gave the opportunity to resolve the problems of survival for tens of thousands of families, i.d., to hundreds of thousands of people and in many cases it helped not only to save, but also to increase the people's standard of living.

On the other hand, transitional period was accompanied by many positive shifts in the economy: development of market infrastructure, development of variety property forms, privatization processes. In the legal sphere legislative reforms were conducted, borders were opened, the opportunity to go abroad appeared, that increased migration exchange between former Soviet Union and foreign countries. As a result of this thousands of foreign workers are working currently in Kazakhstan and many Kazakhstani people are working abroad.

During 1990s labour migration flows were and remain spontaneous and forced process. The most widely spread type of labour migration is mass commercial ("shuttle") migration, seasonal job, hiring work <rabota po naymu>, sometimes in foreign countries, etc. Some of these migrations don't have an adequate legal basis, however even being half- legal, they played a positive role in the adaptation of population to the economic crises in the NIS, and specifically in Kazakhstan.

Large-scale labour migration in transitional period enhances the necessity of the legal regulation of labour migration and migration in general. At present however the elaboration of a legal basis of labour migration remains one of the unresolved problem of Kazakhstani legislation.

Development of the united labour market in the NIS and formation of the common legal space is even more remote objective because national legislation of many NIS countries hasn't been worked out yet.

While labour migration is massively spreading in the republic, its research hasn't been held in the republic. The result of the first research of labour migration in the Republic of Kazakhstan in 1990s is presented in this report. This research is part of the International

comparative Project on labour migration in the NIS under the framework of the Independent Research Council on the the NIS and Baltic states migration studies with the financial support of McArthur Foundation, grant #99-56538-GSS and Ford Foundation.

## **REVIEW OF PUBLICATIONS ON LABOUR MIGRATION IN KAZAKHSTAN**

Historical changes of 1990s and large scale migration in Republic of Kazakhstan focused attention of researchers on ethnodemographic and ethnopolitical processes, migration of Russians, repatriation of Kazakhs, study of Kazakh Diaspora, etc.

Many publications on migration issues appeared in 1999-2000 (see Review prepared by the author in the: "Migration in the transforming Society: Annotated Bibliography of the Literature published in the CIS countries. 1992-1999", Moscow, 2000). (63 ) With a variety of publications on social demographic and ethnopolitical problems in Kazakhstan in 1990s, no one serious monograph appeared during this period, where multilevel analysis of modern migration process had been carried out. New types of migration and new types of labour migration in particular haven't been studied either.

Several Research Institutes have been recognized leaders in migration studies in the previous decades. Nowadays these institutes aren't engaged in research on contemporary migration, although they make observation of these problems in their publications. None of them has undertaken special research on labour migration.

The basic source of the official information on migration and the labour market in Kazakhstan are statistical collections on migration demography, and labour source, foreign labour of Statistic Agency of the Republic Kazakhstan and Ministry of Labour and Social Protection of the Republic Kazakhstan. (14-20, 32, 33, 49-52, 67, 69, 70-78, etc.)

The problem of labour migration episodically gets coverage in press. As a rule articles in the newspapers are devoted to discrimination of domestic workers, or "shuttle" migration (12).

As a whole, the problem of labour migration, important enough for Kazakhstan people is covered rather poorly not only in the press, but also in the research literature. New categories of labour migrants, e.g. hiring workers abroad, foreign workers, "shuttles" have not been studied so far.

Meanwhile this problem has been actively studied in Russia since the 1990s. One of the first works in this area was "Migration of population and labour market in Russia" within the migration research program of the Institute for Economic Forecasting of the Russian Academy of Sciences and RAND (USA). (43)

Review of publications and bibliographies on labour migration in Russia for 1992-1999 reveals a growing interest in this problem and gives the picture about interrelation between migration and labour market in Russia, "brain drain", labour migration and shadow relations in economy ( 43 )

Moscow Center Carnegie carried out a project on migration problems in NIS over the period of the second half of 1990-s; one of the publications is devoted to migrations and the labour markets in post Soviet Russia. ( 8 ) The projects on shadow labour market that also research the problems of labour migrants are realized in some economic institutions of the Russian Academy of Sciences.( 3, 6 )

In 2000, research on economic and demographic aspects of shuttle business in Russia was conducted at Moscow State University. (88 )

One of the first studies of shuttle migration in other countries of NIS was carried out in Ukraine in 1994 by S.Pirozhkov, O. Malinovskaya, N. Marchenko. ( 53 ) The book of Kiev scientists includes data of sociological researches, that were conducted in the capital, regional

center and small city. The conclusions drawn from the research are that the commercial activities became the mass phenomenon and labour (trade) visits have played an important role not only in a survival but also in an increase of standards of living of many Ukrainian families.

In Lithuania the book on international and labour migration (ed. by A. Sipavechene) was published based on the results of international migration research held in this republic in the mid of 1990-s. In 1998-2000 in Moldova V. Moshnyaga conducted researches of labour migration; the experience of researching this type of migration with the help of qualitative methods requires special attention (biographical research).

In Kazakhstan G. Mendikulova has published the article on labour immigration of the Kazakh diaspora between 1960-1990. (36 ) The majority of the publications were focused on legal aspects of labour or migration, e.g. see: S. Dmitrova “Legal problems of labour and employment” ( 9), A. Nurmagambetov “Labour market: legal problems and perspectives” (47), “International Labour Law” (35, etc.).

Emerging new types of labour migration, growth of illegal migration were indicated by the author in “CIS Migration in 1997-1998. Edition of 1999” Report ( 39, 40 ) published by Center of Technical Cooperation in Europe and Central Asia IOM in Geneva in Russian and English languages and in the article “Migration in Kazakhstan on the threshold of the XXI century: main trends and perspectives” in the collection of seminars' papers, IOM in Kazakhstan “Migration in Kazakhstan – present and future”. ( 37)

The most extensive study and publications on labour migration and international regulation of labour based on a solid theoretical background exist abroad. At present most of materials on the problem of labour migration can be found on the websites of the largest international organization such as IOL, IOM, UNHCR etc.

Kazakhstan is on the periphery of the international labour market: labour migration develops spontaneously, the illegal migration grows, there is no legislative base for the regulation of labour and migration processes at present. Entry in the world labour market is impossible without the creation of a legal basis, and legal regulations cannot be developed without the study of the scale and basic parameters of migration, their causes and consequences, cost and benefits effects.

## **THE AIMS, TASKS, HYPOTHESIS AND INFORMATION BASIS OF THE RESEARCH**

### ***Aims and tasks of the research***

The basic aims of research of labour migration in Kazakhstan are the following: to reveal scale and spreading of labour migration, to define the basic types of migration, to study the role of migration as a mean of adaptation in crisis period.

The major tasks are as follows: of the labour migration, main trends and geography of labour migration, defining labour migrant well-being standards, efficiency of labour migration for subsistence of migrants' families, influence of financial crisis in Russia on the labour migration, perspectives of development of labour migration and many others.

Research was carried out in Almaty (South Kazakhstan), Karaganda and in two cities of Karaganda region – Shakhtinsk and Saran (Central Kazakhstan). The capital (formely, but having republican status at present), Karaganda as regional center and two small cities were chosen for research to represent different types of settlements and to give comparative and generalized view of the republic.

### ***Methods and information basis of research***

The basic method of research is social opinion poll. In Almaty the basic research was carried out by means of: telephone interviews (1000 short questionnaires) and interviews (100 complete questionnaires); additional sociological research by a method of focus groups consisted of hired workers (in two groups of eight people), which was conducted with the help of a manual specially designed for this group; more than ten non-formalized expert interviews of experts from the state statistic services, employment agencies and services (state and private) and other experts. The interviews (120 questionnaires) were carried out in Karaganda, Saran and Shahtinsk.

The respondents for complete questionnaire are picked up by a “snowball” method among “shuttles” in the large markets and shops and among the hired workers and builders of Almaty and by a quota sample method in Central Kazakhstan (April- June, 2000).

The statistical materials (collections, bulletins, current statistic data, express information, etc.) and documents of the ministries, interministerial departments and local executive bodies as well as international organizations were used in the research.

### ***Hypotheses of the research.***

We proceeded from a hypothesis about the significant prevalence of labour migration in 1999 and about commercial (shuttle) migration as its most massive type. According to other hypotheses:

- The causes and decision of the directions of commercial migration depend on external and internal economic and social factors,
- The basic directions of commercial migration are Russia and China;
- Development of commercial (shuttle) migration has resulted in a certain “diversification” and “specialization”, of labour in shuttle business and it is the initial stage of its further organizational development;
- Commercial migration is one of stages of shuttle business in which the specific economic relations of shadow business are being formed at all stages. It occurs steadily in connection with involvement of hundreds of thousand people into this process, thus “shadowing” public life;
- The absence of legislation is conducive to the development of the “shadow” relations;
- At sometimes significant costs, labour and in particular commercial migration has many benefits for migrants and their families, raising their material standard and enriching their life experience;
- Development of various types of migration promotes social change.

Though there were certain difficulties in conducting research now it is possible to indicate that hypotheses put forward as a whole have proved to be true.

One of the difficulties, which was marked by the participants (interviewers, supervisors, experts) practically in all stages of the research, is the large number of refusals. These refusals appeared in spite of the fact that during the selection of participants and filling in questionnaires on the “snowball” method was used and each subsequent respondent was presented by a reliable mediator.

## **TYOLOGY OF LABOUR MIGRATION**

International Labour Organization (ILO) defines labour migrants as “the people admitted in the country, that isn’t their own country, with the certain aim of realization of economic activity”. (5)

There are several types of labour migration:

- *internal (inside or interregional) and external (emigration and immigration)*, when the crossing of national borders of state by labour migrant is the criterion;
- *legal and illegal migration*, if the criterion is a legal regulation of labour migration on the basis of national legislation, international legal documents and agreements of specific states. In terms of country of origin or destination it may be an illegal labour immigration and/or illegal labour emigration.

Labour migration can be classified depending on duration of labour visits: *irrevocable or constant* (according to the ILO classification this category is called a “settled labour migrant”) and *temporary, returnable* (seasonal, shuttle) (5, 68), caused by necessity to provide additional working resources for the branches of economy where the resources are required at a certain time of the year (e.g. in an agriculture during sowing and harvest), and temporary migration (trip on study, treatment, rest, tourism etc.). (46)

Labour migration can be classified depending on character of labour on departure.

Among labour migration, throughout Kazakhstan in 1990s, besides “traditional” departures on seasonal or hiring work, commercial migration has got the large scope.

Commercial (shuttle) migrants run trade business on departure, buying goods in other cities and countries and bringing them for resale with the aim of making a profit. They themselves determine the strategy of their action and can employ workers (driver, loader, seller), can involve their relatives or families’ members on voluntary basis and can sell the goods themselves.

The characteristic feature of commercial migrants is the “informal” character of their activity: as a rule they are engaged in trade business without legal registration with state bodies.

The next category of labour migrants is a hired worker on a departure. This category existed also in Soviet period but under severe regulation. All varieties of occupations – managers and engineers, teachers and interpreters, sellers and drivers, cooks and governess etc. are present among modern hired workers.

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Drivers appeared to be among the most widespread migrants' professions. It's due to the fact that Kazakhstan has a huge territory, great distances between settlements and undeveloped transport infrastructure. The drivers' labour is used for both of transportation of cargos and passenger transportations.

The construction profession (a builder) is less popular in Kazakhstan in comparison with Russia or some other CIS states because of the economic crises in the construction sphere. Due to the transfer of the capital, nearly all republican scale and local construction in Kazakhstan is concentrated now in Astana. Astana is also a city where foreign licensed labour is being predominantly used.

We believe that migrant labourers make up a significant part of so-called “self-employed” population. The self-employment is a realization of labour activity (professional and commercial) for earning profit or family income (in the money or natural form) on the independent basis with or without attraction of the hired workers, and - as rule without legal registration in state bodies.

As we see, this definition of self-employed coincides in many respects with the definition of commercial or labour migrants, and it is no wonder that the largest proportion of the self-employed is comprised of the labour migrants and specifically commercial migrants.

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## **THE LABOUR MARKET IN REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN IN THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD**

The emigration from Kazakhstan alongside with the decrease of rates of a natural growth led to a significant changes in the labour market. There is a steady decrease of labour resources since the beginning of 1990s and in 1999 they comprised 8,4 mln people, or 56,2 % from the total population 14,9 mln people. (2) During Soviet period the labour resources of republic were characterized by predominant engagement in industrial sphere.

Market reforms is another factor of changes in the labour market. During formation of the market relations a structural reorganization of employment of the population took place: the number of the hired workers and white collars has been reduced and the number of the persons having their own business has grown. In 1999 in comparison with 1994 the number of hired employees has decreased from 5,9 mln people to 2,4 mln people or in 2,5 times (29, 71, 73).

The role of informal sector in the republican economy has increased in the 1990-s, the number of self-employed population has grown dramatically from 0,5 mln people (1994) to 2,7 mln people (1999) or in more than 5 times. The official statistical bodies introduced the notion of self-employment in the middle of 1990-s and of defines self-employed population as individuals, who work independently or with the partners and as a rule do not employ the hired workers on a constant basis.

The number self-employed workers made in 1999 31,9 % of all labour resources of republic. According to the data of state bodies of statistics, the increase of scales of not regulated employment is especially characteristic for such branches of economy, as trade and repair of automobiles, agriculture, transport and communication. In 1999 the share of self-engaged workers in these branches in the republic made, respectively, 45,8 %, 27,6 % and 11,3 % out of the total number of labour resources engaged in this branches. (1)

The number of self-engaged people from common number of engaged makes, as a rule, from 35 % to 50 %, in half of areas - 50-60 %. In absolute figures the number of the self-engaged population (including farms) is higher in the South Kazakhstan area - 432,8 thousand people, that makes almost 60 % of all engaged in the regional economy.

The study of the data questionnaire alongside with the data of statistics shows, that self employment is closely bound with commercial migrations and hiring work on departure. E.g. According to the expert estimate, at least several hundreds of thousands of drivers independently earn by rendering transport services in the republic. It is obvious, that the significant part of them works on departure in other cities and states, and thus it can be referred to the labour migrants.

As it was mentioned above, Astana, Almaty, Karaganda area, and also Kustanay, Atyrau and East Kazakhstan area are in the lead among other areas on a number of self-employed in transport and communication, exceeds an average index on republic (11,3 %), and the number of self-employed in this area in Astana (26,4 %) exceeds average republican index in 2 times.(66)

The significant part of shuttles, i.e. tens thousand commercial migrants, together with the drivers of a vehicle forms a part of an infrastructure of "shuttle business ". These processes are poorly studied, because they often happen "in a shadow", in the sphere of informal economy and they can be hardly calculated and regulated. However they require the further research, analysis and development of the practical recommendations .

## **ANALYSIS OF SOCIOLOGICAL SURVEY RESULTS**

Pursuant to the survey goals and purposes the sociological (questionnaire) survey included several problem blocks, i.e.: determine of labour migration reasons, its guidelines, geography and effectiveness; reveal of social-demographic features and "typical" portrait of the migrant; define of labour migrants well-being standard and perspective development of labour migration, etc.

Out of the total number of polled household members in Almaty approx. 10 per cent of persons leave continuously or rarely in search of a job to other foreign countries, CIS countries or Kazakhstani oblasts. We can say with a great trustworthiness that 10% is the minimum level of the labour migration prevalence.

According to the survey results the most prevailed outside activity is the work for a wage. The telephone polling results are not to be considered completely valid as the research itself and the further interview of migrants showed that the most respondents keep back their commercial activity due to the lack of licenses for such activity, and thereafter they evade taxes. It was proved also within the questionnaire design where became clear that more than 70 per cent of labour migrants questioned get no licenses. The most respondents perceive the telephone polling as the inspection of tax or other state controlling authorities, and avoid giving truthful answers. The rejection of giving answers was typical for the main questionnaire design as well. Such a great number of denials allow to assume that "shuttles" (traders) without licenses rejected interviews because of undesirable consequences. The large part of denials was motivated with nothing, but some respondents told of the consequent inspections' apprehension.

### ***Demographic structure of labour migrants different groups***

The polling of labour migrants revealed the irregularity of an age-sexual structure of different migrants groups. Thus, among respondents-builders 100% are of male; among out-workers 60% are of male, and among "shuttles" 84% are of female.

The demographic characteristics of migrants in cities of Karagandy, Saran and Shakhtinsk coincide or correlate with Almaty data: male among labour migrants are 44.7%, female - 55.3% (in Almaty - 46.0% and 54.0% correspondingly). "Shuttles" are represented mainly by women (65%), and the rest 35% are male; in the work for a wage these figures are 60% and 40%, and in construction - 83.3% and 16.7% correspondingly.

The age structure of labour migrants in Almaty is not uniform so far. The youth is much more represented among workers for a wage; the middle age of such workers is 38.7 years, and at that the every third one is younger than 30. The middle age of builders is 40.5 years, and the same of "shuttles" is 41.8 years.

The age structure of labour migrants participated in the polling of Karagandy, Saran and Shakhtinsk cities is represented mainly by the group of 30-39 years (39%), and 40-49 years (33%) (compare with Almaty data: labour migrants of 30-49 years made up 65.0% of respondents). About the quarter of labour migrants is the youth up to 30 years.

In the central Kazakhstan as well as in Almaty "shuttles" are prevailed with middle-age women (more than 76.8% are the group of 30-49 years, and 19.7% are the youth up to 30 years.

### ***Educational level of labour migrants***

The highest educational level is with Almaty "shuttles" - more than a half of them have got the higher education. The most number of respondents with incomplete secondary education is in the group of workers for a wage. The lowest educational level is marked in the group of builders - 15% have the higher education, and more than a half got the secondary or incomplete secondary education.

### ***Reasons of labour migrations expansion***

The main reasons forced Almaty respondents to seek employment outside are of economic nature. Almost the third of them did that due to the loss of their job places. Only 2 respondents or 2 per cent of the whole sampling selected the labour migration deliberately as a new activity sphere. The license for out-work activity is in hands of only 29% of labour migrants. The most licenses for out-work are issued to "shuttles" (38%), and the least - to builders (85%). The most respondents got no licenses, and accordingly have no legal rights for out-work activities.

### ***Labour migration dynamics***

Labour migrations of 90-s in their present forms, especially in commercial one, have become a new social event of the update public and economic life. They got the fast development during the period of the structural crisis, liquidation of many production and non-production enterprises, labour force release. All that along with the further liberalisation of the economic life stimulated the intensive development of the population spontaneous actions. The economically active population being lost its jobs and urged on by the galloping inflation in conditions of the life standard slump was forced to look for alternative wage sources including those outside the traditional areas of dwelling and labour force application.

The beginning of labour migration expansion in its update forms can be considered the year of 1992 followed by the USSR decay where after the sharp prices "liberalisation" in Russia and the breach of the economic space ("unified national complex" as per the terms of the soviet socialist economics) the hundreds of thousands of people happened to be without any livelihood. According to the survey data of Almaty 21 per cent of household members started their out-work activity in 1992. Negative economic processes including unemployment intensified the development of the shuttle business: 54% of respondents in Almaty started such business in 1994-96.

What year did you start out-work earning?								
	Shuttle trade		Work for wages		Construction		Sampling	
Year	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
1990	1	2,0	-	-	2	10,0	3	3,0
1991	1	2,0	-	-	-	-	1	1,0
1992	9	18,0	2	6,7	1	5,30	12	12,0
1993	3	6,0	1	3,3	1	5,0	5	5,0
1994	7	14,0	2	6,7	-	-	9	9,0
1995	12	24,0	1	3,3	-	-	13	13,0
1996	8	16,0	3	10,0	5	25,0	16	16,0
1997	4	8,0	7	23,3	4	20,0	15	15,0
1998	3	6,0	6	20,0	4	20,0	13	13,0

1999	-	-	5	16,7	2	10,0	7	7,0
2000	-	-	1	3,3	1	5,0	2	2,0
Not replied	2	4,0	2	6,7	-	-	4	4,0
Whole sampling	50	100.0	30	100.0	20	100.0	100	100.0

As far as the market glutting with commodities and its capacity reduce due to decrease of the population purchasing capacity such kind of activity ceased to be profitable as it was in the first years. The Russian crisis in August, 1998 also effected upon the shuttle trade as almost each third person made its trip for goods to Russia. 74% of polled "shuttles" noted that in the result of that financial crisis in Russia the shuttle business became less favourable, and 8% stopped their actions at all. There was no respondent started its business in 1999-2000. The increase of workers for a wage was being occurred gradually during 1990-s. After 1996 this process was intensified: almost three quarters of respondents (73.3%) started working in 1996-2000. The overwhelming majority of builders (85%) also started their out-working within this period. The most workers for wages (73.3) and builders (65%) noted that the rouble drop in August of 1998 in Russia practically caused no effects on their activity. No one of respondents stopped its work, and more than a half out of them plan to continue out-working. The more powerful position regarding out-working is held by builders - they as the less organised group of labour migrants have less possibilities to find job in urban areas. The years of 1994-1998 seem to be the years of the most expansion of all labour migration types: 60% of the household first members and 13% of the second ones out of the polled respondents started their different out-works exactly during these years. In Karagandy oblast the part of respondents started out-working from 1988. However, up to 1992 this form of earnings had no mass expansion. The motivation absence to seek the alternative earnings with the main part of population in the beginning of 1990-s seemed to be the cause of non-adaptive state of people to the extent of new economic conditions. The reveal of the population mobility was observed in the followed years, and such tendency grew up to 1996. The shuttle business prosperity falls on 1992-1998. In consequent years the number of persons firstly decided to deal with trade-commercial activity was stabilised. It is most likely an evidence of that possibilities to find one's niche in this sphere arisen in the beginning of 90-s are mainly exhausted, though the shuttle business still creates many job places, and it helps partially to solve the unemployment problem in Karagandy and small towns. Two last years are marked as the period of achieving a good pace of a new sort of labour out-activity - a work for a wage. Just 1998-199 are marked with the trend of Karaganda oblast population to expand the sphere of such earning type.

### ***Prospects of labour migration development***

Even though the number of new labour migrants is being reduced from 1998 as per the sampling on the whole 42% of Almaty respondents intend firmly to go on out-working, and some more 13% out of those who stopped such work earlier will recommence it. The rest respondents to some extent decided stop it. The replies to this question are distributed unevenly among different groups of respondents in Almaty:

What are your plans concerning your further out-working?								
	Shuttle trade		Work for wages		Construction		Sampling	
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
Already stopped and not going to continue	13	26.0	4	13.3	2	10.0	19	19.0

Stopped, but going to continue	6	12,0	4	13.3	3	15.0	13	13.0
Will continue out-working	16	32.0	15	50.0	11	55.0	42	42.0
Going to stop in the near future	5	10.0	3	10.0	1	5.0	9	9.0
Going to stop than will continue	2	4.0	1	3.3	1	5.0	4	4.0
Still do not know	8	16.0	3	10.0	2	10.0	13	13.0
Whole sampling	50	100.0	30	100.0	20	100.0	100	100.0

As it is seen from the table the number of respondents wishing to continue the shuttle business activity is the least (32%), and the number of respondents stopped it or planning to stop is the largest (40%). In this connection one may produce the assumption of changing the dynamics of involvement to different types of labour migration in Almaty. It is testified by the relative increase of workers for wages and builders, especially due to the capital transfer and intensive construction works in Astana, and also by the oil production development in the west of the country with the requirement of applying the work by rotation. From the other hand it occurs the relative reduction of dynamics (with their absolute prevalence) of those involved to the shuttle trade.

This tendency is the feature of both Almaty as the largest republican city and the former capital and other urban settlements (oblast centres and small towns of the Central Kazakhstan). It can be assumed with the sufficient probability share that such tendency as a whole is the characteristic of labour migrations in the whole Kazakhstan for last years.

Prospects of labour migration development mean that according to the polling 55% of respondents in Almaty and the sufficient part of labour migrants in Karagandy oblast plan out-working in spite of multiple contradictory consequences caused by this type of work. However, the dynamics of involvement to different types of labour migrations probably will be changed.

### ***Geography of Labour migration***

Labour migration geography is rather diversified. On the whole 45% of all first migrations are related to Russia, Turkey and China. Russia was and still being stable as the country for reaching by many groups of migrants: about 20% of respondents continuously make trips there with the earning purposes.

Russia, Turkey and China are the most popular among “shuttles” both as the countries of first visit and the countries of regular tours including the tours made just before the polling.

Beside the said basic countries numerous labour migrants visited such foreign countries as United Arab Emirates, Pakistan, Germany, Poland, Iran, Syria, India and other countries; as well as such CIS countries as Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan, Ukraine and Byelorussia, Baltic countries and different regions of Kazakhstan such as Almaty, Akmola, Karagandy, Atyrau and Mangistau oblasts.

The factors stimulating the interstate labour migration are the capital city transfer, intensive construction in Astana city and the development of oil production in western parts of Kazakhstan, requiring the work by rotation.

	City/Country	What	other	What country do you
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	you first visited to get the job	countries have you visited to get the job?	visit now or have visited last to get the job?
Russia	19,0	15,0	19,0
Turkey	14,0	14,0	10,0
China	12,0	10,0	9,0
Almaty oblast	11,0	5,0	14,0
Akmola oblast	9,0	3,0	9,0
Poland	3,0	3,0	1,0
Iran	3,0	-	1,0
Karagandy oblast	3,0	2,0	4,0
Atyrau oblast	3,0	1,0	2,0
Pakistan	2,0	9,0	2,0
Mangistau oblast	2,0	1,0	2,0
South Kazakhstan oblast	2,0	-	1,0
Germany	2,0	5,0	1,0
Eastern Kazakhstan oblast	2,0	2,0	2,0
Aktobe oblast	2,0	-	1,0
UAE	1,0	11,0	5,0
Ukraine	1,0	6,0	2,0
Baltic countries	1,0	3,0	-
Syria	1,0	2,0	-
Pavlodar oblast	1,0	2,0	2,0
Uzbekistan	1,0	4,0	-
Thailand	1,0	7,0	-
Dzhambul oblast	1,0	1,0	1,0
Kyrgyzstan	-	7,0	6,0
Byelorussia	-	4,0	1,0
India	-	3,0	1,0
Other regions of Kazakhstan, CIS and foreign countries	3,0	7,0	3,0

In the second half of 1990-s the geography of trips starts changing. The number of foreign countries tours reduced considerably especially among the “shuttles” which are nowadays oriented not only to the markets of Russia, Turkey and China but also consider the regional markets and especially that of Kyrgyzstan.

For example among the persons polled there isn’t a single person who visited Kyrgyzstan during his/her first tour at the early 1990-s. But the number of those who regularly visit the neighbouring state now has reached 6% and the rate of “shuttles” visiting Kyrgyzstan is 10%. Kyrgyzstan is the fourth popular country among the labour migrants leaving the territory of Kazakhstan.

This reorientation results from the Russian financial crisis in 1998, Kazakhstan currency exchange rate fall in April 1999 and transport charges increase which make the “shuttle” trading unprofitable. In Kyrgyzstan there is notable development of middle and small-scale businesses

and joint ventures manufacturing the goods of relatively good quality. The state liberal policy, low tax rates, low customs duties and construction of large “Dordoï” market on the boundary of Kazakhstan made the Kyrgyzstan wholesale market popular not only in Kyrgyzstan but in Kazakhstan also.

The geography of journey-work differs greatly among the labour migrants groups. The majority of respondents (95%) among the “shuttles” visit CIS and foreign countries.

An interoblast migration and especially to Almaty and Akmola oblast is peculiar to builders. Before the independence acquisition by the Republic of Kazakhstan 10% of respondents visited Russia. Nowadays (including their last visits) 60% of respondents visited Almaty oblast, 25% of respondents visited Akmola oblast, 5% visited Pavlodar oblast, 5% of respondents visited the Eastern Kazakhstan oblast and 5% of respondents visited Russia.

The variety of labour migration geography is typical to the respondents working for a wage. The designing of questionnaire, focus-groups and non-formal interviews show that this group of migrants visit not only Kazakhstan regions and CIS countries, but nearly all the countries of the world, such as Argentina and Bulgaria, Bahrain and Greece, Great Britain and Germany, Korea and Thailand, UAE and Turkey etc. The polling made in Karagandy shows that there is notable organised departure to the Republic of Korea and Israel and less ordered and often illegal departure to the USA and Cyprus. According to the polling results more than half of employees working for a wage nowadays frequently work at the regions of Kazakhstan but the foreign countries are still attractive for our citizens.

The comparative analysis of first and last visits geography shows the slight decrease of departures to the foreign countries and a slight increase in trips aiming at the work for a wage to other regions of Kazakhstan and CIS countries alongside with the same variety of destination countries.

Under the conditions of foreign policy openness and development of our citizens’ activities legal basis we can forecast the increase of the number of employees working for a wage abroad and it is surely a positive process.

What country or city have you last visited or do visit nowadays to get a job?								
City/country	“Shuttle” trading		Wage work		Construction		Sampling	
	Absol.	%	Absol.	%	Absol.	%	Absol.	%
Russia	13	26,0	5	16,7	1	5,0	19	19,0
Almaty oblast	-	-	1	3,3	12	60,0	13	13,0
Turkey	10	20,0	-	-	-	-	10	10,0
Akmola oblast	-	-	5	16,7	5	25,0	10	10,0
China	9	18,0	-	-	-	-	9	9,0
Kyrgyz Republic	5	10,0	1	3,3	-	-	6	6,0
UAE	4	8,0	1	3,3	-	-	5	5,0
Karagandy oblast	1	2,0	3	10,0	-	-	4	4,0
Syria	2	4,0	-	-	-	-	2	2,0
Pakistan	2	4,0	-	-	-	-	2	2,0
India	1	2,0	-	-	-	-	1	1,0
Poland	1	2,0	-	-	-	-	1	1,0

Iran	1	2,0	-	-	-	-	1	1,0
South Kazakhstan oblast	1	2,0	-	-	-	-	1	1,0
Mangistau oblast	-	-	2	6,7	-	-	2	2,0
Atyrau oblast	-	-	2	6,7	-	-	2	2,0
Ukraine	-	-	2	6,7	-	-	2	2,0
Other regions of Kazakhstan, CIS and foreign countries	-	-	8	26,7	2	10,0	10	10,0
Complete sampling	50	100,0	30	100,0	20	100,0	100	100,0

### ***Impact of labour migration upon the labour migrants' families well-being***

To characterise the labour migrants' well-being and impact of out-work upon their well-being lets review some parameters of migrants' living standards.

Polling data shows that the labour migration contributed to the majority respondents' financial standing improvement, allowed to solve some urgent daily problems. Out-work improved the well-being of the majority of respondents in Almaty city:

How has your family's well-being changed as a result of out-work? (%)	
Improved greatly	8.0
Improved	48.0
Almost nothing has changed	35.0
Difficult to answer	9.0
Complete sampling	100.0

20.1% of households members in Karagandy oblast marked the considerable improvement and 46.6% households members stated the improvement of their well-being. A certain predominance of respondents in Karagandy oblast evaluating their well-being optimistically if compared with the respondents of Almaty city is based on the fact that Almaty is the most expensive city not only in the Republic of Kazakhstan but in the whole Central Asia region and the earnings of labour migrants are not sufficient to ensure the high quality life there.

17.3% of Karagandy oblast household members responded that their well-being has not considerably changed and 14% found it difficult to answer the question.

Both in Almaty, Karagandy cities and small towns the out-work is performed to solve the most urgent daily problems, such as family provision with enough foodstuff (58% of Almaty respondents and 69% of Karagandy respondents), medical care (57% and 44.5% correspondingly), purchase of expensive goods and children assistance, both financial and aiming at the education getting. Out-work of labour migrants contributed to the housing problem solving by 37% of Almaty respondents and 33% of Karagandy city respondents.

### ***Assistance rendered by the labour migrants to relatives and dependants***

Majority of respondents in Almaty city has adult children, parents or other relatives they render regular or casual financial assistance to(%):

Have no dependent relatives, children e.t.c.	43.0
Provide full support	9.0

Render regular assistance	22.0
Render incidental assistance	26.0
Complete sampling	100.0

This data can be compared with the results got in Karagandy oblast: 55.5% of respondents have no dependent relatives; 11.8% of respondents provide full support of dependent relatives, the respondents rendering regular and incidental assistance are 12.7% and 20% correspondingly.

16% of Almaty city respondents helped children and other relatives to get employed for out-work, 13% of respondents rendered assistance for the relatives' own business establishment. In Karagandy oblast 14.5% of respondents assisted relatives and children in their business establishment.

### Satisfaction level while the out-work performance

Two thirds of respondents in Almaty city have no regrets relating to their out-work. But pursuant to the sampling results 13% of respondents regret that they started out-work and 21% found it difficult to answer the question:

13% of respondents not satisfied with their out-work mention the low incomes and lack of work regularity as the main reasons of their dissatisfaction. In Karagandy oblast the majority of migrants (62.1%) also have no regrets that they do out-work.

But in respondents' opinion there are still more positive aspects than the negative ones. The main positive aspect is the relative improvement of migrants' families well-being. Experience getting and possibility to visit other countries as a result of out-work are also mentioned. Responses received in Almaty city are as follows:

What positive impact made out-work (trading) on your family life?				
	“Shuttle” trading	Work for a wage	Construction	Sampling
	%	%	%	%
No positive impact	14.0	10.0	5.0	11.0
My family well-being improved considerably	30.0	36.7	25.0	31.0
I provided my family with all the things necessary	26.0	13.3	15.0	20.0
I visited many countries of the world	26.0	23.3	5.0	21.0
I have a possibility to have a good rest now and to provide my family's holidays	4.0	3.3	-	3.0
I've got a good business experience and it is much easy to find employment now	22.0	46.7	15.0	28.0
Thanks to my journeys I managed to establish my business (to open the	22.0	-	-	11.0

company, store)				
Out-work makes it possible to earn my daily living	36.0	20.0	70.0	38.0
Others	-	3.3	-	1.0

The answers to this question differed greatly depending on the respondents sex. Thus men (45.7%) more often than women(31.5%) responded that out-work made no positive impact on the life of their families and helped to earn their daily living only.

Women often stated the fact that out-work improved their family financial standing (55.5% against 45.7% of responses given by men), out-work gave an opportunity to visit different countries (25.9% against 15.2% of responses given by men) and to get necessary business experience (31.5% of women responses against 23.9% of that given by men). Moreover only women (20.4%) were able as a result of out-work to save enough money to start their own business.

But alongside with positive impact there is certain negative impact of out-work upon the labour migrants and their families. The most frequent responses given by the respondents are the health state worsening and the lack of time for the children upbringing.

Respondents working for a wage are more optimistic in their evaluation. More than half of them state that there is no negative impact of labour migration upon the lives of their families. At the same time the complaints of the employees working for a wage that their state of health worsened considerably are more frequent than that of other groups.

“Shuttles” complaints regarding their health worsening as a result of out-work are twice more frequent than that of other labour migrants groups; and builders twice more often state the lack of time necessary to bring up children. The complete sampling shows that health problems (36%) and problems with children upbringing (20%) are the most frequent among the problems stated as the out-work negative impact.

There are also certain differences in the responses received from men and that received from women. Men (47.8%) state that the out-work has no negative impact on the life more often than women (40.7%). At the same time if compared with women the men more often feel that their family relations are getting deteriorating and there is a lack of time for the children upbringing. If compared with men women much more often mention their health state worsening as a result of out- work. Evidently it results from the nature of out-work performed by women; women are basically deal with “shuttle” trading, which is accompanied with the overloading while the goods carrying, selling of goods at the open areas under adverse weather conditions and pursuant to the lack of proper labour conditions.

### ***Social feelings of labour migrants***

The emotional state of the majority of Almaty city respondents can hardly be called positive. Only one third of the respondents marked that they have been in good spirits lately. Among the groups of labour migrants the best emotional state is typical for the migrants working for a wage. 50% of such migrants stated that they are in good mood. Builders mention their irritation and psychological tension as this group has the highest rate of wages non-payments and delays.

How would you characterise your recent mood?
--

	“Shuttle” trading		Work for a wage		Construction		Sampling	
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs..	%
Good mood	13	26.0	15	50.0	5	25.0	33	33.0
Feel irritated and tense	24	48.0	9	30.0	12	60.0	45	45.0
Feel scared, anguish	6	12.0	1	3.3	2	10.0	9	9.0
Difficult to answer	7	14.0	5	16.7	1	5.0	13	13.0
Complete sampling	50	100.0	30	100.0	20	100.0	100	100.0

In Central Kazakhstan 44% of respondents are in good mood; 28.2% feel tense; 10.9% -feel scared and anguish and 19.1% found it difficult to answer the question.

As a result of the questionnaire designing in Almaty city there was portrayed the typical image of a labour migrant.

### *Typical image of labour migrant*

#### *“Shuttle migrant”*

A woman, aged a bit over forty, married, has children. Has the higher or secondary specialised education. As a rule has no trading license.

She has been dealing with “shuttle” trading since 1994-1996. Started her business via her relatives or friends, used to go to purchase the goods several times a year together with her friends or alone. For short distant tours usually hires the vehicle and the foreign tours are made by plane. The most usual countries to purchase the goods are Turkey, China and Russia.

She deals with wholesale purchases but sales by retail independently or via her relatives. As a rule has a constant owned or rented place for trading. Some “Shuttles” have a number of permanent customers. The goods are sold mainly in Kazakhstan, sometimes in Russia, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan.

She considers her earnings moderate though her earnings allow to improve the financial standing of the family. Primarily the money are designated to cover the daily needs such as nourishment improvement, medical care, relatives support and after that to improve the housing conditions and to purchase the long life goods. After the crisis which took place in Russia in August 1998 the profitability of out-work decreased and some traders discontinued their tours.

There is evident dissatisfaction with the migrant life and she would like to give it up but it seems to be impossible due to the impossibility of any other employment. The main problem is the limited goods demand due to the population low purchasing capacity, market richness and the great number of competitors reducing the business profitability.

#### *A hired migrant working for a wage*

A man of a bit over thirty, having higher, incomplete higher or secondary education, married, having children. As a rule has no journey-work license.

He started his work 23 years ago. As a rule he does not work within his specialisation but performs work similar to his original speciality or experience got either in the field of human services or commerce on the basis of official contract. The most frequent occupations are traders and drivers. He works in various regions of Kazakhstan, sometimes in Russia, other CIS or foreign countries.

As a rule he is quite satisfied with both his earnings derived from his migrant work and his migrant life itself. The crisis which took place in Russia in August 1998 made no particular impact on his work. He is not going to give up out-work.

He has to live alone while his out-work performing and has rare contacts with his family. Nearly half of employees working for a wage usually get signed in or registered at the place of their work performance. While his out-work performing he lives at his relatives, friends or employer's place. As a rule he is provided with no social guarantees.

### ***Builder***

A man of a bit over forty, having secondary or specialised secondary education, who lost his work at the State owned enterprise. As a rule has no out-work license.

He is dissatisfied with both construction work and his earnings but is not going to give up his job as there is no opportunity for him to become employed in the city. He is forced to perform out-work due to the high unemployment level in Almaty city. His work allows him to earn the daily living of his family. He can not specify any other positive aspects of his work. Among the negative aspects of his out-work he states the separation with his family and impossibility to bring up children. He is depressed, constantly feels irritated but can not or is not willing to change his life.

To perform the construction work he goes to Almaty oblast, Astana city and Akmola oblast. He works all the year round. Sometimes he has seasonal work only. While his out-work performing he lives at the employer's place or rents a flat. He has to live alone and has rare contacts with his family. The main problems are delays of wages payment or customer's refusal to provide remuneration for the work performed. The rest of problems are considered insufficient.

The typical images of labour migrants have been depicted for the first time and provide the images common for the each migrants type. To provide the more detailed survey it is necessary to carry out the more comprehensive research with the greater number of research methods and quantitative and qualitative methods combination. The results of the questionnaire designing help to determine the further directions for interdisciplinary researches in the field of labour migration and provide the research performance guidelines.

## **LABOUR MIGRATION AND SOCIAL CHANGES IN THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD IN KAZAKHSTAN: FROM REGULATION TO SELF-SUFFICIENCY.**

Since 1990 in NIS there is a of creation of the new socio-economic relations. Elements of the new market infrastructure are being created – market of goods and services, market of labour resources, financial market. We can judge about this gradual process only by macroeconomic indicators. However, others alternative trends of the population employment are developing –small and medium private business, independent activities – all these difficult, but real changes in the sphere of labour, which indicate the emergence of the market model and reflect its transition pattern.

These new elements of the market economy co-exist with the old type of relations, when extra personel is kept in the condition of the production decline, salaries are not paid, the relations between contribution of a employee and his income is deformed. The largescale hidden unemployment against the background of the production decline is being kept, because there is the minor movement of labour resources on the macro and micro level, but the workers are not interested in the growth of labour efficiency. There is a decrease of efficiency of the government employment services. According to the experts' asseessment it leads to the preservation the old non-market relations and indicates increase of the ineffective employment scales.

Development of the private enterprises, increase of the secondary employment and the employment in informal sector, drawing population in commercial trade and other forms of labour migration – these are the ways of overcoming distorted relations. This is an attempt to change existing relations first at the individual (personal) level, and as far as the process takes more and more mass character, it brings changes at the group and social level.

These changes touch on not only social and economic relations, but social structures too. “Washing out” of the old “traditional” middle class takes place as the result of decrease of its economical and social status. In spite of the high educational status in soviet period, presently we face deprofessionalisation of tens and hundreds of thousands of specialisst, who lost their skills after long break in their work or work in areas that differ from their major specialization.

However, at the same time, there is a process of acquisition of the new knowledge and skills, especially in financial and legal sphere, which are necessary for work in the market economy. Many of commercial migrants and those who is hired to work abroad learned foreign languages, became more mobile, opened the world for themselves, enriched their professional and life experience. According to sociological survey data, it is especially actual for women, who can be competitive on the world market of labour nowadays.

Tens and even hundreds of thousands of people achieved high financial status and they form a “new middle class” at present. The research data prove, that income of labour migrants give them an opportunity not only to solve their material problems: housing, furniture, clothes etc., but also to improve thier standard of living (life quality), especially medical services, education, and recreation.

**Self-sufficiency** – is one of the main characteristics of this “new class”. Labour migrants overcome the paternalist ideology and psychology of dependance from the state. They make the decisions, carry on the risks and responsibility for themselves, for the families, for business, which they are engaged in.

Formation of the new relations, change of mentality is a difficult and long process. While it occurs at an individual and group level, however social-psychological changes will inevitably take place in public consciousness as a whole. At present however the process of self-identification of commercial migrant, engaged in a shuttle business, is inconsistent: on the one hand, he perceives himself as “a businessman”, on the other hand, he critically says critically says about himself: “a shuttle – ust a shuttle”.

“Reconstruction” of the portrait “typical” migrant was one of the task of the given research. As a result of study of the social-demographic characteristics, definitions of the basic directions and

geography of labour migration, estimation of efficiency of labour migration and prospects of its development and other questions were possible “to draw” the portrait of the “typical” migrant. Recognition of a situation and behavioral attitudes of installation labour migrants are obviously divided into two basic groups: pessimistic, directed on the survival (“everything was shattered, but life continues”) and passive (“it is necessary to suffer this time”), up to optimistic, who managed not only to adapt (“I’ll never come back to the former “stall”), but also to achieve success (“I have opened the business and helped my daughter”).

Among these two basic types are further variations. The study of behavioral attitudes and psychological features of different types of migrants in the situation of economic crisis can become one of directions of the further research. With the help of qualitative methods, first of all, of biographic method. It is possible to deepen the analysis socially-psychological and structural changes occurring in kazak society in the transition period.

“Specialization” and “diversification” of activities as well as new structures of business emerge in the process of the market relations development. Russian experience shows, the commercial, shuttle business has developed into the organized forms and companies acting as the legal bodies nowadays.

In the future this process of organization, reorganization and legalization will occur in Kazakhstan, where new firms and companies are likely to appear – purchasing, trade, intermediary, transport, so on and so forth. Some of them, who will not sustain competition (during formation as well as functioning of these firms), will most likely be ruined and already are being ruined and look for application of labour resources in other branches and spheres. Apparently, it testifies about occurrence of the self-regulation’s mechanisms of the market relations.

One of the positive consequences of mass labour migrations on macrolevel is that independent solution of the material problems in the situation of economic crisis has played a positive social-political role, preventing a growth of social discontent and pressure on the society.

Commercial migrants are quite often being blamed on for taking out big financial resources from Kazakhstan and, by buying the goods abroad, “investing” these money into the economy of other countries. It is necessary to go beyond moral assessments for this kind of discussion, since, if the legal and economic bases are not created for a development of small and medium business and favorable investment in manufacture or services sphere in their own country, we can easily predict that the process of export of financial resources will continue.

According to the fiscal bodies data, in mid 1990-s each shuttle took out from Kazakhstan about 5-6 thou US dollars for one trip, and now – according to data of National Bank – up to 10 thou US dollars. The total sum of annually taken out money resources makes some hundreds millions US dollars. By some estimations, this sum made 1 billion USD, in 1999.

However, the role of the labour migrants consists not only in taking out money for the purchase of the goods, but also in sending money to the allowance of their families, living abroad (remittances). At present the exact sum of remittances, sent in Kazakhstan from working on departure migrants remains unknown, however, undoubtedly that these are rather significant sums. It's enough to mention, that the global estimations of flows of official remittances based on statistics of payment balances, show, that the remittances have increased from 43,3 billion in 1980 up to 71,1 billion of US dollars in 1990. WE have data only on some CIS countries, for example, on Azerbaijan, where the sum of remittances sent to Azerbaijan is estimated in 1 billion US dollars annually.

The development of the new relations in sphere of labour is controversial and goes in struggle with contradictory tendencies. Independence from the state, overcoming paternalism, sometimes results in the individuals' (and society as a whole) complete INDEPENDENCE from the state, they not accountable and not controllable by each other. Having long-term, more

precisely, centuries-old experience of suppression from the part of the state, the population has learned "to avoid" this pressure by all possible ways and to avoid the legal registration of the activity, from the reporting, taxation etc.

The self-employed population, including labour migrants, tries to avoid control of the state and keeps profit, redistributes it between the members of the family and relatives. According to data of sociological survey, 57% of Almaty and about 45% Karaganda labour migrants regularly or occasionally help the relatives (dependents), thus approximately 10% of the respondents in all the cities practically support them.

However, there are so-called the most vulnerable groups of people in each society – lonely old men, disabled people, single mothers or mothers of many children. Now the state withdrew from the support of these groups because of the lack of financial resources for distribution, but these resources haven't been collected as the taxes to the incomes of hundreds of thousands of self-employed and commercial migrants.

Legitimization of the labour migration is an extremely difficult task, as it is inseparable from a socio-economic and historical context. Avoidance of the income taxation is perceived not as infringement of the law in public consciousness, but as a response to "a regular, large-scale and barefaced stealing by the state of their citizens". After millions of people have lost their savings as a result of inflation and financial frauds authorized by the state, to hide the incomes is considered almost a norm.

Absence of the legislation, legal basis regulating process of distribution and redistribution of deductions from the incomes and the profit – is one of the most complex problem nowadays. Serious socio-economic changes are taking place in the society, but the state has no time for necessary legislative and institutional changes and be considered in a context of modern social and economic processes. There was a reduction in demand in highly skilled labour, especially in high-technological branches, science and scientific services because of low payment and long delays of the salaries (as a result of an economic crisis of the beginning 1990). It caused underusage of intellectual potential as a whole in the republic. Alongside with irrevocable emigration, deprofessionalization of hundreds of thousands of white collars, their contemporary employment in the sphere of trade and services, in temporary hired work worsens quality of the labour potential as a whole.

Our study revealed that members of the family or nearest relatives are usually involved in commercial migration because of the large risks accompanying them. One of the drawbacks of shuttle business is so-called "family management", i.e. management on the type of family, and not on the type of organization. As the American experts in management notice it's just this type of "family management" which is the reason for decline of many small scale business in the USA. This type of management in labour migrants' families also results in certain negative consequences, including cessation of work on departure.

Deterioration of health is other serious problem marked by some types of migrants. Because of constant travels some family problems emerge because there is no time for upbringing of children. Chronic tiredness, stresses due to the unpredictability and instability of a financial, economic and social situation; frustration, arising in connection with uncertainty of the status: employed/free, poor/rich, legal/illegal business etc., - all these create that negative psychological background, where the daily life of migrant proceeds.

Labour migrants perceive the opportunity to give their children paid secondary and high education as a compensation of deterioration of upbringing. Most of the parents hope that due to the education, it will not be necessary for children to be involved into commercial migration or other work on departure.

One of the most essential negative aspects of labour migrations is their half-legal status. Already at the first stages of shuttle business, certain demoralization occurs at an individual

level (microlevel), because the beginning of business is accompanied to humiliations, larceny, customs extortion, bribery mentioned by many respondents.

Travel for the goods is one of the links of a chain of "shuttle business", in which at all stages the "specific" economic relations of shadow business are being formed: on an initial stage of "shop-tour", registration of the visa and foreign passport (e.g. the registration of the visa in MIA - Ministry for Internal Affairs- during one day, though according to the the standard procedure it requires two weeks), purchase and delivery of the goods (air-, railway and auto transportation), customs examination and registration of the goods; sales and storage; security, accumulation and distribution of the incomes etc. All these "business procedures" require additional research. (21, 31,34)

It is enough to note, that the registration of the exit visa from Kazakhstan is infringement of the law, because it contradicts to the Article 21 of Constitution which approves, that each citizen of the Republic has the right to leave it and the right to come back into it freely. (30) During several years (1995-1998) the number of the shuttle migrants ("shop-tourists") was about 100 up to 150 thou annually. Bearing in mind that registration of the one-entry visa costs from 50 and above US dollars, it's easily to calculate, what kind of money have been raised by the state bodies (MIA) and tourist firms for visa registration and other documents for the shop-tourists.

The problem of illegal migrations becomes more and more urgent. 10 thou licensed foreign workers works In Kazakhstan and about 2 thou Kazakhstani workers are officially registered in Russia nowadays. However they represent only small portion of spontaneous half- and illegal labour migrants in the republic and other NIS countries. The number of illegal migrants is estimated from tens to hundreds of thousands, and in Russia, by some estimates, several millions. (70, 157)

We do not consider such extreme forms of illegal migrations, as trafficking in migrants and, trafficking in women for use with the purposes of slavery and/or of sexual exploitation, in particular. They also form the "structures" - illegal and half-legal which also should become a subject of special research This is an issue that attracts more and more public attention. (80, 81).

As it was already mentioned above, one of the contradictory processes of the transitional period is "independence", or aspiration to independence from the state. The absence of interaction between the society and the state is observed at all levels. At social level the state institutions practically have taken off any obligations concerning not only socially vulnerable groups of the population, but also the able-bodied citizens, having liquidated any guarantees of providing them with work. The state employment services proved to be insufficient to help tens of thousands of unemployed. Therefore the number of applicants to this state services is constantly decreasing, and unemployed people are trying to find the job themselves by thus joining the category of the "self-employed" population.

This study confirmed that self-employed people, including hundred of thousands of labour migrants, try to reduce their interaction with the state to a minimum. The major interest of labour migrants and other social groups consists in protection of their interests from the state. In its turn, the major state's interest, apparently, consists of avoiding "transparency" and accountability of the state to its citizens.

The state is not yet ready to recognize (admit) that its citizens are independent "actors" on an economic, social, political stage and their rights must be observed. Non-observance and disrespect of the rights and duties by both sides (state vs citizens) results in alienation of the citizens from the state and state from the citizens. Real social interaction takes place more and more frequently in the " shadow ", which extends its sphere during last years.

Now "shadowing" occurs not only in sphere of economy, or employment. According to one of contemporary Russian sociologists, "shadowing" of all spheres of modern public life takes place. The development of legal basis of social and economic reforms will allow to ensure a

base for sustainable economic growth and social development of Kazakhstan. It allows to give up the policy of short- term and contradictory transformations conducive to the distortions and "shadowing" of social attitudes, to the gradual and deep changes of social relationships and institutions.

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