

Illegal migration and employment in Russia

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INFORMAL NETWORK ON FOREIGN LABOUR IN CENTRAL
AND EASTERN EUROPE,
ILO/LUXEMBURG CO-OPERATION:
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Foreword

This is a paper of the ILO's Migration Programme, located within the Conditions of Work Branch. The objectives of the Programme are to contribute to (i) the formulation, application and evaluation of international migration policies suited to the economic and social aims of governments, employers' and workers' organizations, (ii) the increase of equality of opportunity and treatment of migrants and the protection of their rights and dignity. Its means of action are research, technical advisory services and co-operation, meetings and work concerned with international labor standards. Under the Programme the ILO also collects, analyses and disseminates relevant information and acts as the information source for its constituents, ILO units and other interested parties.

In cooperation with the countries of the region, the ILO launched in early 1996 the *Informal Network on Foreign Labor in Central and Eastern Europe*. Although it did not involve a formal agreement among the participating states, the Network established a mechanism whereby their respective migration authorities could address common issues and problems through annual meetings, research, and exchange of information. Through these activities the participating states expect to enhance their capacities to manage migration and to develop migration policies compatible with ILO standards and principles. Aside from the ILO, support for the Network's initial activities has come from a generous contribution from the Government of Luxemburg.

This study of illegal migration in the Russian Federation was undertaken for the ILO by Dr. Eugene Krassinets of the Russian Academy of Sciences and was conducted under the auspices of the *Informal Network*. Similar studies are carried out in Hungary, Lithuania and the Czech Republic.

Through the analysis of the illegal employment of foreign workers in Russia, this work highlights, not only the urgent need to design and implement a more sophisticated immigration policy but also to create adequate means for its enforcement. Due to the nature of the subject, an attempt was made to use key informants to develop a picture of the dimension of illegal migration and its causes, and the questions they raise for immigration policy reform. The author of this report is rather pessimistic on the present ability of the Russian Federation to orderly monitor the massive inflow of illegal migrants. He emphasizes that further delays in the setting up of sound immigration policies may lead to major disruptions in the Russian's national security. This study shows that additional research is requested in order to analyze the three basic aspects of illegal labor migration in Russia, namely: (a) the trends and geographical concentration of irregular migrants; (b) the major consequences on the local labor market; and (c) the effectiveness of policy instruments to reduce irregular employment of foreign workers.

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1. Survey objectives and methods¹

1.1. Introduction

The democratic changes which have taken place in the Russian Federation since the mid 1980s have exerted a profound influence on all aspects of society and the economy. Changes have occurred in the domain of illegal immigration as well. One of the problems currently affecting the Russian internal labor market is the growing emigration of Russian workers and the increase in the use of foreign labor. A host of complex problems accompanies the use of a foreign work force: the most acute of these problems is the expansion of illegal immigration and the employment of foreign citizens.

The huge influx of immigrants into the Russian Federation (primarily via the southern borders) includes a considerable number of illegal aliens. In 1992, after Russia joined the UN Convention on the Status of Refugees (1951) and the Protocol of 1967, questions arose concerning the status of hundreds of thousands of foreign citizens and of those residents without any citizenship. Many of these people entered and resided in Russia in violation of passport and visa regulations.

By the mid-90s illegal immigration to Russia had become one of the most dramatic economic, social, and political problems of the country which required thorough analysis and fundamental policy decisions. Undocumented immigrants became involved in the shadow economy and some with illegal business, in criminal economic activity (including trade in narcotics and weapons), and in the illegal trafficking of workers to Western Europe, the US, and Canada. In large cities such as Moscow, illegal aliens formed ethnic communities and some are suspected of links with local criminal gangs.

Many Russian businessmen willingly hire illegal aliens because of an imbalance between the demand for labour and the supply of native workers. Illegal immigration and the search for effective ways to regulate it present one of the most difficult challenges to immigration policy - even for countries with a long tradition of immigration. In Russia these problems have only recently surfaced; in the near future it is likely that they will become increasingly serious due to the influence of three factors: 1) the porosity of the Russian borders and lack of immigration control, 2) insufficient legislation and the lack of laws regarding immigration, 3) the uniqueness of Russia's geopolitical situation and her present social and economic conditions.

Main factors influencing immigration into Russia from the CIS and other countries include:

- 1) the more stable economic condition and higher standards of living in Russia when compared with other CIS countries and with many countries of the "far abroad" (the Middle East, Africa, Asia, Afghanistan, Iran, and others.)
- 2) the emergence of alternative employment in the Russian labour market (as a result of economic reforms) involving the use of foreign capital, different kinds of property, privatization, and self-employment.
- 3) Laxity of Russian laws regulating foreign entry, residency, and employment; the absence of an effective system of immigration control; the "transparency" of Russian borders with

¹Thanks are due to Ms. Elena Tiuriukanova for her assistance in contributing data required for the drafting of this report.

other CIS countries.

- 4) Russia's geographical situation, which is favorable for transit from Asia to Europe.

This unique combination of socio-economic, geopolitical, and legal factors makes the problems concerning illegal immigration and employment in Russia even more acute. The situation is aggravated by the economic chaos and criminal activity which facilitate foreigners' employment. Because of the large profits from "trafficking in people" (either in Russian citizens or in citizens of other countries by way of Russian territory) immigration has been on the rise, particularly from Asia.

There are several methods by which to gain illegal employment in Russia: illegal entry by way of the Republics of the former Soviet Union; legal entry with tourist or business visas or by private invitation; and lawful entry for temporary employment or for study at Russian universities. Little is known about illegal immigration and employment, despite their increase. According to the data provided by the Federal Migration Service, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation, and a number of experts on international migration, the number of illegal aliens living and working in Russia ranges from 500,000 to one million (Iontsev, 1997). Other experts in the field believe that the number is actually closer to several millions!

Currently there is little or no information on the size, direction, structure, and economic consequences of illegal employment. Neither are there any studies of state regulations concerning the use of foreign labour. These two factors have underscored the importance of the research presented here. In addition, attempts to find answers to the following seminal questions have shaped the parameters and objectives of this investigation: What are the actual numbers, types, and main characteristics of illegal immigration? What is the influence of illegal immigration on the Russian labour market? What is the difference between state interests and employers' interests concerning illegal economic activity? What are the economic and social consequences of employment of illegal aliens? What is the situation in different regions in Russia?

The major objective of this paper is to provide a detailed study of illegal immigration and employment of illegal aliens in Russia and in so doing, to define more precisely the above-mentioned concepts and to provide answers to the previous questions. The main areas of focus are the following:

- 1) to clarify the kinds of illegal entry and illegal residency in Russia;
- 2) to define the parameters of illegal immigration;
- 3) to investigate illegal employment of foreign citizens in Russia;
- 4) to determine explanatory factors and the consequences of illegal immigration.

1.2. Review of literature

One of the more important characteristics of the labour market in Russia today is the growing foreign labour force in local labour markets. According to the data provided by the Federal Migration Service, the official number of "guest workers" in Russia is currently about 300,000.

Only certain branches of the economy (construction, heavy industry, the service industry, commerce, public service, the transportation industry) and certain territories (the border areas and densely populated industrial centers) are attractive to foreign immigrants. While there are no reliable statistics or knowledgeable publications on the number of illegal immigrants in Russia (this is beyond direct calculation and observation), official government information confirms that the number of illegal aliens crossing into Russia annually is close to 100,000.

The Federal Migration Service states that there are currently more than 700,000 foreigners in Russia whose residence violates passport or visa regulations (Arkhipov, 1997). Some scholars conclude that in Moscow alone there are nearly 150,000 illegal aliens from the “far abroad” and about one million from the “near abroad” (countries of the former Soviet Union.) Illegal aliens from the “far abroad” are more transient and often consider Russia a “transit point” on their way to the West.

Despite the many publications concerning the general problems of international labour migration, only a few provide a thorough analysis of immigration’s illegal aspect. Specific research on illegal employment includes the following:

- C transit migration (Zaionchkovskaya, 1994);
- C socio-demographic characteristics of the foreign labour force (the nationality and profession of immigrants) (Balatsky, 1995; Iontsev, 1997);
- C historical and economic characteristics (including regional) of the illegal foreign work force (Zacharova et al, 1994);
- C state regulations for labour emigration (Entiaikov, 1995).

Research dealing with various aspects of international labour migration to Russia emphasizes the following features of illegal immigration:

- C the impossibility in finding accurate documentation on illegal employment since data is scarce and unreliable on the number of border crossings and number of visas issued;
- C illegal labour immigration often takes place in those regions where legal immigrants from the same country of origin are already employed;
- C illegal labour immigration is closely linked to the internal diaspora which frequently functions as the middleman in the employment of new immigrants;
- C for those immigrants who do not desire permanent residency, rotation (seasonal) migration has become more popular, particularly for immigrants with preliminary agreements on location and terms of employment abroad. Rotation migration prolongs the criminal aspects of illegal employment: both employer and employee have mutual interests for continuing the work relationship beyond official immigration regulations;
- C small business development has been a catalyst for the sharp rise in the illegal immigrant population, particularly in the service and construction industries. Some branches of agriculture use illegal immigrants exclusively for additional seasonal labour (primarily during the harvest);
- C geographically, the most popular employment areas for illegal aliens are the border territories, the agricultural areas (for seasonal labour), and the densely populated industrial centers.

The issue of illegal immigrants’ employment as an immanent part of Russia’s market

economy is still largely ignored, yet analysis of the problem is essential for developing economic strategies and regulations during this transitional period in Russia. According to research conducted in the Netherlands and in Greece, the effects of illegal employment vary for each economic level. Illegal employment can be both negative and positive on the microeconomic level (the firm): on the one hand, it produces a negative effect on companies that use illegal labour because official hiring protocols are not in place, but it has on the other hand a positive effect on those businesses that intentionally use illegal employment to make their enterprises more successful. The effects of illegal employment on the macroeconomic level are determined by the ratio of the negative to the positive effects on the microeconomic level. Researchers in the Netherlands and Greece have isolated several socio-economic aspects of illegal employment which are relevant to Russia today. They discovered that illegal workers prefer employment in agriculture, public service, and the service industry. They also found that illegal immigrants enter the country as individuals, not with their families, since illegal employment is generally short-term. The authors suggested the following methods for reducing illegal employment: 1) increasing the fines for hiring illegal aliens so that these are equal to or greater than the amount in taxes that employers pay for legal workers, 2) and reducing the need for a “flexible” work force (Lianos et al, 1996; Zandvliet and Gravestein-Listhelm, 1994).

1.3. Research methodology

Basic methods used in this research were: 1) analyzing the current body of literature and scholarly work on illegal immigration and illegal labour, 2) collecting data and formulating statistical estimates concerning foreign labour in the Russian labour market, and 3) developing a survey geared toward experts in this field.

Illegal immigrants comprise three groups: 1) those who enter Russia with falsified documents or who cross the borders illegally, and those whose official reason for entry is fabricated; 2) foreign students who do not leave Russia after completing their studies and those foreign workers in Russia who have overdue labour contracts; 3) transit migrants and refugees who wish to enter Western countries to find employment or to receive official status. These are presented in Illustration 1.

Illustration 1: The theoretical model of main patterns of illegal immigration and illegal employment in Russia

The diagram shows that the term “illegal alien” applies not only to immigrants who have entered the country illegally but also to those who live or work illegally in the country. “Illegal” status is defined by 1) entry, 2) residency, 3) and activity, which can produce four different models when combined.

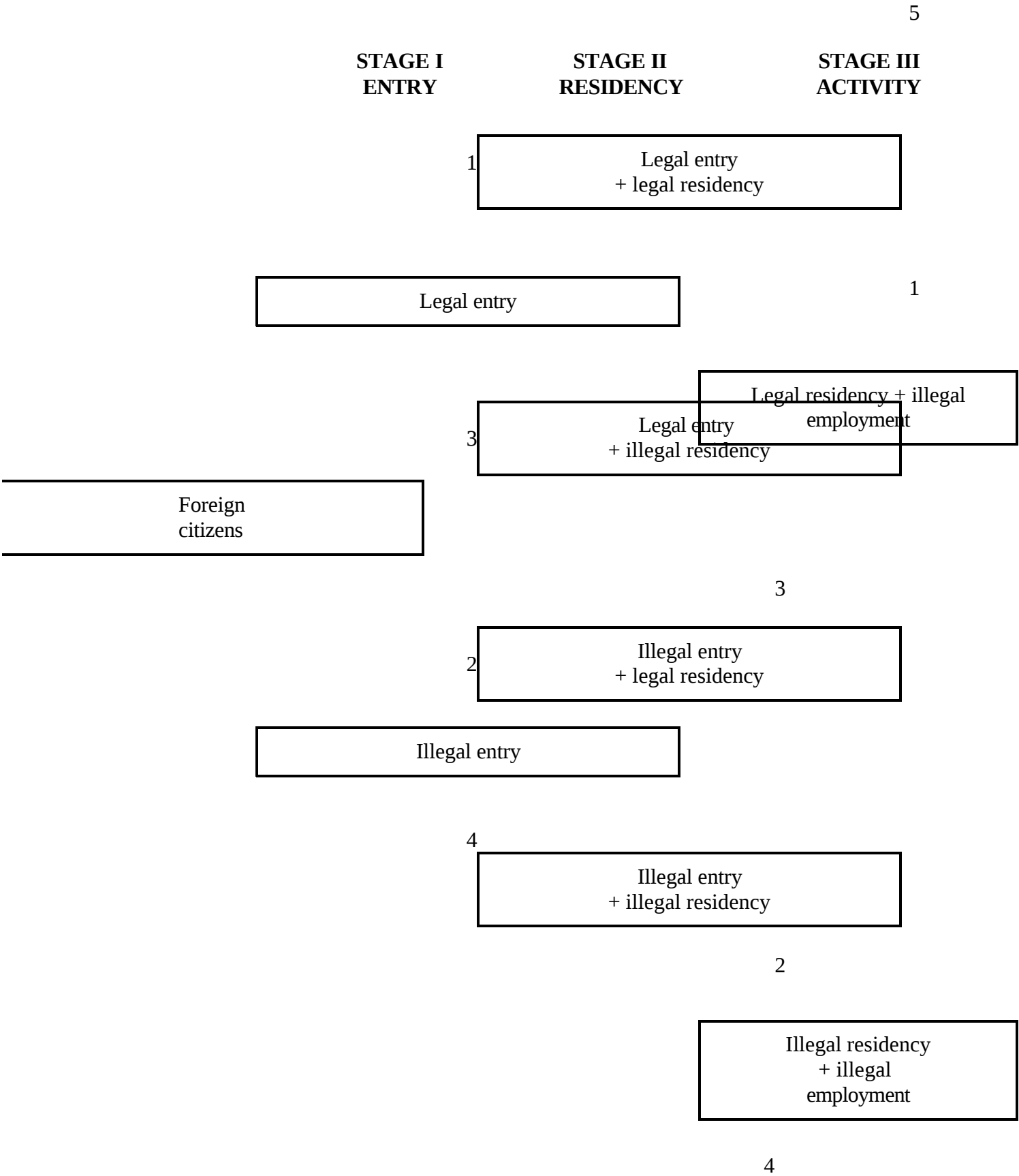
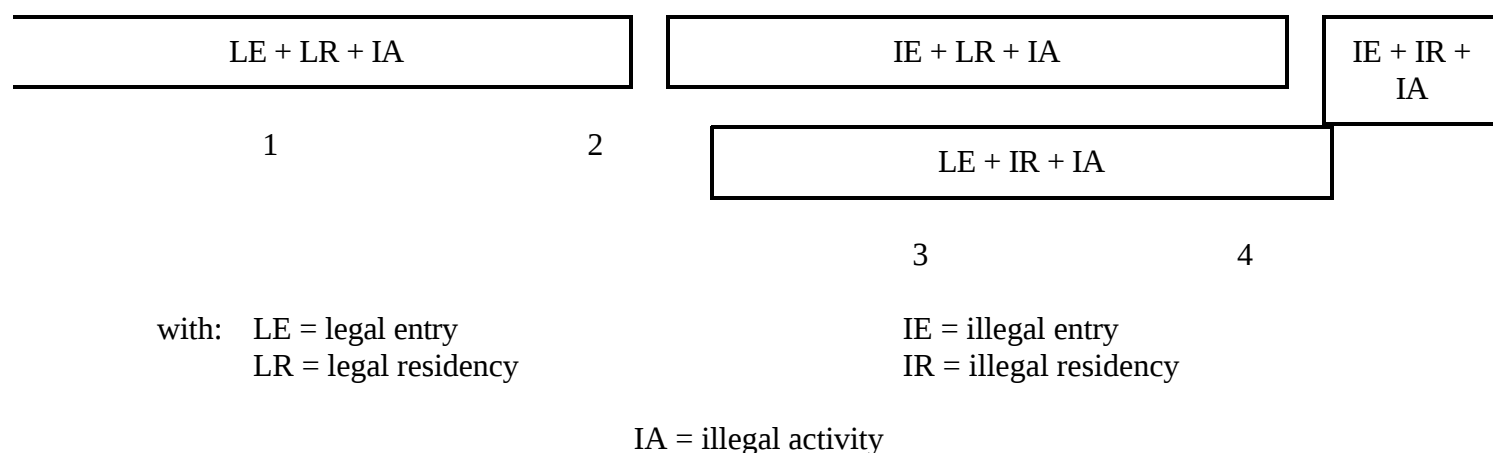


Illustration 2: Different combinations of “entry” and “residency”



These different combinations of ‘entry’ and ‘residency’ (which lead to illegal employment) are included in the definition of illegal labour immigration. The most commonly found combinations are linked to illegal residency, models 3 and 4 above. The least common is model 2, which is possible in theory, but rarely happens. (In some cases an illegal alien can legalize his/her residency status but continue to work illegally.)

Since illegal employment of immigrants is a rather new phenomenon in Russia and is quite complex, conscientious data collection concerning the problem is essential. As a first step it is necessary to survey those experts who understand the various facets of the problem. These include specialists in state administrations at the national level (the Federal Migration Service, the Ministry of Labour and Social Development, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Federal Border Service) as well as at the local level; trade unions, employers’ organizations, researchers, journalists, non-governmental organizations dealing with foreign workers, refugees, and employed foreigners themselves. The survey questionnaire is contained in Annex 1.

1.4. Research hypotheses

There are two verifiable hypotheses in this investigation: ‘A’ concerns the dynamics and direction of illegal immigration; ‘B’ concerns the illegal employment of foreign citizens.

In Hypothesis ‘A’:

- 1) The size of the illegal foreign labour force is larger than the size of legal labour migration. In some areas, the number of illegal immigrants is 10 to 20 times greater than the number of those who are legally in the country.
- 2) The main exporters of illegal labour are the countries situated near the southern Russian borders (Central Asia, the Caucasus, China, North Korea, Vietnam, Afghanistan.) This is caused by vast differences between these countries and Russia in the conditions of their labour market, prosperity of citizens, and the influence of demographic factors.
- 3) The problem of illegal employment in Russia has obvious regional characteristics. The

greater the opportunities in Russian labour markets (which are often influenced by region), the higher the number of illegal immigrants.

- 4) Illegal immigrants can be divided into several groups based upon how their illegal employment was arranged. The largest group is composed of foreign citizens whose personal intentions differ from their official reason for entry.
- 5) The base influx of illegal immigrants originates in the former Soviet republics, but illegal immigration to Eastern Siberia and the Russian Far East is increasing due to expansion of trade and economic ties between Russia and countries in the Asia-Pacific region.
- 6) The ultimate goals of illegal immigrants can be differentiated according to country of origin. The majority of immigrants from the “far abroad” ultimately use Russia as a transit point to other countries, whereas most from the “near abroad” prefer to stay in Russia for a long period and legalize their status.

In Hypothesis ‘B’:

- 1) Illegal employment is the most widespread in two groups of immigrants: those with legal entry but illegal residency and those with illegal entry and illegal residency. Illegal employment is least common in groups with legal entry and legal residency and illegal entry and legal residency.
- 2) Illegal employment is most common among foreign workers with low to average skills. The current situation in the illegal Russian labour market is favorable for them since the highly educated and skilled unemployed Russian workers have the competitive edge in the legal labour markets.
- 3) The scale of illegal foreign labour varies by profession. The majority of immigrants are employed in the construction industry, the trade industry, public service, and agriculture.
- 4) The greatest number of illegal aliens work in the private sector (a more viable source for illegal employment), where the majority of them work without benefit of contract or are self-employed. Illegal employment will increase as a direct result of decentralization, as the private sector grows and the environment becomes more favorable.
- 5) Features most attractive to the foreign labour force depend on the region and the type of employment. In agriculture this is the shortage of labour, particularly in the eastern regions. In other job markets, labour cost and flexibility are important factors.
- 6) While there is no simple interpretation of the consequences of illegal employment, the general consensus is that the negative outweigh the positive. This underscores the need for effective implementation of governmental regulations to control all areas of foreign labour use.

2. Analysis of survey results

Foreign nationals who enter Russia and reside or work illegally are considered illegal immigrants, but the legal status of foreign citizens (in particular citizens from countries of the CIS) has not yet been officially defined. Many experts generally do not regard the citizens of the CIS as foreigners and, consequently, do not view them as illegal immigrants. Registration procedures for them are different than for citizens of other countries: citizens of the CIS, like Russian citizens, must register within a three day period in the passport bureaus of the Ministry of the Interior, whereas foreign citizens from the “far abroad” must register in the Departments of Visas and Permits.

Many experts use similar basic definitions for the terms “illegal immigration” and “illegal employment.” The most widely accepted definition is the following:

Illegal immigration and employment are understood as

entry, residency, employment, and transit of foreign citizens in Russian territory

in violation of current law and existing order,

but especially

without the required documents and permits established by Russian law or with

documents that have already expired.

These experts, who are high-level professionals influential in policy decision-making, appear to have already established a working definition of illegal immigration. The two major criteria used for the experts’ formulations were: 1) entry into the Russian Federation, residency, and departure in violation of laws which regulate entry, residency, transit, and departure of foreign citizens; and 2) an undocumented change of legal status for foreign citizens while residing in the Russian Federation. Therefore, experts in the field are unanimous in defining “illegal alien” as anyone who is not a citizen of Russia, and by way of entry, residency, or employment in the country violates Russian immigration legislation.

In assessing illegal immigration’s importance to Russia, most specialists in this field agree that the problem is urgent enough for investigation. Three opinions about illegal immigration are commonly shared: 1) throughout Russia illegal immigration is a serious problem that needs immediate action; 2) the resolution of this problem will be vital for Russia in the near future; 3) the problem has important regional dimensions; local authorities, especially, should be interested in finding a solution.

Responses to the survey established that the problem of illegal immigration surfaced in Russia in 1991-1992, and had become more complex by the middle of the decade. There are various explanations for this, including changes in the Russian social and political system precipitated by the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the implementation of the Bishkek Agreement, Russia’s

adherence to both the UN Convention (1951) and the Protocol on Refugee Status (1967), and the changes in European and North American immigration laws. Other factors which have contributed to the growth in illegal immigration are the non-existence of legislation (currently the only law that exists regarding immigration is still in draft form - "The Legal Status of Foreigners in Russia"), the "porous" Russian borders, and the inefficiency of immigration controls. It is widely believed that the influx of illegal immigrants comes mainly from Kazakhstan and the Central Asian republics as a result of the unilateral treaties for visa-free travel that they have concluded with neighbouring countries. These treaties exacerbate the illegal immigration problems for Russia since they allow free movement between countries. They provide ample opportunity to cross the currently unstable borders between Russia and other countries of the former Soviet Union.

2.1. The trends, size, and direction of illegal immigration

Responses to the survey indicate that illegal labour immigration greatly exceeds legal labour immigration. In certain regions the number of immigrants entering the country illegally is one to two times greater than the number of legal labour immigrants.

Almost everyone agrees that illegal immigration has grown significantly over the last few years. Federal Frontier Service reports alone indicate that the number of illegal immigrants has increased ten times over the past five years. Most experts believe that within the next several years illegal immigration to Russia will show moderate growth, but intermittent "explosions" cannot be disregarded unless sound immigration policies are implemented.

The Federal Border Service has provided the following figures, which indicate that the number of people detained at the border for various violations has increased during recent years: 1,400 people were detained in 1995; 2,000 in 1996; and 2,200 people in 1997. Border detentions generally make up only 20 to 30% of the actual number of illegal border crossings (Salt, 1996). Due to the great length of the nearly unprotected Russian border, however, this estimate may be conservative and may represent no more than 5% of actual border crossings. Official government sources state that the number of illegal immigrants coming into Russia from more than 30 foreign countries is nearly 100,000 annually, 50 times more than the number of detainees processed at the border.

According to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, 5.3 million people violated registration and passport laws in 1997; among them were nearly one million foreign nationals coming from the "near abroad" and "far abroad" (the remaining 4.3 million were violators of internal registration laws, citizens of the Russian Federation who failed to register within the mandatory three day period.) Experts in the Federal Migration Service cite similar numbers: according to Federal Migration Service data, there are currently 700,000 foreigners in Russia who are not complying with passport and visa regulations (Arkhipov, 1997). The actual picture of illegal immigration in Russia differs significantly from registration data. Responses to the survey indicate that the number of illegal immigrants currently in the Russian Federation fluctuates between 400,000 and 7 million. It is estimated that in Moscow alone there are 150,000 legal immigrants from the "far abroad" and one million from the "near abroad" (Kamensky, 1997).

The obvious discrepancy in the above estimates is due both to lack of information and absence of a clear legal definition of illegal entry, illegal residency, and illegal employment. No simple criteria are provided for determining which person is an illegal immigrant and which person is

illegally employed. The category of illegally employed migrants is comprised of seasonal employees, illegal “shuttle” employees (those who transfer goods from one region to another in order to sell them, most generally, in large open-air markets), and those employed in criminal activities. Experts also note that the conventional concept of illegal migration is hardly applicable to the citizens of the CIS, whose legal status in Russia (as mentioned previously) remains uncertain.

In order to evaluate the severity of the problem, illegal immigrants have been divided into the following categories (the estimated number of illegal immigrants for each category is shown in Table 1):

- C *Those immigrants arriving illegally in Russia intending to seek refugee status or political asylum, but who have been denied such status or have not applied for it.* There is a possibility that some of the aliens who have been denied refugee status become illegal immigrants, largely due to lack of departmental coordination and the presence of a uniform policy. The Federal Migration Service decides the legal status of those who enter the country, but after an illegal alien has been denied refugee status, he/she is placed under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, whose responsibility it is to initiate deportation proceedings. In spite of this protocol, there is practically no coordination between these two departments in the provinces.
- C *Former students who are foreign nationals.* Neither the academic institutions nor the Ministry of Foreign Affairs provide the Ministry of Internal Affairs with information about those who are no longer under their jurisdiction, but who have remained in the Russian Federation.
- C *The “shuttle” traders.* This is the largest and most difficult group of immigrants to evaluate because of their constant movement. In the European part of Russia the majority are citizens of the CIS and of several countries in Eastern Europe (such as Poland). In the eastern regions of Russia, the majority are citizens of China, Korea, and other Asian countries.
- C *Refugees (from Somalia, Iraq, Bangladesh, India, Ethiopia, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Angola, Nigeria, and other countries) and other transit migrants who are using Russian territory as a transit point to Europe and the US in order to obtain permanent residency permits.*

Table 1 shows that the total estimated number of illegal immigrants found in these groups is approximately between 3 to 3.5 million.

Table 1. Key Informants’ estimates of the number of illegal immigrants in the Russian Federation

Categories of illegal immigrants	Numbers in millions of people	Remarks
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Those arriving in Russia illegally with the goal of seeking refugee status or political asylum but who have been denied this status or have not applied for it (citizens of the CIS, Kurds, Afghans, Sri Lankans, Iraqis.) Citizens of forty-five countries including the “near abroad”	0.5	Citizens of the CIS represent the majority (approximately 4/5 of the total)
Those trained in the academic institutions of the former USSR and Russia who have not returned to their home countries (primarily citizens of Afghanistan, Iraq, Cuba, and Ethiopia)	0.1	Citizens of the CIS are not included in this category
Those working in the territory of the former USSR and Russia under international government treaties that have already expired (Vietnamese, Chinese, Koreans, and others)	0.2	Includes CIS citizens
Those who have come to Russia by private invitation through tourist visas or other documents, or illegally, and who are working in private business or in commerce (from the CIS, China, Korea, Vietnam, and Asian and African countries)	2.0 - 2.5	Citizens of the CIS and of China make up the majority of this group
Transitory migrants who have come to Russia illegally and who have not left the country	0.1 - 0.2	This group makes up about 2/3 of the entire number of transitory immigrants (estimates of the International Organization of Migration)
TOTAL	3.0 - 3.5	

The number of undocumented residents (3.3 million) that make up about 2.2 percent of the total Russian population compares with the number of illegal immigrants that made up 1.9 per cent of the total US population in 1996 (*Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1996, 197*).

Estimates of the number of illegally *employed* foreigners in Russia vary considerably between 250,000 to 4.5 million (including 40,000 to 700,000 residents in the Moscow region). However, it would be hazardous to grant too much value to the above figures.

That there is absolutely no control over labour immigration in Russia is attested to by the fact that the ratio of illegal employment to legal employment would be in the range of 10 to 1. Countries of the former Soviet Union supply most of the illegal *immigrants* (listed here in descending order of importance): Ukraine, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia (Abkhazia), Moldova, and Belarus. Other principal sources of illegal *immigrants* are China, Vietnam, Afghanistan, North Korea, Somalia, Sudan, Ethiopia, Iran, Turkey, Poland, Yugoslavia, various other states in Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia. The main sources of illegal *labour*, (which is caused by differences in the labour market and demographic influences) are Russia's neighbours to the south: the Central Asian republics, the Transcaucasian republics, China, North Korea, Vietnam, and Afghanistan. Most illegal immigration traffic passes through the countries of the former Soviet Union. Development of trade and economic relations with the countries in

the Asia-Pacific region will increase illegal immigration into the regions of Eastern Siberia and the Russian Far East.

The illegal immigrant population is irregularly distributed throughout Russia. Areas of the highest settlement density are the regions and territories in and around Moscow, Stavropol, Krasnodar, Rostov, the Far East (primarily Khabarovskiy and Primorskiy territories), the Ural, St. Petersburg, and areas on the frontier. Illegal employment is decidedly regional in nature; as more new employment opportunities are created in regions and territories, a greater number of jobs will be held by illegal aliens.

2.2. Major types and characteristics which define illegal immigration

Illegal immigration to Russia is rather complex structurally. Methods of crossing Russian borders, types of illegal residency, motives for and duration of immigration, and types of employment vary significantly. From the views expressed by Key Informants, a picture of the main categories of illegal immigrants was constructed. Table 2 shows the distribution by type of illegal entry into Russia.

Table 2. The main categories of illegal immigrants according to Key Informants

Type of entry	Percent
Free entry: Labour immigrants arriving from the countries of the former Soviet Union (those who do not need visas)	38
Illegal entry: Labour immigrants arriving directly from the “far abroad” via the “transparent” borders between Russia and the other countries of the former Soviet Union	17
Legal entry: Labour immigrants arriving directly from the “far abroad” whose declared purpose for travel does not match their actual intent (tourist or guest visa holders)	20
Legal entry: Transit immigrants arriving from the “far abroad” and “near abroad” (transit visa holders)	5
Legal entry: Refugees from the “far abroad” and “near abroad”	12
Illegal entry: Foreigners with counterfeit documents (refugees, labour, transit migrants)	8
TOTAL	100

Since experts estimate that more than half of illegal immigrants arrive in Russia via the countries of the former Soviet Union, the problem of “porous” borders becomes the most important factor in illegal immigration. Approximately one third of immigrants use “legal entry channels,” and come to Russia with guest/tourist/transit visas or as refugees.

To characterize illegal immigration properly, it is necessary to define different types, such as illegal entry, immigration via a third country, overstaying the expiration date of the visa and attempts to seek political asylum. Table 3 reflects the most frequently encountered types of illegal residency in Russia: 1 indicates the most common, 4 indicates the least common.

Table 3. Key Informants views on the most common types of illegal residency in Russia

Type of illegal residency	Rating
Illegal residency after business/tourist/guest visa has expired	1
Illegal residency (non-registration) of citizens of the CIS who do not need a visa	1
Illegal residency after expiration of labour contract/term of study	2
Illegal residency after expiration of transit visa	2
Illegal residency as a result of illegal entry	3
Illegal residency of refugees	4

The above data indicates that the most common forms of illegal residency in Russia are: 1) residency after the guest/tourist/business/student visa has expired and 2) violation of registration regulations by citizens of the CIS. The number of foreigners whose illegal residency in Russia is the result of illegal entry is much smaller.

Motives for illegal immigration - to stay in the country or to return home - are particularly important. Table 4 shows the different strategies used by illegal immigrants.

Table 4. Key Informants' views on main strategies used by illegal immigrants

Immigration Strategy	Percent
To return home in a short period of time, usually several months (this includes illegal aliens employed as "shuttle" workers)	40
To stay in Russia illegally or for a long period (a year or more)	18
To stay in Russia and legalize immigration status	20
To use Russia as a transit point for moving to another country	12
Other	10
TOTAL	100%

According to estimates, 43% of illegal immigrants from Asia, the Middle East, and Africa consider Russia a transit point and want to relocate to the more developed countries in Europe and North America. Over half of the illegal immigrants plan to return home from Russia, and most plan to stay for only a short period of time - no longer than a few months. One in three illegal aliens would prefer to stay in Russia for a longer period or become a legal resident (a stratagem shared primarily by citizens of the CIS and China).

The principal objectives of illegal immigrants depend on the country of origin. The majority from countries of the former Soviet Union prefer legal residency, whereas immigrants from foreign countries favor relocation to other countries by way of Russia, or to return home.

2.3. Illegal employment of foreign nationals

Illegal residency of immigrants in Russia is directly linked to their illegal employment. Illustration 2 shows that nearly all forms of illegal immigration are ultimately connected to illegal employment.

In Russia, illegal immigrants most often apply for work in the central regions and in the large urban areas of Russia. Their employment is usually connected to construction, repair work and commerce in the service sector, especially petty wholesale commerce, the apparel market, private transportation, home repairs, construction of dachas, restaurant service and other jobs in the service industry. In rural areas, seasonal agricultural employment is most common, in conjunction with the illegal practice of working more hours than is permitted by law.

A high concentration of illegal aliens is employed in the labour markets of the shadow economy. This economy does not require legal immigration status, but provides opportunities for illegal aliens to earn incomes without having to pay income taxes. According to the Key Informants, 40% of illegal immigrants work in the shadow economy and 32% in the organized private sector. Most believe that there is an insignificant number of illegal immigrants working in the public sector, since the size of salaries and the use of foreign labour in this sector is strictly controlled (See Table 5.) The dynamics of illegal employment are dependent on the decentralization of the state economy; as the private economic sector grows it creates more favorable conditions for the expansion of illegal employment.

Table 5. Key Informants' views on distribution of illegal immigrants employed in Russia by economic sector

Sector of the economy	Percent
The state sector	4
The organized private sector	32
Joint ventures	8
The shadow economy	40
Criminal activities	10
Other (various types of employment; temporary employment)	6
TOTAL	100%

Various organizations and social institutions in Russia act as intermediaries in organizing illegal aliens' resettlement. These include ethnic communities, legal and illegal intermediaries, individual employers, shadow and criminal economic structures (including those with an ethnic base), firms (both fictitious and legitimate), and foreigners living legally in Russia.

The petty wholesale "shuttle" is one of the most important structures in illegal employment. The open-air markets for apparel and consumer goods (such as the Luzhniki market in Moscow) appear to employ a high concentration of illegal aliens. Connections are forged in these markets that create new channels (and promote the old channels) of immigration and illegal employment; most often the government officials controlling these areas are not actively enforcing existing regulations. These markets are not only inherent to Russia: the most famous in Europe is the Warsaw Market in Poland.

An overview of the professions, the structure, and the illegal workers' level of qualifications is vital for portraying an accurate picture of illegal employment. Sixty percent of experts in this

area consider that immigrants from the “far abroad” have average qualifications, while the qualifications of those from the “near abroad” are below average. Immigrants from the republics of the former USSR are part of a group of highly qualified specialists working or residing (often on a transitory basis) in Russia. Russian workers themselves, however, frequently leave Russia for employment in other countries, so the exchange of labour is not equitable: Russia is losing highly-qualified workers, but is gaining large numbers of those who are less qualified.

In addition to working in the shadow economy, a significant number of illegal aliens are involved in criminal and anti-social activities: drug trafficking, the arms trade, illegal transportation of people across national borders, production of counterfeit documents, prostitution, murder for hire, illegal sale of raw materials, racketeering, the active support of criminal organizations and organized crime. There are reports of bribery of state employees and employees including those of law-enforcement agencies who are connected to organizations involved in the illegal employment and the illegal residence of foreign citizens. There are also several exotic types of illegal employment, including the transportation of rare flora and fauna, especially from areas in eastern Russia. Between 5 to 25 per cent of the total number of illegal aliens may be involved in criminal activities.

One of the most odious “occupations” that is traditionally connected to illegal immigration is “trafficking in people”, including women who work in the sexual services industry. Although in Russia the expression “trade in women” often invokes expressions of bewilderment, in the West this problem has broad social resonance. In Western countries all forms of the illegal human trade are discussed at the highest levels; different organizations, foundations, and social initiatives have been created in order to battle the organizers of international crime. In Russia no official discourse has taken place as yet concerning any of these issues, including prostitution, although during the last ten years Russia has been transformed from a country that previously *provided* women to international sex markets to one of the most active *consumer* centers for the sex industry. A drastic increase in prostitution (which is completely controlled by criminal elements) has taken place. There has been frequent speculation that the Russian pornography business occupies third place in illegal enterprises, directly behind the arms trade and drug trafficking.

The appalling picture of prostitution in Moscow has been described in the informational brochure *Moscow Prostitutes*, published in 1997. Following are several excerpts that are of interest here because of their connection to illegal immigration: “There are as yet no Moscow women on Tverskaya Street². Russia is already rich enough that the ‘dirtiest work’ is done by foreigners. The area adjacent to this street is occupied by ‘girls of the CIS’. At the time of the last anti-prostitution raids by MUR (the Moscow Department of Criminal Investigation), those arrested were most often citizens of Ukraine and Belarus” (*Moscow Prostitutes*, 221-232).

The issue of prostitution itself is beyond the scope of this report; nevertheless, the problem of employing illegal immigrants for sexual services must be resolved, not separately, but in conjunction with the internal problems of crime and prostitution. Prostitution is a lucrative enterprise; it is no secret that trafficking of foreign women is far more productive and less dangerous than trade in Russian citizens.

2.4. Economic migration from China

² Formerly called Gorky Street, this is one of Moscow’s main streets not far from Red Square and the Kremlin, ed.

According to the key informants, the most serious source of concern is the illegal immigration from China. The great length of the common border, the tremendous demographic potential, and the disparity in population density between Russia and China makes migration practically unavoidable. There are nearly 150 million people living in northern China, while only 8 million live in the Russian territory that stretches from Lake Baikal to the Far East.

A massive uncontrolled flow of Chinese immigration began after 1993. The greatest number of Chinese citizens reside in the Primorskiy and Khabarovsk territories, and in the Amurskaya region (although many of them also reside in the central region as well.) While the data for 1996 supplied by the Ministry of the Interior set the number of Chinese living in Moscow and the Moscow region at only 11,500, the estimates provided by the Federal Migration Service (Fedotov) confirm that the number is more than 100,000 (nearly 10 times greater.) The actual figure is probably still higher. The current regulations regarding tourist entry without visas and unhampered entry with special official passports were introduced in 1992 and allowed large contingents of Chinese to enter Russia legally. It should be noted, however, that fewer Chinese are actually entering Russia than is allowed by these regulations. According to the key informants, the majority of Chinese immigrants work in commerce, but once in Russia, they do not comply with the necessary registration procedures.

Tightly knit groups of Chinese reside in the Far East and are creating so-called "China villages." In the southern districts that have a significant amount of undeveloped agricultural land, Chinese inhabitants receive plots of land and create non-existent joint ventures with elaborate infrastructures, which facilitate the rapid and legal integration of Chinese into the regional economy. These activities, which are legal, have a certain "magnetic" effect and attract even more illegal immigrants. Some experts refer to this process as a form of legal economic expansionism. Related to the process is the transport of a variety of aliens to Russia ranging from "shuttle" traders to criminals, many of whom do not actually engage in activities for which they had officially been admitted, such as agricultural work, production of consumer goods, and the processing of raw materials. These "joint ventures" are reported to frequently pay criminal organizations for protection, and often engage in unregulated and predatory exploitation of natural resources; official licenses to trade in these raw materials and resources are obtained through bribery.

Chinese criminal organizations are also said to be involved in economic activities. They control many transportation centers in the Russian Far East through which they ferry Japanese and American automobiles from Russian ports to China. They also transport marine products, weapons, drugs, and "human goods" (including women for the sex industry in Asian countries.) Criminal structures operate under the auspices of joint ventures and participate in money laundering, export of capital, falsification of documents, arrangement of fictitious marriages, and transportation of immigrants (from Russia, to Russia, and through Russia to other countries.) Sixty-six enterprises funded by Chinese capital (totalling 4.7 million US dollars) were operating in 1994 in the Khabarovsk regions. It is impossible to assign a dollar amount to the economic losses that Russia undoubtedly incurs as a result of these activities, but there is no question that these losses are very real.

There is a definite connection between the use of legal Chinese labour and illegal Chinese immigration in the areas of construction, mining, and agricultural enterprises. In 1994 there were 20,300 Chinese specialists working officially in Russia, 26,500 in 1995, 24,000 in 1996, and only

18,000 in 1997. This reduction in legal employment attests to the authorities' loss of control over employment practices involving illegal aliens. The infrastructure for illegal Chinese immigration (markets, hotels, boarding houses, networks of middlemen) is so developed that legal resettlement is no longer attractive to them. Raids by the Ministry of Interior in Irkutsk (a city with a sophisticated migration infrastructure that serves as a transit point for Chinese immigrants on their way to European Russia and the West) have proven that officially registered Chinese workers make up no more than 10 to 20% of the actual number of immigrants.

Chinese and Korean immigrations to Russia, and in particular to the Far East, have deep historic roots. The current illegal immigration wave is a new phase that has been accompanied by corresponding changes in the infrastructure of Chinese migration. The current Chinese diaspora has a well developed immigration infrastructure which extends from the Far East throughout the entire Russian Federation. The many channels for Chinese entry and assimilation in Russia (individual economic activities, creation of economic corporate structures, private businesses, purchasing real estate, marriages, educational exchanges) are rife with networks which provide the necessary services to both legal and illegal immigrants.

2.5. Factors and consequences of illegal immigration

There are two factors which affect the motives of illegal aliens and their immigration to Russia: 1) "push" factors in their own country due to underdevelopment, high levels of unemployment, military conflicts, ethnic intolerance, and political instability, and 2) attractive features in Russia such as a large-scale underground economy, higher standards of living, inefficient border control, imperfect immigration laws and the lack of state resources necessary for their uniform implementation, and the possibility for migration back and forth between Russia and the country of origin. For example, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which is primarily responsible for immigration control in the territories, in past years has not had the necessary means for executing its duties. Efficient handling of illegal immigration is impossible without strict control on the frontier and within the territories, especially within those regions that have a high population of transient immigrants. Although the number of immigrants and the channels and consequences of illegal immigration vary significantly by territory, specific regulations should be designed for each geographical region, and all immigration policies should share the same basic principles. The experience of other countries has shown that immigration control on the frontier is no less expensive than it is in the territories, but that frontier control is not reliable, since immigrants may enter legally for illegal purposes. Known criminals can openly pass through border control without difficulty, and for ordinary immigrants it is even easier.

Experts in illegal immigration cite the following economic consequences: expansion of a shadow economy which is operating outside of tax laws and economic legislation; the removal of significant amounts of currency from circulation, or, conversely, the influx of money made on the black market; the worsening of the current situation in the labour market; the displacement of Russian firms and workers; and the criminalization of businesses. Included in the number of social consequences are the increases in criminal activity, social tension and hostility; the deterioration of relations among ethnic groups; and the birth of hostile nationalistic groups and Mafia.

Although their residence is generally linked to a series of problems, the role that illegal immigrants play in society should not be perceived only in negative terms. A number of social consequences are positive (although these phenomena also stimulate illegal immigration) and favorably impact

on the local Russian population. In Moscow, for example, Ukrainian immigrants complete home repairs at costs significantly less than those of Russian commercial or state firms. The same principle applies to consumer goods sold by Chinese, Vietnamese, Ukrainians, Belarussians, and other illegal aliens. A demand for the services provided by illegal immigrants working in the Russian labour market exists precisely because these workers meet the needs of financially strapped Russian citizens currently the majority of the Russian population. In generating many economic activities through their own initiative and business ventures, these illegal immigrants are helping millions of Russians, including those that the government is vainly attempting to assist and those currently socially unprotected. While the consequences of illegal employment defy simple categorization, the negative ones are generally considered to outweigh the positive.

3. Policy measures for the regulation of illegal immigration

The more industrially advanced countries of the North Atlantic, Western Europe, and Australia are finding solutions for illegal international immigration problems and have active working immigration policies in place since these countries receive the largest number of illegal immigrants. One of the most important policies is the establishment of a variety of legal, administrative, and economic barriers to contain the anticipated influx of illegal aliens. Russia's democratic transformation and her entrance into the international labour market have created an imminent need for immigration policies and the implementation of immigration reforms.

Recently the principal efforts to implement immigration policy were focused on the enforcement of border control, both physically and administratively. Nevertheless, with the deterioration of the economic situation and the "porosity" of Russia's borders, it is practically impossible to resolve the immigration problem by enforcing stricter measures regarding entry, residence, and movement of foreign nationals.

In Russia in 1997, nearly 170,000 foreigners were disciplined for violation of passport and visa regulations (citizens of the CIS are not included in this number.) Experts believe that this is only 5% of the actual number of violations. The greatest effort is directed at the tightening of controls over illegal immigration of Chinese and Vietnamese, since their numbers are greater than those of immigrants from other countries of the "far abroad." According to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Chinese and Vietnamese make up more than 40% of immigrants who are in violation of regulations due to expired or counterfeit documents or as a result of late registration with the proper authorities.

The number of deportations of illegal aliens also sheds light on the effectiveness of administrative measures. In 1997 Russia deported 18,000 people; four thousand were escorted to the border because they were considered hostile violators of immigration legislation. For a variety of reasons including financial, currently less than 1% of immigrants residing in Russia are undergoing deportation proceedings.

Three primary policy measures exist which could help regulate illegal immigration: 1) prevention of illegal entry and employment, 2) sanctions against the employer and deportation of illegal aliens already in the country; 3) legalization of illegal immigrants (Böhning, 1996). These three measures are not mutually exclusive and should be implemented concurrently. Nevertheless, in considering various types of illegal immigrants and the limited resources available, it is necessary to evaluate which measure is most effective.

Table 6 presents potential deterrents to illegal immigration, and how specialists have rated their effectiveness for Russia under the current conditions.

The first two deterrents concern restrictive, prohibitive, and punitive measures against the immigrants themselves; the second is directed against employers. The third strategy proposes a different approach by providing a positive solution to the problem. Overall, the deterrents are restrictive and 71% of those who responded to the survey are in favor of taking action against employers in comparison to 58% who are in favor of taking action against the immigrants. Less than half are in favor of legalizing the aliens' status.

Table 6. Views of Key Informants on the principal deterrents to illegal immigration and their effectiveness for Russia

Deterrent	% of Key Informants' Responses*
The strengthening of controls over immigrants and over state borders; prompt deportation of violators	58
The strengthening of sanctions against employers who illegally hire foreign workers	71
Taking steps to legalize the status of immigrants who would benefit the country economically	42
Other	15
*The total adds up to more than 100% because respondents gave more than one answer.	

Effective regulation of illegal immigration is possible only through complex immigration procedures which include border controls, control over Russian territories (especially in places with dense immigrant populations), and control over employers' hiring practices. Experience in other countries has shown that because border control is so expensive, it is ineffective. Immigrants can utilize legal channels for entering the country. It was observed that detentions at the border constitute only 20 to 30% of the actual number of illegal crossings (Salt).

Specialists in immigration control cite the following as important individual regulatory measures for Russia:

- C Creating a regulatory base for immigration.
- C Using visas with other countries of the CIS.
- C Enforcing a strict visa policy: visas will be issued "only after receiving permission from the competent authorities".

- C Strengthening sanctions against employers who hire illegal immigrants; introducing criminal liability.
- C Shortening the time needed for examining applications for asylum and refugee status.
- C Coordinating the departments enforcing immigration policy, including distribution of responsibilities and financial means to guarantee execution of duties (experts at the Ministry of Internal Affairs note that their department, which bears responsibility for implementing immigration controls in Russia and for housing and deporting violators, does not have the resources to fulfill these responsibilities).
- C Strengthening sanctions against those who “look the other way” (including the executive staff of internal affairs organs, the Department of Visas and Permits, and those providing hotel services to illegal immigrants) when dealing with illegal aliens and illegal employment.
- C Creating an information service dealing with international immigration.

In order to evaluate the social effects of illegal immigration and illegal employment, it is necessary to understand the causes: either immigration is a limited possibility to immigrate and work legally, or it is a conscious desire to operate outside of official legislation (in the shadow economy and criminal organizations.) Many believe that both reasons can be found in the illegal immigrant population in Russia today.

Not only punitive measures against illegal aliens or their employers will have an impact on the struggle against illegal immigration and employment but creating legal possibilities for immigration may also have a positive effect. If given the choice to immigrate and work legally, some illegal aliens would undoubtedly prefer the legal alternative. The problem of illegal immigration should be analyzed against the background of the host country’s attractiveness to the foreign labour force: sixty-five percent of specialists surveyed consider this attraction a form of economic cooperation which Russia currently needs.

Unfortunately, the situation concerning illegal immigration and employment in Russia is not improving; the thriving shadow and criminal economies currently provide ample opportunities for illegal employment. The number of illegal aliens living and working in Russia will be reduced only when these sectors of the economy, created by the Russian transitional economic period, are effectively weakened.

If sound immigration policies are not employed, Russia may become merely a receptacle for uncontrolled illegal immigration in the near future. Research has shown that full-scale regulations must be designed and put into practice. If not, illegal immigration may threaten Russia’s national security, creating conditions favorable to the growth of destructive elements in Russian society.

Appendix

**Russian Academy of Sciences
Institute for Socio-Economic Population Studies
1997**

**Survey for Specialists in the Field of
Illegal Immigration and Illegal Employment in Russia**

- 1. What is your understanding of illegal immigration and illegal employment of immigrants? (Please give your definition of these terms if possible.)**

- 2. How would you evaluate the problem of illegal immigration into Russia?**

- a) This is a serious problem for Russia which requires urgent and fundamental decisions
- b) This problem will very likely become serious in Russia in the near future
- c) This is a problem found in particular regions of Russia
- d) The problem is not so serious as to require research on it and enforcement of legal measures against it
- e) Other (please specify _____)

- 3. In your opinion, at what time did problems connected with illegal immigration and illegal employment appear in Russia?**

Please provide an explanation for your answer

- 4. How would you estimate the scale of illegal migration and employment in Russia and in the Moscow region?**

	In Russia	In the Moscow Region
1. Annual number of foreigners who enter illegally		
2. The number of foreigners who reside illegally		
3. The number of illegally employed immigrants		

- 5. In your opinion, how has the scale of illegal immigration and employment changed**

during the last three (3) years?

- | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Increased sharply | 4. Decreased slightly |
| 2. Increased slightly | 5. Decreased sharply |
| 3. Remained the same | 6. Unsure |

6. What are the countries of origin for the majority of illegal immigrants residing in Russia on the whole and of those residing only in the Moscow region?

	In Russia	In the Moscow Region
1. Countries of the former USSR (please specify)		
2. All other countries (please specify)		

7. Which regions in Russia have the highest concentration of illegal immigrants? (Please list them in descending order.)

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

8. In which of the following areas are most of the illegal immigrants in Russia and in the Moscow region employed? (Please place an "X" in the appropriate box.)

Areas of Employment	In Russia	In the Moscow Region
1. Industry		
2. Agriculture		
3. Construction		
4. Transport		
5. Trade, service, catering?		

6. Other (please specify)		
---------------------------	--	--

9. What channels do illegal immigrants use to enter Russia?

10. Please estimate the percentage of illegal aliens entering Russia in the following ways:

Categories of illegal immigrants	Percentage
1. Foreigners whose declared purpose for entry does not correspond to actual intent (pseudo-tourists, visitors, etc.)	
2. Foreigners who have entered the country with false documents	
3. Foreigners who have entered the country illegally (including those that have entered via the countries of the former USSR)	
4. Transitory migrants	
5. Other groups (please specify)	
TOTAL	100%

11. What are the main types of illegal residency in Russia? (1 = the most important, 6 = the least important)

Types of illegal residency	Range (1 to 6)
1. Illegal residency as a result of illegal entry (border crossing)	
2. Illegal residency as a result of staying beyond the expiration of business, tourist, or guest visa	
3. Illegal residency as a result of staying beyond the terms of employment contracts	
4. Illegal residency of transit immigrants	
5. Illegal residency of refugees	
6. Other forms of illegal residency (please specify)	

12. What are the main goals of illegal immigrants in Russia? (Roughly estimate the percentage of the total number of immigrants for each of the following:)

Goals	Percentage
1. To stay in Russia and legalize one's status	
2. To reside in illegally in Russia for a long period	
3. To move to other countries (such as Europe) using Russia as a transit point	
4. To return to the country of origin within a certain period of time	
5. Other (please specify)	
TOTAL	

13. Roughly estimate the percentage of illegal immigrants employed in the following areas:

The economic sector	Percentage
1. State sector	
2. Private sector	
3. Joint ventures (international)	
4. Shadow economy	
5. Criminal activity	
6. Other (please specify)	
TOTAL	

14. In which groups of immigrants is illegal employment especially high?

- a) among those who legally entered and legally remain
- b) among those who legally entered and illegally remain
- c) among those who illegally entered and legally remain
- d) among those who illegally entered and illegally remain

15. In your opinion, what are the main reasons for employing illegal immigrants?

- a) employers desire to reduce production costs due to the lower cost of illegal labour
- b) the lack of local workers
- c) the need for a flexible work force due to demand/supply instability, seasonal demands, etc.
- d) the need to fill jobs that are not attractive to the local population
- e) other (please specify).

16. What types of occupations (wage/salary earning, self-employment, etc.) are the most

attractive to illegal immigrants?

17. In your opinion, what is the percentage of illegal immigrants employed as wage/salary earners? What is the percentage of those involved in other forms of economic activity?

Forms of activity	Percentage
1. Those employed as wage or salary earners?	
2. Other forms of economic activity, such as self-employment, etc.	
TOTAL	100%

18. Illegal immigrants from which countries make up the majority of the following?

- a) wage/salary earners _____
 b) self-employed and others _____

19. Estimate the qualifications of illegally employed immigrants by placing an "X" in the appropriate place in the following table:

	High	Semi-qualified	Low
1. From the countries of the former USSR			
2. Other countries			

20. How do illegal immigrants find employment in Russia?

21. Who are the intermediaries between the Russian employers and the foreigners who work illegally? _____

22. How significant is illegal immigrants' involvement in criminal and anti-social activities in Russia? _____

23. Undocumented migrants are most frequently involved in what kinds of illegal (criminal or anti-social) activities in Russia _____
-

24. Which of the following factors promote employment of illegal immigrants in Russia?

- a) insufficient legislation in the area of employment of foreigners
- b) willingness of illegal workers to work for low wages
- c) the employer's insufficient knowledge and experience in this area with regard to legislation and legal matters
- d) complex legal procedures for employers (large losses of time and money, many formalities)
- e) weakness of sanctions implemented against employers for disregard and violation of laws and rules in the use of foreign labour
- f) other (please specify) _____

Please explain your answer _____

26. What Russian laws are violated as a result of illegal employment of immigrants?

- a) tax codes
- b) the law regarding minimum wage and social security
- c) job security and safety in the workplace
- d) other (please specify) _____

27. In your opinion, how will the scale of illegal immigration and illegal employment change in the near future?

- a) will increase rapidly
- b) will increase slightly
- c) will remain the same
- d) will decrease
- e) unsure

28. What changes have occurred in the local labour markets in different regions of Russia as a result of illegal immigration and illegal employment of foreigners?
-
-

29. In your opinion, what problems and negative consequences of illegal immigration and illegal employment are the most serious for Russia?

Economic _____

Social _____

30. What is your opinion about the *legal* use of foreign labour in Russia?

- a) I consider it a beneficial form of economic cooperation which is essential for Russia in the current economic conditions
 - b) I consider it essential for the future when the market economy in Russia is more developed
 - c) I consider the use of foreign labour in contrast to national interests
 - d) other (please specify)
-

31. In your opinion, what measures would help reduce illegal immigration into Russia

- a) in the area of immigration control, regulations for entry, visa policy, etc.?**

- b) in the regulations concerning residency and the citizenship of foreigners in Russia?**

- c) in the area of labour and foreign employment policy?**

32. The experience of which foreign countries would be useful to Russia in solving problems concerning illegal immigration?

33. In your opinion, which strategy in migration policy (regarding illegal migration regulations) is the most appropriate?

- a) stricter control on the borders and in the territories; harsher deportation laws for those who violate regulations
 - b) stricter sanctions against employers who violate laws by using foreign labour
 - c) legislative measures aimed at legalizing the status of immigrants who would benefit the economy
 - d) other (please specify)
-

- 34. Please name those that you would consider experts on illegal immigration (if possible, also indicate the organization they represent.) _____**

INFORMATION ABOUT THE PERSON COMPLETING THIS SURVEY

35. Name_____
36. Organization_____
37. Title or position_____
38. Length of time you have studied illegal immigration_____
39. What are your professional duties in connection with illegal immigration?
- _____
- _____
- _____

Thank you for your cooperation!

Comments and Additional Information

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