



International Labour Organization

REPORT

Migration and Development in Tajikistan – Emigration, Return and Diaspora

Moscow, 2010

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Aknowledgements

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Views expressed in the report are those of the authors and contributors and do not necessarily represent those of the ILO or EU.

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Abbreviations

ADB	Asian Development Bank
BBS	Brain Bank Scheme
CBM	Confidence Building Measures
CFO	Commission on Filipinos Overseas
CII	Confederation of Indian Industry
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CP-STIO	Collaborative Project with Scientists & Technologists of Indian Origin
DRD	Direct Rule District
DST	Department of Science & Technology (India)
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FGD	Focus Group Discussions
GBAO	Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoRT	Government of the Republic of Tajikistan
IFES	International Foundation for Election Systems
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IT	Information Technology
ITI	Industrial Training Institutes (Tajikistan)
MF	Mutual Fund
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MIA	Ministry of Interior Affairs
MOIA	Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs
NBT	National Bank of Tajikistan
NCA	National and Cultural Associations
NGO	Non-governmental Organization

NRI	Non-resident Indian
OFW	Overseas Filipino Workers
ORM	Out-Reach Measures
OWWA	Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (Philippines)
PGE	Protector General of Emigrants (India)
PIO	Person of Indian Origin
PPP	Public Private Partnership
POEA	Philippine Overseas Employment Administration
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PTU	Professional and technical colleges
RF	Russian Federation
R&D	Research and Development
RT	Republic of Tajikistan
SCSRT	State Committee on Statistics of the Republic of Tajikistan
SME	Small and Medium Enterprises
TLSS	Tajikistan Living Standards Survey
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation
US	United States
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VETP	vocational training programme

Introduction

Tajikistan is a small and mountainous country in Central Asia. It is the second largest labour-sending country in the region. One in four families has at least one family member working abroad. The total labour migration out of Tajikistan is estimated to encompass between 500,000 to 800,000 people, which represent about 10% of the total population of 6.9 million. Many Tajiks seasonally migrate to Russia. They are mainly employed in the lower skilled and informal sector in agriculture, construction, trade and communal services. Labour migration has been included by the government of Tajikistan into its employment policy.

Tajik migrants make an enormous contribution to the economies of host and origin countries. The amount of remittances sent home by labour migrants from Tajikistan through official channels in 2008 was US\$ 2.67 billion or 49 % of GDP (World Bank, 2008). The UN High-level Dialogue on International Migration and Development in September 2006 and the Global Forum on Migration and Development a year later have recognised the nexus between migration and development. Effective governance of labour migration entails making migration work better for development, enhancing possible benefits such as financial flows, technology transfer and entrepreneurship and mitigating negative consequences such as loss of skilled human resources.

While there have been studies on labour migration and remittances in Tajikistan, this is the first study concentrating on the relationship between migration and development, and equally taking into account topics such as return and “brain-drain”.

As per the terms of reference developed by the ILO, the study comprises the following chapters:

a. Trends and patterns in emigration and return

Based on a study of migration statistics, secondary sources and a returnee survey, this chapter will investigate the volume of labour emigration, its nature (temporary, seasonal or permanent), the countries of destination, the profile of labour migrants, occupations in countries of destination; incidence of temporary or permanent return, profile of returnees and contribution in terms of job creation and technology transfer. The period covered by the study is 2005-2007. This section will also gather data on the Tajik Diaspora and make a typology of Diaspora initiatives.

b. Survey of key industries and public service organisations to assess the impact of labour emigration on labour market, productivity, shortage of workforce, economic growth, service delivery and response of the educational system to signals from the global labour market in terms of labour demand.

In this chapter, which is based on the secondary sources, expert interviews, focus groups and employer’s interviews, the following themes are addressed: assessment of the scale and impact of emigration of skilled human resources on social services such as the health and education sectors as well as key performing industries over the last three years. This chapter will also list the occupations that are in demand in pertinent destination countries and assess what changes have taken place in the education system concerning courses for such professions in terms of quantity and quality of

education offered, international accreditation and certification, language skills, private sector response and allocation of resources by the State.

c. Review of current policies to attract investment, savings and stimulation of the technology transfer from migrants as well as policies for the return of qualified specialists.

This chapter will look at the current policies which aim at attracting investment, savings, and stimulate technology transfers in Tajikistan as well as contain a description of effective practices that have been developed internationally, particularly in Asia.

d. Recommendations for meaningful policy measures aimed at enhancing the development impact of migration and mitigating adverse consequences

As a result of the findings of chapters 1-3 and taking into account effective international practices, the concluding section will present specific recommendations - particularly in the area of attracting savings, investment and technology transfer from migrants and the Diaspora, as well as enhancing the development potential of returning migrants.

Research methodology

The study was conducted in three stages.

The first stage included the survey of different sources of relevant information including the survey of press and media sources. Data was used from Official statistics, materials from the Survey of Labour Migrants, performed by Centre SHARQ with the support of UNESCO in 2005, the Survey of Labour Migrants “IFES-2006”, the Survey of households “Remittances and poverty in Tajikistan” (draft) by the Asian Development Bank (ADB, 2007).

The second stage comprised the field work, which was conducted in the first quarter of 2008 and included the following:

- **A survey of returned migrants**, which covered 1000 personal interviews with labour migrants who returned to Tajikistan in 2003-2007. The interviews were conducted by means of “face-to-face” interviews and standardised questionnaires. The sample was developed using the “snowball” method and quotas per each administrative region of RT.
- **Focus group discussions** with returnees from Dushanbe, Isfara, Bohtar, Kulob and Khorog.
- **Focus group discussions** with local authorities and businessmen in Isfara and Dushanbe.
- **A survey of 100 employers**. The data was collected by means of “face-to-face” interviews. The sample for the survey was developed based on the Centre SHARQ database of entrepreneurs. The sample was based on region, economic activity and number of employees.
- **3 focus group discussions** with graduates of universities, who graduated in 2002-2007 in Dushanbe, Hujand, Khorog.
- **Focus interviews** with informants from the Ministry of Labour, Employment Centres, State Migration Service of MIA, State Statistical Committee RT, Trade Unions RT, International

Organisations, NGOs, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Interior, Tajik Diaspora, local authorities.

Table1. Distribution by location (Returnee survey)

	No. of respondents	Percent
City	502	50.2
Village	498	49.8
Dushanbe	155	15.5
GBAO	120	12.0
Sughd Region	290	28.9
Khatlon Region	270	27.0
DRD (Direct Rule District)	165	16.5
Total	1000	100.0

The third stage was data entry, analysis and report writing. All interviews were coded, included into the database on the basis of SPSS and later tabulated.

CHAPTER ONE – TRENDS AND PATTERNS IN EMIGRATION AND RETURN

1.1. Labour migration

History of labour migration in Tajikistan

Despite the fact that labour migration from the territory of modern Tajikistan has been going on for many centuries, recent labour migration in RT is a phenomenon of the last 15 years of post-Soviet independence.

The armed civil conflict, which took place between summer 1992 and June 1997, and the high social cost of transition made post-Soviet transition extremely difficult and also served as crucial impetus for the development of labour migration from Tajikistan in the ensuing years.

Labour migration rates

Currently, the scale of labour migration in Tajikistan is unprecedented in size, and social and economic impact. According to MIA Migration Service data, more than 500 thousand labour migrants stay on the territory of the Russian Federation alone.

The results of various annual living standards surveys in Tajikistan indicate the dynamics which the involvement of its population in labour migration follows. From 1997 to 1999 the number of migrants in families constituted only 1.5%. In accordance with the Living Standard Survey in Tajikistan (LLST 1999), by 1999 the number of migrants had sharply increased. Then the volume of migration stabilised to some extent. Since 2003 a new rise of labour migration has been noticed. In 2003 3.54% of informants reported that, since 1998, they were periodically travelling abroad and working there for 3 months and more. Two years later the number of people having lived and worked abroad for more than 3 months during the period from May 1999 to 2005 constituted 10.08% (IOM, 2006: 40).

Profile of migrants

Past surveys have found that labour migrants from Tajikistan are predominantly men and mainly from rural areas. Young people dominate the age profile of migrants. According to a behavioural survey of migrants (IOM, 2006) 46% of all migrants consist of youth under 30 years of age, 31% are between 30 and 39 years old and 24% are at least 40 years old (Kurbanova, Olimova, 2006; see ch.12). Similar results have been revealed in the course of the Asian Development Bank Survey (draft) (ADB, 2007).

Recent years of research have revealed, starting with 1999, a clearly expressed tendency of age decrease since recent migration first occurred. 2001 was become a turning point. At this time, those under the age of 30 have become a prevalent age group among the migrants travelling abroad for the first time. In 2005, among those who travelled abroad to earn a living for the first time, 88% were younger than 30 (IOM, 2006: 35).

The education level of migrants is above average countrywide: 22.3% of them have a university background and 76.2% have secondary school education.

The majority of migrants are officially married (registered marriage). Commonly, married migrants leave their wives at home. The overwhelming majority of seasonal workers do not want to bring their families, as their wages are low and insufficient to meet the needs of the family in the host country. Nevertheless, their salaries are sufficient for sustaining the family in the homeland, where the cost of living is significantly lower.

Motivation to migrate

The previous survey results reveal that unemployment is one of the driving forces prompting people to a higher mobility level in search of a better paid job.

Organisation of migration

In principle, migration is organized informally. Migration networks hold a dominating position. Recent survey findings reveal that only 1-1.5% of migrants leave and find employment with the help of governmental and private foreign employment agencies.

Length of stay abroad

The data of many surveys reveal that about one third of labour migrants stay abroad for up to one year, when they leave to work for the first time. Two thirds work for more than one year; frequently these migrants repeatedly leave Tajikistan for purposes of seasonal migration.

Despite the fact that undoubtedly seasonal labour migration dominates in Tajikistan, there is a rather large group of migrants that stay abroad for a longer period. Moreover, recent studies reveal that the number of migrants who do not return home for quite a long period is growing. From 1999 the number of migrants, who stay in the destination country, increased by 8 percentage points a year.

Occupation in the destination countries

According to the ADB 2007 Survey (draft), migrants abroad are prevalently occupied in construction, amounting to 74.1%. Other employment sectors involve the following percentages of migrants: wholesale and retail trade 10.8%, industry 4.8%, agriculture 5.4%, and other sectors (services, education etc.) 4.8%. Most migrants are employed on a seasonal basis in Russia returning to Tajikistan in the winter.

Legal status

According to the behavioural survey of migrants (IOM, 2006), the share of workers with an unregulated status reaches 52%. Studies on trafficking in human beings with regard to Tajikistan (e.g. IOM, 2006) reveal that more than 70% of migrants from Tajikistan working in Russia are prone to various forms of trafficking; in other words their freedom of movement is restricted, frequently, they do not have any documents, these documents have often been withdrawn by employers.

Migrant women register in the place of their residence more frequently than men: – 83.3% compared to 74.7% of male migrants. However, a significantly higher percentage of women seldom legalise

their labour relations – 73.3% compared to 25.6% of men who work on the basis of a verbal agreement.

With the enforcement of the new migration legislation in the Russian Federation in 2007, the number of legal migrants, who live and work on the territory of the Russian Federation, has significantly increased. In 2006, the Federal Migration Service (FMS) registered about 30 thousand migrants from Tajikistan, and already in 2007 the number of legal labour migrants in Russia had reached 200 thousand. Nevertheless, in spite of some degree of liberalisation of the migration regime in the RF, the problem of irregular migration is still pressing. Thus, in accordance with the data of the MIA RF Migration Service more than 1850 Tajik citizens have been deported from the Russian Federation during 2007 (Naumova, 2007). By and large, according to the verbal statement of the RT President Emomali Rahmon, nearly 60 thousand Tajik citizens were deported from Russia (Rahmon, 2008).

Return plans

According to the ADB 2007 Survey (draft), 88% migrants, who worked abroad in 2006, planned to work abroad in the future, and 83.9% stated that they would go to work abroad in 2007. Those who were not certain about their future plans constituted 3.2%. 8.8% of the total number of migrants quite clearly did not intend to work abroad in the future.

1.2. Trends and paradigms of return (Results of returnee survey)

Demographic and social profile of returnees

In addition to information on returnees this section also compares the results of the returnee survey with the results of the migrant survey carried out in the framework of the ADB 2007 Survey (draft)

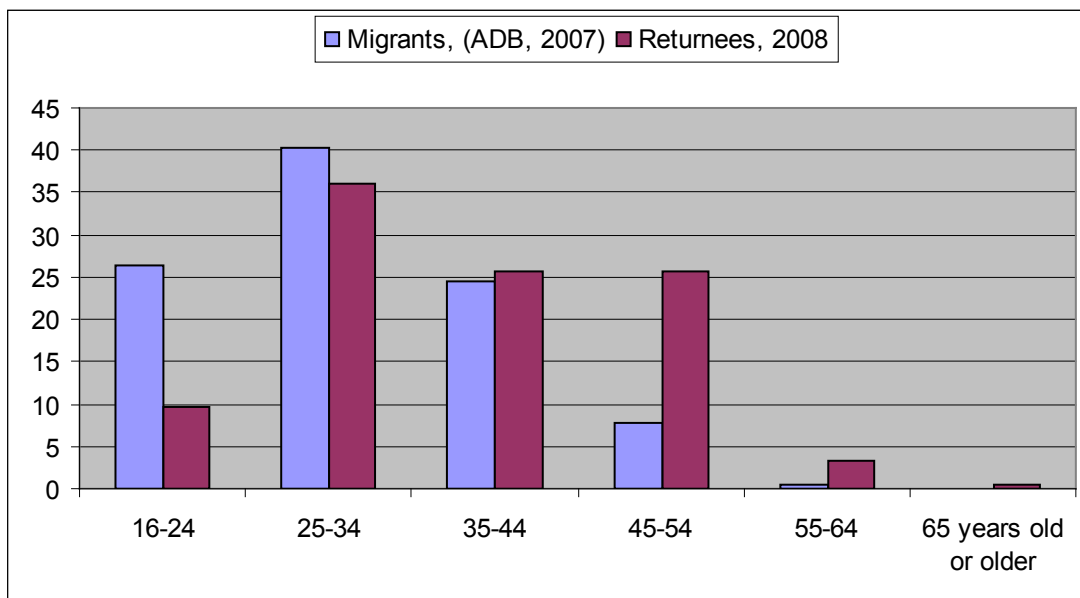
Gender

The gender profile of the returnees, as well as labour migration all together is characterised by the prevalence of men. 88% of men and 12% of women have been covered by the current survey. This allocation can be explained by the dominance of traditional gender roles in Tajik society and by the kind of jobs available in the destination country, Russia.

Age

The results reveal that the largest age groups among returning migrants are formed by those between the age of 25-36 years, (36.1%), between 35-44 years of age (25.7%) and between 44-54 years of age (25.6%). Comparative analysis of migrants' and returnees' age profiles indicates that successful migrants return home mainly aged between 45 and 55. Only few elder people stay abroad.

Diagram 1. Age of returned migrants in comparison with age profile of migrants as a whole



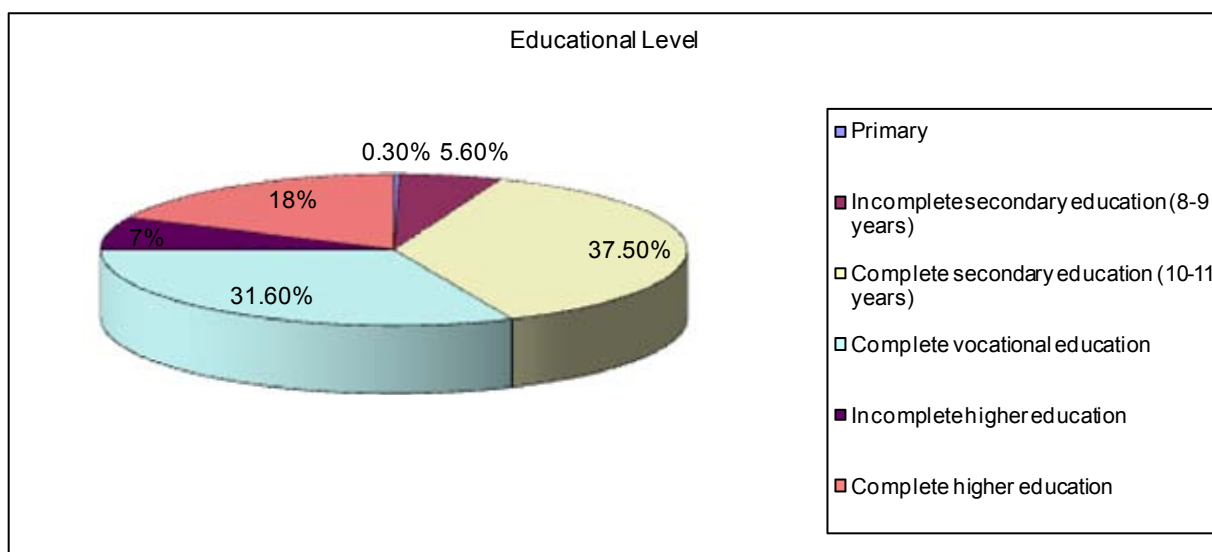
Education

The data received illustrate that the education level of the returnees is significantly higher than in general in the country. The share of the returned migrants with higher and incomplete higher education exceeds the same index for the total RT population by more than 3 times. The share of returnees with vocational education exceeds the respective index of the total RT population by 5 times.

Having compared the educational profile of returnees and migrants we will see that in general, the education level of returnees is several times higher than that of labour migrants. Let us compare the data produced in the course of this study with the data of the 2006 survey of migrants (IOM-SHARQ). Among returnees there are more people with a university background than among migrants, 25% compared to 24%, there are more people with vocational education 31.5% compared to 28% and less people with primary and incomplete secondary education 0.3% compared to 5%. This could be explained by the higher educational level of the Tajik labour migrants at the early stage of labour migration development.

In addition to other reasons, collective experiences had during migration cause a decrease in the level of migrants' education throughout the migration development process. Due to an unregulated legal status many migrants in destination countries are faced with conditions in which educational background is becoming irrelevant. This collective experience discourages young prospective migrants to improve their educational level.

Diagram 2. Level of education of returnees



Marital status

The results show that the vast majority (81.1%) of respondents are registered in the Civilian Registry Offices. The level of the registered marriages among returned migrants exceeds the level among migrants (non-returnees) by nearly 20%. This can be explained both by the “mature” age profile of returnees and the stronger motivation for married migrants to come back home to their families.

Table 2. Marital status of returnees

	No. of respondents	Percent
Married (marriage registered with CRO)	812	81.2
Divorced	16	1.6
Married but living separately	9	0.9
Widow(er)	24	2.4
Living in unregistered marriage arranged by “Nikoh” ¹	16	1.6
Living in unregistered alliance	4	0.4
Single, never has been married	119	11.9
Total	1000	100.0

¹ Nikah – Muslim wedding ceremony

The size of returnee families generally corresponds with the size of migrant families (average size is 7 people) and is usually bigger than average size families in Tajikistan.

Table 3. The size of returnee households

	No. of respondents	Percent
Below 4 persons	275	27.5
5-7 persons	545	54.5
8-10 persons	147	14.7
11 and more persons	32	3.2
No answer	1	0.1
Total	1000	100.0

In the households of returnees the number of minors is much lower than general level in the country and especially in migrants' households. This could be explained by the more mature age of returnees, whose children have already been brought up.

Table 4. The number of minors in returnee households

	No. of respondents	Percent
No children	172	17.2
1-2 children	479	47.9
3 children	219	21.9
4 children	92	9.2
5-7 children	33	3.3
No Response	5	0.5
Total	1000	100.0

Economic status of returnee families

Data on economic welfare indicate that the returned migrants very seldom represent the poorest social strata – only 1.7% returnee families have difficulty feeding themselves. However, 20.7% of returnee households are able to afford food stuff only, 46.4% have enough money to satisfy basic needs, 26.7% stated that they can afford buying durable goods, and 4.4 % can afford buying

everything they want. The data produced indicate that the families of returned migrants have a higher welfare level than the average of the country's population.

Table 5. Self-evaluation of material well-being of returnees

What of the below best describes the material status of your family?	No. of respondents	Percent
We even do not have enough money to buy foodstuff	17	1.7
We have enough money for food, but we can hardly buy clothes	207	20.7
We have enough money for food and clothes, but not enough to buy more expensive things	464	46.4
We can afford buying some expensive things, for instance, TV or refrigerator	267	26.7
We can afford ourselves everything we want	44	4.4
No answer/Refusal to answer	1	0.1
Total	1000	100.0

Motivation to migrate (as per results of interview of returnees)

The data produced imply that **unemployment** is the main factor in Tajikistan conducive to migration (40.1%). The second important motivator is a **low salary** scale (31.1%). The third motivator is the **need to earn a large sum, which cannot be received as a loan** (15.3%). Most frequently this money is required to build/renovate the house, to marry, to pay off debts, to pay for education, medical treatment and other major expenses.

Table 6. Motivation to migrate

	No. of respondents	Percent
Very low salary	313	31.3
Failed to find a job at home/unemployment	403	40.3
The enterprise/institution has been closed	43	4.3
Dismissed/dismissed due to downsizing the institution	20	2.0
Wanted to earn a lot of money during a short period	154	15.4

Wanted to try myself in another business	45	4.5
Family/team business needs	21	2.1
Other	7	0.7

Unemployment

Over the last five years the official unemployment level in Tajikistan has grown from 1.7% to 3.2% (Rahmon, 2008). However, only three quarters of the registered unemployed receive an allowance amounting to only \$1.5 per month. Most unemployed are not registered; the actual unemployment rate worked out in accordance with ILO methodology constitutes 11.3%. Divided into urban and rural areas the actual unemployment rate makes up 13.2% and 10.9% respectively; the male unemployment rate constitutes 12.3%, and the female one 9%. Young migrants form the major part of the unemployed (68.9%) (StStasCom RT, 2004: 85). According to a study made by Chris de Newburg, the real level of unemployment in Tajikistan is more than 20% (de Newburg, 2004). Most unemployed are dependants in the family or generate limited income through random (not permanent) earnings.

Population's low income level

Low income level and unemployment are one of the main motivators for migration according to previous studies (IOM, 2004). Many adults are either perform low salary work (especially in the agricultural sector), or are unemployed, or are economically not active (World Bank, 2004).

It is typical for Tajikistan that the individual earnings in the formal employment sector are not adequate. The families, which depend only on formal income, are more vulnerable than those having various income sources. This can also imply that the informal economy plays a more important role in the improvement of living standards, than the formal employment sector (World Bank, 2004: 14). Studies have revealed that in general families' income from work in the formal sector constitutes only 39.7%. Other important income sources are private business and also work in the personal subsidiary land plot (32%), as well as general income from non-contracted work (12.2%), income from hardship allowances (6%) and donations from relatives working abroad (5.3%) (ADB, 2002: 7).

Country of destination

The findings indicate that the overwhelming majority of returned migrants worked in the Russian Federation amounting to 94.9%. A small number have returned from Kazakhstan (1%), UAE (1%), Ukraine (0.6%), Uzbekistan (0.5%) and Iran (0.4%). Only a few people worked in other countries, like Kyrgyzstan, Belarus, Germany, US, Afghanistan, China, etc. These data are confirmed by other survey materials. Thus, in according to the ADB Survey 97% of migrants worked in the RF. A small number of migrants from Tajikistan worked in other countries: Kazakhstan (0.8%), China (0.6%), Uzbekistan (0.4%), Afghanistan (0.2%), United Arab Emirates (0.3%), and Turkey (0.2%).

Like other studies, this survey showed that the most attractive area in the Russian Federation for Tajik migrants is the Moscow agglomeration. 46.3% of all migrants having returned from Russia worked there. Main employment spheres here are construction, and, to a lesser degree, the trade and services sector.

The Siberian Federal District is the second important host territory for Tajik migrants after Moscow and the Moscow Province. Significantly less attractive for migrants are Ural and Privolzhsky Federal District. Some concentration of Tajik migrants can be observed in Ekaterinburg (4.3%), Tyumen (2.7%), Nizhnevartovsk (1.2%), Surgut (1.4%) and other Siberian towns. Here migrants work on oil and gas wells, construction, chemical production and industrial enterprises. Attractive are also such large industrial centres as St. Petersburg (6.4%), Samara (4.4%) and Rostov upon Don (2.9 %).

Table 7. Destination countries

To what country/city, region have you been the last time in search of a job?	%
Russia	94.9
Including:	
Russia, Moscow and Moscovskaya Oblast	46.3
Russia, St. Petersburg	6.4
Russia, Samara	4.4
Russia, Ekaterinburg	4.3
Russia, Rostov upon Don	2.9
Russia, Tyumen	2.7
Russia, Surgut	1.4
Russia, other provinces	26.5
Other countries	
Kazakhstan	1.5
UAE	1.0
Ukraine	0.6
Uzbekistan	0.5
Iran	0.4
Kyrgyzstan	0.2
Belarus	0.1
Germany	0.1
Turkmenistan	0.1
Turkey	0.1
US	0.1

China	0.1
Afghanistan	0.1
Yemen	0.1
Saudi Arabia	0.1

Length of stay abroad

The data produced showed that the largest group of the returned migrants (50.8%) were earning their living abroad for 2-5 years, 20.7% worked for 5-9 years, and 6.8% for 10-19 years. The 9.5% of returnees who worked and lived abroad for less than 1 year are mainly those deported.

Table. 8. Length of work abroad (in years)

	No of respondents	Percent
1	93	9.3
2	170	17.0
3	163	16.3
4	163	16.3
5	100	10.0
6	89	8.9
7	52	5.2
8	47	4.7
9	19	1.9
10	27	2.7
11	19	1.9
12	14	1.4
13	10	1.0
14	5	0.5
15	4	0.4
17	1	0.1
19	1	0.1
Total	977	97.7
No ans.	23	2.3
Total	1000	100.0

54.7% of the informants presented themselves as seasonal migrants. That was proven by the data on the time of their last travel: 53. 4% stayed abroad for up to 12 months. The figures produced show that the returned migrants had close contacts with the home country and would frequently come home. The group of migrants, which stayed abroad to earn a living during many years in a row is smaller and constituted 14.9%.

Occupation in the destination countries

On the one hand, the employment situation abroad of returnee's follows similar patterns as Tajik migrants' current foreign employment. On the other hand, there are differences which demonstrate the historic developments of Tajik labour migration and the changes of the host countries' labour markets. Just like among migrants, among returnees, construction workers are prevalent (31.3%). The second group in terms of quantity is constituted by private sector employees (29.7%). Wholesale and retail trade workers belong to the third group. However, when comparing the migrants' and returnees' occupation profiles (ADB, 2007), one can see that among the latter there are two times less constructors and businessmen, a significantly lower number of self-employed and wage workers in the private sector. Equally, a significantly bigger number of returnees are trade workers, including shuttle traders. There are slightly more wage workers in agriculture and leaseholders of land in the group of returnees compared to the group of migrants.

One can assume that the reason for the fact that the share of returning builders is two times smaller than the one of migrants currently occupied in construction abroad is rooted in the increased demand of the host countries' labour markets for the construction profession. The increased share of returning traders is apparently most importantly due to the new legislation in RF which imposed heavier restrictions on the employment of migrants in the markets. Secondly, the trade reforms in Russia have entailed the closure of many open markets and curtailed shuttle trade.

Table 9. Occupation in the destination countries

	No. of respondents	Percent
Procured/sold goods	165	16.5
Was a wage worker in a state-owned enterprise	94	9.4
Was a wage worker in a private company	297	29.7
Was engaged in renovation of apartments, house building	313	31.3
Had my own business	25	2.5
Was an agricultural wage worker	21	2.1
Leased land	10	1.0
Self-employed	66	6.6
Other	5	0.5
No response	4	0.4
Total	1000	100.0

Legal status

The legal status of migrants is one of the most important factors determining their behaviour, their income, the migration efficiency both for the migrants themselves and the countries of destination and origin. Although labour migration brings huge economic and social benefits to both countries of origin and destination, serious informal and institutional constraints have been created for labour migrants in the CIS. This has resulted in the violation of the legislation regulating the stay and employment in the destination country by many migrants and has led to the current situation where irregular migration dominates regular migration.

In the survey 74.9% of the returnees stated that they have been registered during the last trip.

Tajikistan has a visa-free regime with the Russian Federation, therefore Tajik citizens' travel to Russia within a legal framework. However, there are many irregular migrants among the labour migrants from Tajikistan. Sometimes this stems from irregularities concerning registration in the place of residence: 12.8% of the sample returnees stayed in the places of settlement illegally, that is to say, they have not been registered in OVIR (Department for the Issuance of Visas and Registration), 12.5% reported that they registered occasionally. The most frequent reason behind the lack of registration is that every fourth wage worker living abroad said that he saw no reason for registration, since he had to pay bribes to the police in order to be able to stay in a specific area. The same number of informants noted that the registration fee was expensive and they could not afford it. Nearly 70% of irregular migrants did not leave their workplace, where they lived at the same time.

Table 10. Legal status

Did you register yourself in your workplace abroad?	No. of respondents	Percent
Yes	749	74.9
No	165	16.5
Occasionally	86	8.6
Total	1000	100.0

The survey findings show that most frequently irregular status stems from illegal or irregular employment. However, the data produced on the legal/illegal employment differ from the respective indices on migrants. Thus, among the returnees, a significantly bigger number has legalised their labour relations by labour contracts 34.8%, compared to 18.4% of migrants (Kurbanova, Olimova, 2006: 14). There were also more returnees (32%) who worked in accordance with a verbal agreement, than migrants (25.6%).

Despite the efforts of the states to legalize labour relations, the labour market in CIS countries still mainly remains a shadow one and migrants, put under pressure by employers, agree to such work more often than their nationals.

Table 11. Legal registration of work

	No. of respondents	Percent
Labour contract for a certain term	348	34.8
Labour contract for the implementation of a certain work	163	16.3
Verbal agreement	320	32.0
Own business	98	9.8
Under the contract for a season of work	64	6.4
Other	2	0.2
No response	4	0.4
Total	1000	100.0

Motivation to return

The volume of migrant-return can be assessed on the basis of ABD 2007 Survey (draft), according to which about 9% of migrants in 2006 made the decision to terminate their work abroad.

In this survey, the underlying motives for the termination of work abroad have been studied. The main motives appeared to be: family problems (54.9%), and the request of parents and elder relatives to come back (48.5%). Other less important reasons compelling migrants to return home were: increased health problems (11%), success, earned wealth (10.6%), and deportation (6.3%).

Table 12. Motivation to return

	No. of respondents	Percent
It was necessary to take care of the family	549	54.9
I did not earn enough money to justify my stay abroad	55	5.5
I earned enough money to comfortably live at home	106	10.6
For health reasons	110	11
Failed to find a suitable job abroad	30	.3
Parents/relatives asked me to return	485	48.5
I have been deported	63	6.3
I have been deceived	17	1.7
Other	48	4.8
No answer/difficult to answer	26	2.6

Let us scrutinise the motives.

Care of the family

Focus group discussions (FGD) showed that the main family issues leading to migrants returning home are:

The necessity to organise the life of grown up children

*Migrants in the age between 45 and 50 mainly come home to organize the marriage of their daughters. **Suhrob, teacher, 32 years old, FGD, Bokhtar***

The necessity to head the family in the event of death or disease of parents or elder relatives, who headed the family in the absence of the migrant

*Mostly migrants return after getting sick or in the event of sickness of their immediate relatives. **Jonsho, technician, 44 years old, FGD, Khorog***

*Migrants return when the senior member of the family has died and there is a need to replace him. **Muhammad, constructor, 28 years old, FGD, Isfara***

*My friend worked abroad for 15 years. Now, his son has grown up and left abroad to work instead of him. The son has bought a “KAMAZ” truck and sent it to his father. Now the father is working with this truck and transports raw materials. The father is here in Tajikistan, and the son is in Russia, together they sustain their family. **Pulod, engineer, 51 years old, FGD, Khujand***

Aspiration to reunite with the family and the home country

*I think that the feeling of love for our homeland urges us to return. For instance, despite the fact that I lived comfortably in Russia, 6 months later I was already missing my homeland and eager to go back to my wife and kids as soon as possible. I had a good place of residence, registration, security and I was materially stable. **Yokub, tractor driver, 31 years old, FGD, Bokhtar***

Request of parents and senior relatives to come back

As a rule, the parents force migrant sons to come back to organise their marriage and to determine their place in the community.

*If the migrant is not married, the parents call their children home to start a family. **Suhrob, teacher, 32 years old, FGD, Bokhtar***

The parents demand migrants to come back home to hand them over the leadership in the family.

*If the migrant is more than 45 years old, he has to return home to bring up his children and take care of the parents, who are already old and need care. **Salim, teacher, 45 years old, FGD, Bokhtar***

The parents lose control over the family members in case of family conflicts, or disobedience of young family members that necessitates the presence of the migrant in the family.

*I was called back by my parents, as there were no other adult men at home except for me and there was nobody to keep the house. At the moment I am thinking over, whether to stay here forever or to leave. All my friends are in Russia and they are helping me materially. **Azizbek, driver, 47 years old, FGD, Isfara***

Deportation

Starting from 2004 more than 180 thousand citizens of Tajikistan were deported from Russia, 57 thousand have officially passed through special checkpoints.²

Health problems due to age and diseases

*I simply was not lucky. Having stayed abroad in labour migration I fell ill and came home. I wanted to undergo medical treatment in Moscow, but everything was expensive there and it was difficult without citizenship, I would not be able to pay for the treatment. **Azizbek, constructor, 29 years old FGD, Isfara***

Mostly migrants return:

A) in the event of sickness of the migrant or his close relatives,

B) in the event of deportation.

*Of course, there are other reasons as well, like marriages, funerals etc. But here we have one “but”. They do not stay in the homeland but migrate again in a certain period of time. **Jonsho, technician, 44 years old, FGD, Khorog***

FGD and survey findings have revealed regional differences in the motives behind the migrants’ return. If in DRD and the Khatlon Region “family” motives more commonly influenced the termination of work abroad, in GBAO and Sughd Regions the motives for return were deportation, sickness or death of parents.

*Nobody voluntarily terminates working abroad. The most common reasons for the return are deportation, sickness, accident in the family, marriage or building a house. But in the last case after the completion of construction people go back abroad to work. **Ikromiddin, constructor, 46 years old, FGD, Isfara***

Intention of migration and reasons

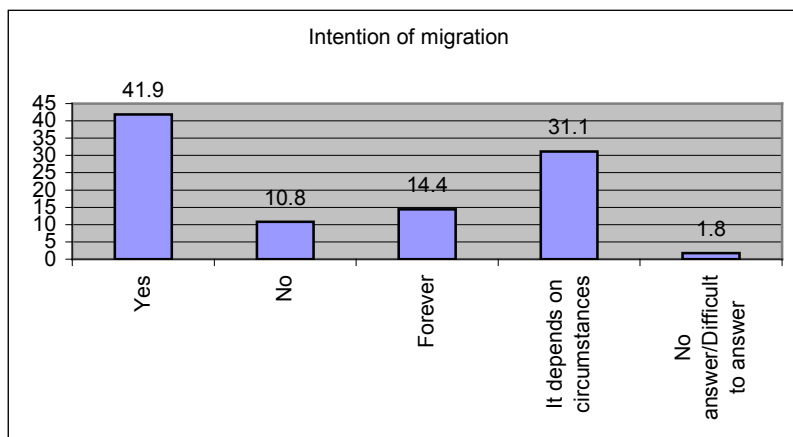
The survey revealed that returned migrants are not interested in moving to other countries for permanent residence. Only 4.6% of returnees stated that they were thinking about resettlement abroad, 10.3% have not made a final decision on leaving or remaining, they might emigrate for good depending on certain circumstances. 85.1% of the sample is firmly intending to remain in Tajikistan with their family. Explaining their decision almost 66% of those, who decided to stay in Tajikistan

² Source: Migration service of MIA RT

answered that they did not see any necessity in resettlement, the rest deemed the resettlement abroad a very difficult and expensive undertaking.

A significant part of the returnees considers the possibility of re-emigration in the event that the circumstances are compelling. Only 14.4% have resolutely answered that they have returned forever, 41.9% answered that they came back home for a long period, almost a third of returnees would decide whether to stay or to leave, depending on circumstances; 10.8% thought that would leave soon and 1.8% were not able to answer.

Diagram 3. Intentions for migration



Only 25.8% expressed confidence in that they would stay at home in 2008. The rest said that there were various levels of probability that they would leave in the current year.

*A man makes a decision to leave for labour migration, when the life compels him to do that. I have not left for Russia so far, because I have got a job at school and I have a land, where our families – me and my brother’s grow wheat. In addition, the brother, who is currently in migration, sends me \$200 every month. Should the brother come back home for any reason, I will be compelled to leave abroad to earn a living, that is to say, I will have to replace him. Once more favourable conditions for work and life are created in Tajikistan; I will certainly call him back, for him to live at home with his wife and children. **Suhrob, teacher, 32 years old, FGD, Kulyab***

Speaking about the probability of migration in future, 28.9% respondents stated that they would go abroad to work if necessary, 34.4 % admitted such a possibility, and 36.7% of respondents had decided to quit working abroad.

*You come back because you are missing the kids and the family. But after the collapse of the Soviet Union the life in the Pamirs is very hard. We have little land, the climate is harsh, and we have no plants and factories. What can we do? There is only one way out. It is to go back to Russia. Some people travel even farther and find themselves in America. **Firuz, doctor, 28 years old, FGD, Khorog***

Experience and skills acquired abroad

The survey illustrated that migration creates additional motivations for acquiring qualifications and additional skills expanding migrants' capacities. However, for most migrants the wish to acquire qualifications and knowledge appear in the country of destination in trying to get settled and find a job. The informants mentioned that many migrants staying abroad are trying to develop their capacities, to attend training courses or enter an educational establishment, however very few migrants succeed in that.

The returnees' survey findings revealed that 63.9% of respondents acquired additional skills abroad, 37.1% did not acquire any new skills and abilities. 0.4% received a scientific degree, 0.2% of returnees graduated from universities.

The main knowledge migrants received in the Russian Federation were professional skills, knowledge and experience acquired in the process of work without any supporting certificate (69.2%). Nearly 66.1 % acquired Russian language proficiency; only 4.1% obtained a certificate confirming the qualification received.

Table 13. Additional skills acquired abroad (several different answers were possible)

	No. of respondents	Percent
No	371	
Yes, I have learned Russian	416	66.1
Yes, I have learned English	12	1.9
Yes, I have learned a new job and received a certificate without examination	11	1.7
Yes, I have acquired new skills and received a certificate after passing examination	26	4.1
Yes, I have acquired new skills at work, but I have no certificate	435	69.2
Yes, I've graduated from the vocational school/technical college and college	13	2.1
Yes, I've graduated from the higher education institution	2	0.3
Yes, I've received a scientific degree	4	0.6
No answer/difficult to answer	9	1.4

The survey revealed that poor knowledge of foreign languages is a serious constraint not only for acquiring additional qualifications but for migration efficiency in general. To learn professional vocabulary and to improve Russian language skills is required to an extent which would make the participation in a training course possible.

*There were many construction companies in the place, where I worked and lived. Within these companies short-term training courses were opened, where workers and migrants were admitted to study. Upon completion of the course they acquired the profession of a welder, fitter, electrician, and some of them studied in vocational schools and learned various professions, which appeared to be useful for them to work. **Salim, teacher, 45 years old, FGD, Bokhtar***

A big barrier hampering the education of migrants in the host country is a lack of training funding mechanisms (credits for education, financial support, etc.). The survey discovered that migrants receive education when their relatives help them.

*To study abroad is easy if somebody supports the student with money or if any organisation sends him to study and covers his expenses. For instance, my neighbour is studying in Russia and his two brothers, who work there, help him with that. **Navruz, agronom, 40 years old, FGD, Kulyab***

*In the place I worked, three brothers worked with us, one of which worked before lunchtime and after lunch attended driving courses. **Suhrob, teacher, 32 years old, FGD, Kulyab***

*Receipt of supporting documentation like certificates, diplomas, and licenses in Russia depends on the region you work in and also on availability of influential acquaintances. For instance, I have received a document confirming my grade of the “dogger” profession with the help of my brother³. As my brother was a Russian citizen, he helped me with that, but after the completion of the course I failed to find a job in this speciality. **Khurshed, driver, 43 years old, FGD, Bokhtar***

Problem of recognition of the competence and work experience of migrants

In the course of the survey it became apparent, that there is a problem with the recognition of the competence and work experience of migrants. During the time the phenomenon of labour migration developed in Tajikistan, a complete professional retraining of Tajik workers has taken place which is related to their adjustment to the Russian labour market. It was organized in the form of a dynamic and spontaneously formed, mainly informal, professional training “system”, which included training on the workplace, as well as informal educational services – team training, mentoring, tutorship, etc.

*During my early years of work in Russia I had no speciality. Initially I became an apprentice to a foreman and followed all his instructions. Later, in the process of the work, when I visited Russia many times, I learned to plaster, mastered the trade of a painter and now I easily make Western-style renovations. **Mahmadruzi, constructor, 27 years old, FGD, Bokhtar***

As the survey results have shown, 43.5% of all sample returnees received additional qualification and new skills, but at the same time only 2.6% of all respondents acquired a qualification supported by a certificate abroad.

Some companies practiced methods of professional training immediately at the construction sites. A commission would be formed, attestation would be held and the grade would be conferred. In line

³ Dogger is a occupation tyoe in construction

with the conferral of the grade, the salary rate would be increased. But this is the case in the large companies and state enterprises. Jonsho, technician, 44 years old, FGD, Khorog

Mass on-the-job retraining underway in all former Soviet countries, including in Tajikistan and in Russia, urges to consider the creation of a system of qualification exams, which could confirm the qualification and professional skills of migrants both in the destination and home countries. A significant number of migrants, having received qualification in the host country, cannot confirm their professional knowledge, skills and experience by any document upon returning home, as they had worked without authorisation.

Occupation in Tajikistan after return

The data received certify that 68.1% of returnees are employed. Most of them prefer not to be employed in state-owned and private enterprises, but to work independently – self-employed in their own business, or getting hired to do various jobs individually. From the occupied returnees the largest groups are owners of a business/company/enterprise (18.7%) and self-employed (17.3%). A smaller number of returnees are working in state-owned enterprises/institutions (14.4%) and as wage workers in the private sector (10.1% of all informants); 7.1% get individually hired on various types of work. At the same time, only 34.1% of all returnees are full-time workers. 11.3% are part-time workers and 18.3% of all returnees earn money occasionally.

Table 14. Type of employment in Tajikistan

	No. of respondents	Percent
Not working	319	31.9
Full time permanently	341	34.1
Part time	113	11.3
Casual work	183	18.3
Formally am a worker of the enterprise/institution, but actually do not work there	4	0.4
Work under the contract	39	3.9
Other	1	0.1
Total	1000	100.0

The large part of returnees employed part time and in casual work reflects the absence of well paid employment opportunities in RT.

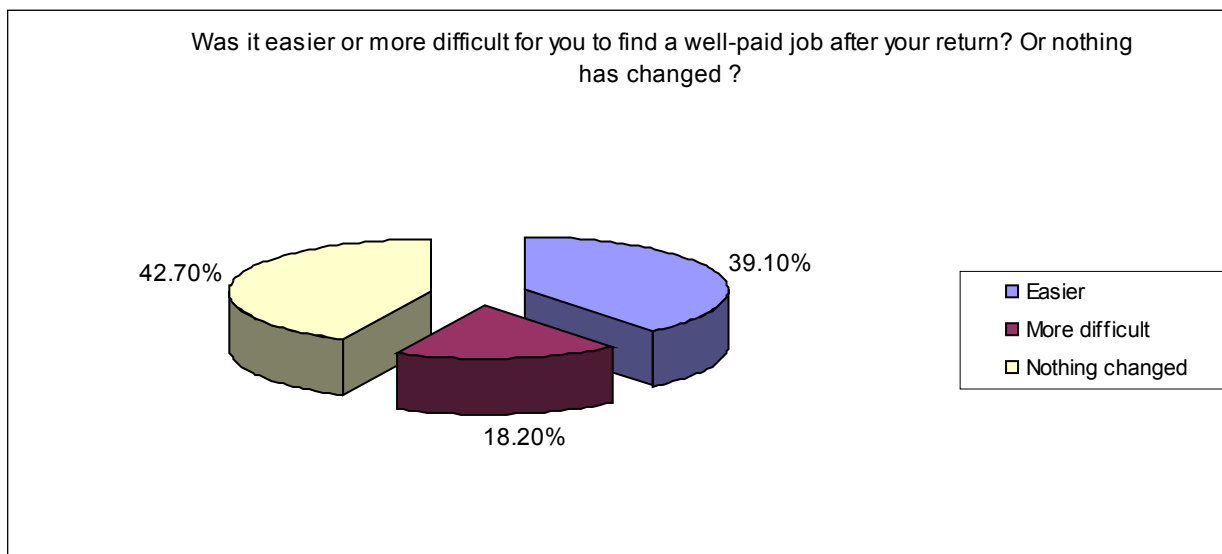
From the 31.9% of people not pursuing an occupation, the largest group are unemployed – almost 20%, including 15.6% of unemployed in pursuit of a job, 4.3% are unemployed and not seeking a job.

Table 15. Reasons for unemployment

	No. of respondents	Percent
Not acceptable offers	675	67.5
I am a pensioner	6	0.6
I am unemployed, try to find a job	156	15.6
I am unemployed, but do not try to find a job	43	4.3
I am studying in an educational establishment	19	1.9
I cannot work, because I am sick, disabled	22	2.2
I am on maternity leave	7	0.7
I am a housewife, look after the children, sick or old members of the family	18	1.8
I do not get a job in the intervals between travels abroad to earn money	53	5.3
Other	1	0.1
Total	1000	100.0

The study revealed that the experience and knowledge acquired abroad improved the position of some returnees in the labour market. Thus, 39.1% of respondents stated that after migration it was easier for them to find a well-paid job. However, for 42.7 % nothing has changed and 18.2% mentioned that, after their return, it became more difficult for them to find a well-paid job.

Diagram 4. Status of returnees in the labour market



The majority of those respondents, who stated that it has become easier for them to find a paid job after return, is working in a private business or is self-employed.

It is almost impossible to find a well-paid job; therefore I started my own business.

I have created a job myself and am currently making a living for me and my family through it.

I've had a good experience, improved my knowledge, professionalism, acquired entrepreneurial skills and started my own business.

I have brought a motor car with me and now am working as a taxi driver and earning a living for the family.

I am working as a hairdresser on the equipment I have brought, my barbers (hairdressing saloon) is bringing me profit.

I opened an Internet-café and earn good money.

I have brought a modern incubator from Russia, created a chicken farm at home and work in it.

The small part of returnees, predominantly those who acquired education abroad, has found a well-paid job in state-owned organisations and enterprises. Less frequently, the highly skilled returnees get a job in private companies.

Now I am working in the militia in the profession I was trained for.

Now I am working as a second pilot in our air company.

I am passing the professionalism and the skills, which I acquired during labour migration in the field modern construction, on to my apprentices, as I presently work as a teacher in the vocational school and share my experience with the youth.

I am a geologist. After return, I succeeded in finding a job I was trained for with the help of an acquaintance.

Having analysed the answers of those, who stated that after return they had more difficulties in finding a well-paid job, you can see that the returnees come across the same set of problems they were faced with before travelling abroad – unemployment and low salary level. In addition, there are aged people and people with poor health among them.

*It is very difficult for a returned migrant to find a job in Tajikistan. For instance, migrants, who before migration used to work in a farm, presently do not want to work in the same farms, which do not pay wages to the farmers at all. In Russia, they were paid in time and a lot, and in the homeland they have to work for free. After return they are either idle or leave for Russia again. It makes no sense to get a job here. **Abdumavlon, handyman, 38 years old, FGD, Isfara***

*Khorog is a small town. It is very hard for a migrant to find a job in such a town – all jobs are occupied. In our place, a migrant can only find a job of a teacher or a physician with a very low salary. Nobody wants to work for that money. Almost only women have remained to work. And I earned 18-20 thousand roubles (nearly \$600) when I worked in Russia. If I had my way, I would have left long ago. **Abdughaffor, driver, 38 years old, FGD, Khorog***

If the migrant worker had already been employed before migrating, the departure interrupts his/her career. This problem is aggravated as migrants seldom work in the profession they were trained for, and as a rule, they lose their skills in a certified profession as a consequence. In addition, during their absence the returnees lose the social capital they possessed in Tajikistan and do not accumulate a new one – useful acquaintances, necessary contacts, which would help them to find a decent job in their homeland.

*If a migrant formerly worked on a responsible and profitable position, of course after his return he will not be able to occupy this job, as it has been occupied by someone else. **Salim, teacher, 45 years old, FGD, Bokhtar***

*Starting work for a migrant after return from Russia is very difficult. Because, influential acquaintances or big money are required to get a good job or start one's own business. **Homidjon, welder, 42 years old, FGD, Isfara***

Frequently, the returned migrants have no possibility to use their new experience and skills, they acquired abroad, because of the technological lag in their homeland.

*Many migrants fail to find a job after their return, as here the job they were doing abroad does not exist. They are used to working with new technologies. Introducing the technologies, which are being used in Russia, requires much time, money and efforts. **Abdunabi, businessman, 30 years old, FGD Isfara***

Nevertheless, even in adverse circumstances the returnees can make use of the skills and of the life experience they have gained in migration in order to organise a profitable activity.

I am a returned migrant, but do not want to get into employment, because my education is not sufficient to find a place with a good salary and it is not profitable to become an ordinary worker – the salary is not enough to sustain the family. Therefore, currently I am working as a taxi driver with my own car. Yokubkhoja, taxi driver, 27 years old, FGD, Isfara

Employment of the returned migrants: view of top managers

In order to study in greater depth the issue of the status of the returned migrants in the labour market of Tajikistan and their impact on economic growth and development, we have included questions about the recruitment of returnees and their participation in transferring technology in the top managers' interview questionnaire (see ch. 3).

In general, top managers interviewed preferred to hire returned migrants. Speaking about the employment of the returned migrants, two thirds of top managers (67%) stated that upon recruiting staff the preference is given to returned migrants, as they have extensive work experience (39%) and they are more skilled (28%).

At the same time, one third of the sample top managers (33%) mentioned that they try not to recruit migrants. The main reason is that the returnees are more demanding (17% of the whole sample) and less obedient (6%). 4% of all employers mentioned that the migrants do not work abroad in accordance with their speciality and finally forget it. In addition, the employers are afraid that the returned migrants can quit any moment and re-emigrate in pursuit of better earnings.

Due to low salaries, young specialists do not work in their speciality preferring to earn big money in migration. But the labour migrants who do not stick to their profession when working abroad lose their knowledge and skills acquired in the university for a certain speciality. After their return we cannot recruit them in accordance with the diploma anymore. Manager of a private foreign language training course, Dushanbe

Speaking about the impact of returnees on the business development, 62% of the sample top managers mentioned various aspects of a positive influence, which the returnees have produced on their companies development; 3.3% noted that the returnees contributed to the improvement of their working methods, 3.0% informed that the returnees brought and enforced new technologies and methods in their companies, 1.9% stated that the returnees brought new mechanisms and instruments.

Table 16. Impact of returned migrants on the business development of the firms they work in (several different answers were possible)

	No. of respondents	Percent
Yes, they bring new mechanisms and tools	19	15.70
Yes, they bring new technologies and skills	30	24.79
Yes, they improve working methods	33	27.27
No	38	31.40
Other	1	0.83

A rather big group (41%) of people from the sample informed us that they are actively introducing innovations suggested by returnees in the work of their enterprise. Here are examples:

*Migrants have imported hairdressing devices and new machines and taught the staff of our beauty saloon to work with them. These machines are working better than those Chinese ones they sell in our place. **Owner of the beauty saloon, Dushanbe***

*Migrants have brought and introduced a beverage packages capping technology in our cannery, a canned vegetables and fruit output packing line, as well, they have brought and installed an automated system of heating of the high pressure steam canning system. **Director of Canning Factory, Kanibadam***

*Of course, in our restaurant the chief cook and the cooks, who worked in Russia, are highly valued. They are valued in the public catering system, because in addition to the national cooking, they are highly proficient in European cooking as well. **Owner of the restaurant, Dushanbe***

*Labour migrants work in our car maintenance workshop. They are very proficient in repairing cars of foreign make and Russian vehicles. **Owner of a car maintenance centre, Bobojon Ghafurov District, Sughd Region***

*The migrants' experience is broadly used in plant cultivation of our gardening farm. They bring new kinds of seedlings and have learnt the ways of their engrafting to local kinds. Many migrants acquired modern gardening and flowering technological skills from abroad, learnt to form the lawns, to look after decorative and tropical plants and to grow new sorts of flowers on an industrial basis. Now we are using all of this. **Director of a greenhouse gardening farm, Hissor***

*Migrants are more aware of the latest TV and Radio sets. Their qualification is higher and they are working better. Their skills are used in repairing the new type of TV sets. **Manager of a TV- and radio-sets workshop, Kurgan-Tube***

*Migrants have introduced new methods of organizing work and working with the personnel in our cotton plant. In addition, they have taught us new cotton cleaning methods. Following recommendations of one of our staff members, who worked abroad earlier, we integrated the improvements in the laboratory on combating destructive insects. **Jomi District Cotton Plant, Khatlon region***

Having acknowledged the important role returned migrants play in modernising many productions, it should be mentioned that new technologies, instruments and skills, and returnees' experience can only be integrated and employed where this is possible – first of all in the sphere of small and micro businesses, in which returnees prefer starting their business or getting involved in the business of their relatives, friends and acquaintances.

Furthermore, migrants bring cheap tools, machines and production lines, as first of all, most have no money for big investment projects and have no possibilities to attract them. Secondly, the business environment is not friendly in Tajikistan and one can only overcome the impediments faced with while setting up a relatively significant business if one has a “roof” (a form of protection and patronage). But as a rule, this represents a major constraint for migrants, as the studies reveal that many people who migrate are marginalised and do not have any access to resources and power (ABD, 2002).

Therefore, the following represents the most favourable impact migrants can have on the development of different sectors of the economy:

- sphere of services – migrants bring new effective and low cost tools and technologies;
- housing construction, especially finishing works in construction – migrants bring instruments and machines, provide information on new finishing materials appearing in the market, on new technological methods and modern trends in construction;
- sphere of stocking, storage and processing of agricultural products.

The survey revealed that in these spheres of activity employers prefer recruiting returnees and pay higher than usual remuneration.

However, migrants do not have a significant impact in cases where modernisation or reconstruction of larger scale production is necessary, and where big investments are required. Moreover, those companies, which do not depend on technological and organisational innovations, often do not employ returnees.

Equally, there are those employers who avoid recruiting returnees, who work with outdated production equipment and cannot afford introducing the latest technologies. Top managers in such enterprises avoid recruiting the returned migrants, as they demand that the old equipment is replaced, and new and more comfortable working methods are introduced. The managers emphasise, that they cannot modernise production and develop business following the recommendations of migrants because of the business environment in Tajikistan.

*The conditions enterprises face do not allow to hire migrants, as those want to work with modern machines, and we have no such equipment (sewing machines and engineering tools). If we replace equipment and expand production following their recommendations, the tax rates will increase drastically and we will go bankrupt. **Tailors workshop, Dushanbe***

*The conditions are not favourable and we do not have the means to modernise and introduce new technologies, which the returned migrants propose, for instance, to buy cars. Therefore, to avoid dissatisfaction of the staff I try not to recruit returned migrants. **Director of a wholesale depot***

Contribution of returnees in terms of business development, job creation, technology

There are several aspects to the problem of returnees' low investment capacity. These include investment intentions and possibilities, poor investment climate and potential and constraints. First of all, it is important, who makes a decision on investments. As it has been shown in the survey "Social impact of migration" (ILO, 2007), while the migrant is absent the person who is in charge of the migrant's responsibilities during this period manages money transfers. During this time the families very seldom invest money in business. However, once the migrant, who is the head of the family, terminates his labour activity abroad and returns home, he starts looking for decent employment, the possibility of starting his own business or another profit generating activity. According to the data received 47.9% of the sample returnees have started and developed business or entrepreneurial activity. At the same time 21.7% manage their own business.

The survey implies that investment intentions of returnees not having their own business yet are rather high. 31% of all returnees have been thinking about and discussing the possibility of starting their own business with their families. 12.1% have not yet made a decision – they prefer to explore alternatives.

In the opinion of respondents, the most attractive branch of business for returnees is wholesale and retail trade (17.4%) as well as services (10.3%). 6% are interested in agricultural business, 3.4% in production, 1.8% in construction and 1.7% in automobile servicing. Other branches gained insignificant number of votes.

Table 17. Types of business activities of returned migrants

Which business activities are you interested in or have started already?	No. of respondents	Percent
Not applicable	566	56.6
Agriculture, farming	36	3.6
Agriculture, livestock-breeding	24	2.4
Agricultural products processing	9	0.9
Production	34	3.4
Construction	18	1.8
Wholesale and retail trade	174	17.4
Car servicing, repairing, repairing domestic appliances	17	1.7
Services	103	10.3
Transport, storage and communications	14	1.4
Real estate, leasing, business services	3	.3
Other	1	0.1
No response	1	0.1
Total	1000	100.0

What is the amount of the initial capital required to start a business in the field the returnees work?

The largest part of the sample, 28.9% has mentioned that the initial capital should constitute from 5 to 20 thousand Somoni (between \$1.5 and \$6 thousand). Significantly less respondents (8.8%) stated that to start their own business they needed initial capital of less than 1.5 thousand US dollars. 18.1% of respondents think that the initial capital they need amounts to 6-10 thousand US dollars, 9.3 % were not able to assess their requirement of initial capital, 35% did not answer this question.

44.3% of returnees have already invested in business in Tajikistan. Half of them invested in their own business, the other half into the business of relatives and friends. The main investment lines are the purchase of equipment (57.8%), procurement of raw material and components (51%), floating assets (39%), rental of premises (35.9%), staff recruitment (35.2%), allotment/purchase of a land plot (18.7%).

Table 18. Areas of investment

Which types of investment are you interested in or involved in already?	No. of respondents	Percent
Rental of premises	159	35.9
Allotment/purchase of land	83	18.7
Purchase of equipment	256	57.8
Staff recruitment	156	35.2
Purchase of raw materials and components	226	51.0
Other	195	44.0

Barriers to start a business

The main deterrents preventing returnees from starting or expanding businesses are:

1. Lack/shortage of initial capital.
2. Lack/difficulties of access to credit resources.
3. Lack of willingness to run business.
4. Lack of favourable conditions for the development of the SMEs (problems and contradictions in the legislation, tax burden, corruption, endless audits, etc).
5. Critical shortage of information, knowledge, business running experience and investment skills.
6. Difficulties, big efforts and costs in legalising documents in the process of starting a business.
7. Tax system hampering the business development.

Table 19. Barriers to starting a proper business returned migrants face

	No. of respondents	Percent
I already have my own business/I am involved in a business	217	38.2
I have not saved sufficient initial capital	136	23.9
I do not want to run a business	108	19.0
It is very difficult to start one's own business/many constraints	98	17.3
I do not dispose of the necessary capacity	74	13.0
It is difficult to take a loan	22	3.9
I do not know where to get information on starting business	12	2.1
I do not know where to invest money	6	1.1

*The main precondition enabling the migrant to start his own business is the possession of necessary capital. The money earned in migration is not enough to fulfil this requirement. Even those migrants, who started their own businesses, take loans from a bank. **Salimjon, FGD, Kulyab***

Difficulties in acquiring loans:

- Very high pledges

“The bank is demanding a pledge – 50 grams of gold or a house, which is impossible for me to provide” (FGD, Khujand)

- Small loan sum
- Very short loan timeframe

“I am not satisfied with the sum of the loan and its repayment term. The sum is small and the term is short” (FGD, Isfara)

The survey has revealed the regional difference in the constraints returnees face in starting and developing businesses. In GBAO the main constraints are: scarcity of funds, critical lack of experience, knowledge, business and commerce running traditions, low competitiveness of local businessmen against that of the businessmen from Dushanbe, Osh and China.

In the Khatlon Region the main impediments are: insufficiency of funds, difficulties in taking bank loans, critical shortage of knowledge and information on business, difficulties in finding accommodation.

In the Sughd Region the following factor are the most important impediments to starting a business: a high corruption level including extortion by the tax and other inspecting authorities, tremendous difficulties and expenses related to registering the business – licenses, certificates, etc., high cost of land allotment or purchase.

Contribution of returnees to job creation

The survey has revealed that while developing their business, returnees create a certain number of jobs. Nevertheless, this number is not very big as the kinds of businesses migrants usually establish are of small and micro scale. According to the survey findings the minimal number of wage workers of returnees is 1, the maximum number is 80 and the average number is 2.7.

Labour migration, which in Tajikistan is very much influenced by the fact that the family constitutes the core of society, leaves a clear imprint on the businesses returnees establish. Most frequently, returnees start their businesses with the involvement and the support of their family and relatives: 43% of 279 informants having their own business or managing relatives' businesses do not pay their employees a salary because they are their relatives and family members forming one household. Therefore the income of the workers feed into the family budget managed by the returnee.

*If I will start my own business, first of all I will attract my family members and friends. Then, to the extent possible, I will hire workers, but smart and knowledgeable ones. **Jonsho, technician, 44 years old, FGD, Khorog***

You should recruit persons whom you trust. Of course, you will hire people that are close to you. They will not demand a salary, when the business “has stuck”. Alijon, handyman, 23 years old, FGD, Khorog

55.5% of businessmen in the group of returnees hire staff and pay them a wage. At the same time, the major part of the employees are also relatives, but living separately. Almost 4% of business owners stated that they have wage workers, whom they pay a salary, and family members working for free at the same time.

Table 20. Wage workers employed in the businesses of returned migrants

Do you have wage workers in your business?	No. of respondents	Percent
Yes	155	28.60
No	124	22.88
No, my family members and relatives are working with me without a salary	121	22.32
My family members and relatives are working with me for a salary	131	24.17
Wage workers and family members and relatives without a salary are working with me	11	2.03

Input of returnees in bringing in advanced technologies

The returnees contribute to the technological development in Tajikistan to a certain extent, but this influence is not significant. Only 16.8% of returnees bring vehicles home, 0.7% tractors, 0.4% combines.

Table 21. Have you ever brought motor vehicles from abroad?

	No. of respondents	Percent
Yes, I've brought a motor car	88	50.0
Yes, I've brought a “Gazel” minibus	58	33.0
Yes, I've brought a truck	22	12.5
Yes, I've brought a tractor	7	4.0
Yes, I've brought a motor cultivator	2	1.1
Yes, I've brought a combine	4	2.3
Other	2	1.1

As far as the manufacturing equipment is concerned, only 14.4% of respondents stated that they've

imported machines, mini-plants, technological lines and other technological equipment.

Most informants, 20.3%, stated that they have imported tools, 10.6% imported seeds of new kinds of agricultural crop, seedlings and other planting stock.

Almost a half of respondents (49.1%), said that at home they used new tools and technological methods which they have obtained abroad.

What prevents returnees to introduce new technologies and mechanisms?

1. Low income level of migrants

Migrants spend almost all the money they earn for their own consumption and transfers home. Migrants' families spend the received money predominantly to cover current expenses. The savings are limited and are intended for emergency situations, as the system of social and pension insurance has been destroyed in Tajikistan.

*Basically, migrants do not have much money. I would send the earned money home and spend it for myself. Honestly speaking, some migrants go back home to their families having previously borrowed money to cover the travel expenses from those guys remaining in Russia. They repay their debts after they go back to work. Where do they get money to start a business? I don't know. I remember that our neighbours have taken a loan in the Aga Khan Fund bank. **Abdughaffor, driver, 38 years old, FGD, Khorog***

2. Lack of electricity

*Last year I have brought a technological line for the production of pasta products and we have set up a pasta production business. But this year, due to the lack of electricity our production has been stalled. Now we pin all our hopes on a piece of homestead land; we are planting vegetables. Early vegetables are already sold on the market, if there is enough water for irrigation, we will survive somehow. **Interview with returned migrant-businessman, Isfara District***

3. Corruption

*They create impediments for business development. For instance, some of the migrants brought equipment, mini-workshops, mini-plants and other instruments from Russia, and the tax authorities from the very beginning control the profit they generate from that. As the new production becomes profitable, they gradually start putting pressure on the owner to get more money from him thus forcing him into bankruptcy. To avoid bankruptcy one has to find a "roof". **Khurshed, driver, 43 years old, FGD, Bokhtar***

Contribution of returned migrants made so far in terms of social integration and development of local communities

The survey demonstrated that returned migrants do not exercise a substantial influence on social integration and the development of local communities. Returnees mostly take part in hashars –

voluntary unpaid community works (58.2%) and in ritual and ceremonial events (55.6%). Considerably fewer respondents contribute means for the development of their community (25.3%). The same number (25.3%) participate in gashtak/gap – men associations. However, the FGD materials indicate that returnees organize their separate “migrant gashtaks”.

13.4% regularly allocate a part of their income (zakot) and grant it to the mosque to charitable ends, 12.1% help schools and 6.9% are activists of the local religious community (mosque). 9.7% do not participate at all in the social life of their community.

Table 22. Participation of returned migrants in the social life of the community

	No. of respondents	Percent
Yes, I take part in hashars	582	58.2
Yes, I provide money for the village improvement	253	25.3
Yes, I helped materially and through personal involvement in our school	121	12.1
Yes, I am an activist of our mosque	69	6.9
Yes, I regularly pay zakot to our mosque	134	13.4
I attend men associations	253	25.3
I participate in all rites	556	55.6
No	97	9.7
Other	5	0.5

FGD materials and interviews with local authorities’ agents reveal that if there are migrant in the overwhelming majority of families of the village, a migrant community is formed incorporating the whole village – the Bokhtar case. Here returnees are actively participating in the social life of their community.

In places where there are minority of migrant families, the integration of returnees is more difficult. .

When we are at home we certainly participate in village events, but frankly speaking, we attend such events reluctantly, as living outside the country has alienated us from the local (mahalla⁴) people.
Umar, handyman, 28 years old, FGD, Isfara

Having returned home young migrants reluctantly attend various events in their villages. They lose the habit of participating in the life of their mahalla and forget that a man should do that.
Abdumavlon, labourer, 38 years old, FGD, Isfara

Migrant families first of all have close relationships with neighbours and close relatives, and almost to the same degree with migrant networks and migrant communities in destination countries. As far as the local authorities are concerned, the relationship is more less trusting.

⁴ Mahalla – community of people living in the same place

The mahalla committee chairmen look at us with suspicion, they think that as we have returned from Russia we are rich. People do not understand that working in a foreign country is very difficult.

*I think, in our time no migrant will give money for the development of the village or other charitable ends as he does not believe that the money will be spent according to its intended purpose, and will not get into someone's pocket. **Homidjon, welder, 44 years old, FGD, Khujand***

The difficulties with the reintegration of migrants into the community after their return mostly stem from their marginal social status. Over the years of work abroad many migrants lose their social status and fail to find a place in their community after return.

*Equally, there are migrants, who after returning home try to demonstrate that they are rich men. For one or two months they have money and fling it about. The local people think that it is easy to earn money in Russia and ask the migrants for it. Later, when migrants waste all the money they had earned, they borrow money, buy a ticket and go back to make their living. **Pulod. Engineer-hydrotechnician, 50 years old, FGD, Isfara***

*There are cases when everybody forgets about you in the village. You are not invited to wedding parties and similar events. One can understand people. How can they know that you have returned? **Jamoliddin, accountant, 23 years old, FGD, Isfara***

Impact on Gender Relations

The survey has revealed that women play a rather important role in returnees' families.

*My wife did not work before. When I left, she remained alone and found a job at school she was trained for. Presently mothers substitute fathers and find it hard to educate children. **Homidjon, welder, 44 years old, FGD, Khujand***

*When the husband travels abroad, the wife stays at home instead of him and plays his role. **Umar, handyman, 28 years old, FGD, Khujand***

Many respondents mentioned multiple family conflicts when the returned husband comes across an increased influence of his wife and her reluctance to depend fully on the husband again.

*When I worked abroad, I missed my family very much. Now my attitude towards my wife has changed. I help round the house. Only, regretfully, in my absence my wife started a small business. After my return she did not want to close her trade. I feel sorry for her and help her to transport goods. **Firuz. Doctor, 28 years old, FGD, Khorog***

*After my return my wife has stopped performing men's tasks and now engages only in female affairs. But she is angry, because she is very impatient by nature. Still, I can understand her. After all, she wants to earn money for the sake of the children and the family. **Khudobakhsh, driver, 42 years old, FGD, Khorog***

Family conflicts have become a major factor mentioned by the returnees, who spoke about the negative impact of migration: 2.5% respondents have divorced, 9.4% mentioned that decisions in the family are taken without their involvement, 40.9% stated that they have estranged from their family. Despite the increased influence of women in migrant families, gender stereotypes determining that women should only be engaged in domestic work and education of children are very strong.

I love my wife very much. She prayed to God for me to return, and finally I have been deported. But I am a man and I have to win bread. If I do not bring money, my wife will not be satisfied. And there is no need for her to work. A woman has to be busy with female work only and to cook tasty meals.
Abdughaffor, driver, 38 years old, FGD, Khorog

In our family the wives of all brothers do not go shopping to a shop or a market, let alone sell goods in the market. When there are money transfers, the brother, which is at home, receives it and buys everything necessary for the families in the market. Wives must be busy with education of children and domestic work. When the wife becomes a businesswoman in the market, willy-nilly, a quarrel arises between the wife and the husband, which can trigger unpredictable consequences.
Yokub, tractor driver, 31 years old, FGD, Bokhtar

Regretfully, there are wives and mothers who, although the money migrants send to sustain their families is sufficient, are convinced that their children and husbands must go to labour migration to earn more money and “demonstrate” their neighbours that they are better off than others. However, these women do not reflect in which way and conditions their husbands and sons are going to earn this money.
Mahmadruzi, constructor, 27 years old, FGD, Bokhtar

Most of us leave because our wives and families force us to do that. It is unpleasant and upsetting to speak about that, but unfortunately we can come across such women as well. These women contrive to send their husbands back to migration already a week after their return home.
Yokub, tractor driver, 31 years old, FGD, Bokhtar

1.3. The relationship of labour migrants with the Diaspora and their participation in its activities

According to the information provided by the MFA of the RT and data received in the course of carrying out interviews, presently, the registered organisations of the Tajik Diaspora operate in many cities and regions of the Russian Federation, Belorussia and Kazakhstan. Unofficial associations based on fellow citizens’ solidarity exist in all places where migrants from Tajikistan work.

The forming of the Tajik Diaspora happens in several stages:

1. First, Tajik Diaspora organisations were established on the basis of ethnic and forced migration, resulting from the collapse of the USSR and the creation of sovereign Tajikistan accompanied by civil war (at the end of the 80’s and the beginning of the 90’s of the 20th century). About half a million people left Tajikistan during that period. This wave of

emigration has created the “classic” Diaspora, i.e. formally organized communities aimed at cooperating with the government and the community of the destination country.

2. Informal unions based on association of fellow countrymen were created (1996-2003) as labour migration evolved. Quite often communities of fellow citizens competed and conflicted with each other.
3. Migrants from Tajikistan who received citizenship of the destination country set up NGOs. National-cultural associations of Tajiks, formed with the recognition of the Russian Government, appeared with the evolution of Russian policy and legislation. First such organisations were established in big Russian cities at the end of the 1990’s and the beginning of the 21st century. They were uniting Tajiks and citizens of Tajikistan of different nationalities, having arrived in Russia at the time the USSR existed and after its collapse and having obtained Russian citizenship. Often these were teachers, doctors, businessmen, scientists, artists and former internal affairs staff.

For instance, the following organisations located in Moscow received official (registered) status in 1997-2001: “Osmon” (run by B. C. Zuhurov), “Vatan” (run by Aliev), the Fund “Tajikistan” (run by G. Djuraeva), “Nur” (run by B. Lashkarbekov), “Somoniyon” (run by Z. Kadirov), “Inson” (run by M. Zaripov), “Tajikistan Citizenship Support Fund – the Tajik Diaspora in the Russian Federation” (run by K. Sharipov). In the same years the following organisations were registered: The Tajik Cultural Centre in Krasnoyarsk (run by Kh. Alimov), The Tajik Cultural Centre “Somoniyon” in Kemerevo (run by Musayab Kurbanov), National Cultural Community in the Samara region (run by Uzbekov Musayab), Tver Social Organisation in Tver (run by M. Maibaliev). In St. Petersburg Tajik Diaspora formed 3 organisations. Tajik Diaspora organisations were established in Volgograd, Ekaterinburg, Hakasii, Norilsk, Novosibirsk and other Russian regions.

The Tajik Diaspora is characterised by diversity and a lack of coordination although there have been some attempts to consolidate . The sphere of activities of Tajik NGOs abroad and national-cultural centres is fairly wide and includes:

- protection of the rights of migrants from Tajikistan as well as Russian citizens with Tajik nationality;
- activities aimed at retaining and developing the Tajik language, culture and traditions of the Tajik people, as well as at the harmonisation of interethnic relationships;
- assistance to the Embassy of the RT in the RF in organising and conducting important political activities of the Republic of Tajikistan for Tajik migrants on the territory of Russia, such as presidential and parliamentary elections, referendums.

Typology of the Tajik Diaspora organisations. Case study of the Tajik Diaspora in the Krasnodar Region of the Russian Federation.

Based on information submitted by the Administration of the Krasnodar region and interviews with representatives of the Tajik Diaspora, we found out that the Krasnodar region of the RF is not the

main place of destination for Tajik migrants; nevertheless there are many migrants from Tajikistan. They are mainly Russians who left the RT at the end of the 80's and the beginning of the 90's. Besides, nearly eight thousand labour migrants from Tajikistan arrive in the Krasnodars region every year.

Presently four organisations of the Tajik Diaspora operate in Krasnodary region. The most influential among them are the Regional Tajik Cultural Centre "Somoniyon" and the regional department "Society of Russian Tajiks". By the example of the Tajik Diaspora in the Krasnodar region, some of the most prevalent types of Tajik Diaspora organisations in Russia can be identified:

A) Non-governmental organisations which unite people from Tajikistan – Tajiks and non Tajiks who came to Russia at the beginning of the 90's and adjusted to life in their new places of residence, found a job and received Russian citizenship. Quite often in such organisations teachers, doctors, journalists and artists come together who try to keep their native language, culture, traditions and pass them on to their children. In addition these organisations provide assistance to labour migrants. As a rule, these organisations actively cooperate with the government bodies of the destination country, in this case, with the Administration of the Krasnodar region. They also have a connection with the Embassy of the RT in the RF. The Krasnodar Regional Centre of the Tajik culture "Somoniyon" can be considered as an example of such an organisation.

B) Leadership groups managed by a businessman or a person associated with businesses employing Tajik migrants. She/he sends workers from Tajikistan to Russian employers, carries out patronage of labour migrants and legalises money received from recruitment of workers and invests it in local business – catering enterprises (restaurants, cafés, and canteens), trade, and the service sector. Tajik migrants work in such industries, too. These are short-term organisations which combine the duties of a recruiting agency, an employer, an intermediary between Tajik migrants on the one hand and employers, state authorities and law-enforcement agencies of the Russian Federation on the other hand.

C) Non-profit NGOs with the mission to protect the rights of labour migrants. They are connected with international funds and human rights organisations.

D) Leadership groups which engage in criminal behaviour and human trafficking aimed at labour exploitation.

To a large extent the stability of families in Tajikistan is ensured by the high level of intra-community family relations and mutual assistance. At the same time, the migrant families, including migrants and returnees, are to a large extent oriented towards migrant networks and communities, which provide assistance and support: 83.4% of respondents mentioned that they received assistance while they were abroad.

Most frequently migrants receive assistance from relatives (57.1%), friends (54.3%) and fellow villagers (45.2%). Considerably less frequently fellow citizens from the same region help (20.1%),

even more rarely – people of the same nationality as the migrant (9.8%) and of the same religion (Muslim: 3.5%).

As far as Diaspora organisations are concerned, 8.4% of migrants surveyed have been assisted by them .

Table 23. Sources of help for migrants abroad

	No. of respondents	Percent
Relatives	476	57.1
Friends	453	54.3
Fellow villagers	377	45.2
Compatriots from the same region	168	20.1
People of the same nationality	82	9.8
People of the same religion	29	3.5
National and cultural associations of Diaspora	17	2.0
Other organizations of the Diaspora (NCO)	30	3.6
Migrants organizations	23	2.8
Trade unions	0	0.0
Other	6	0.7

Comparing the forms of assistance migrants receives from informal migrant networks and organisations (“fellow citizens”) and from institutionalised organisations of the Diaspora we can notice a significant difference between them. Unofficial networks and institutions deal with job creation for migrants help migrants to find jobs at the beginning of their stay, provide financial assistance, provide patronage, point to professional training, create conditions to satisfy the religious needs of migrants. Official Diaspora organisations (national-cultural centres, non commercial organisations, centres, funds, social organisations) work with state authorities of the destination country as well as of Tajikistan.

Informal networks provide migrants assistance in finding employment (76.4%) and support (57.4%) at the initial period of settlement (rent of accommodation, registration). More rarely, the migrants receive financial assistance (34.9%), consultations/advice (30.8%). Diaspora organisations help migrants primarily by consultations (100%), legal protection (76.6%) and with finding employment (63.8%). A very important service formal Diaspora organisations offer is the evacuation of deceased migrants to their native country.

Table 24. Types of assistance received by respondents abroad

	Fellow citizens		Diaspora	
Forms of assistance	No. of respondents	%	No. of respondents	%
Financial support	291	34.9	5	10.6
Employment	637	76.4	30	63.8
Legal support	46	5.5	36	76.6
Assistance at the initial period of settlement (accommodation, registration)	479	57.4	13	27.7
Vocational training	39	4.7	7	14.9
Consultations/advice	257	30.8	47	100.0
“Roof”	37	4.4	7	14.9
Moral support	68	8.2	13	27.7
Other	0	0	3	6.4

Data collected on types and volume of assistance provided to migrants by formal and informal Diaspora organisations are confirmed by data on the participation of labour migrants in their activities. (See table 27)

Table 25 also shows that it is informal organisations (networks, fellow citizen, teams etc.) and not cultural centres that meet the religious-ritual requirements of migrants. Within unofficial organizations 34.8% out of all respondents organised such rites as funerals and wakes, 18.9 % of all interviewed migrants organised the conduct of religious rituals such as mavlud, tarobeh etc.⁵ The importance of such rituals for migrants is confirmed by the fact that 100% of the interviewed migrants were Muslims, 25.4% visit a mosque once per week or more often. The role of informal migrant networks in the organisation of the religious life of migrants is verified by the findings of an interview according to which the role of the mullah⁶ in construction teams is performed by the team leader.

The survey demonstrated that 76.4% of migrants receive assistance in finding a job from fellow citizens, 57.4% received help upon arrival. However, only 7.2% of respondents helped fellow citizens to find a job, and only 7.4% provided assistance in the initial period of placement,. It seems that within migrant networks and community work, there are informal middlemen who deal with employment, registration and accommodation questions.

Interesting data was also received on professional training among migrants. A comparison of tables 24 and 25 shows that the group of respondents who train people (27.4%) is larger than the group of

⁵ Mavlud- holiday celebrating the birthday of Muhammad

Tarobeh – special prayer which is read during Ramadan

⁶ Mullah - cleric, spiritual leader

those being trained (4.7%). This can be explained in several ways. Firstly, interviewed returned migrants are older by age, rather experienced and skilled than the average migrant. Secondly, a significant part of respondents have participated in an early wave of migration when a number of educated people were retrained independently. Now it appears that they transfer their knowledge and skills to untrained youth.

13.4 % of all respondents stated that they provided a “roof” (a form of protection and patronage) for other migrants while only 4.4% of respondents were protected by a “roof”.

Table 25. Participation of migrants in the Diaspora’s activities

Type of activity	Fellow citizens	Percent	Diaspora	Percent
Being an activist of the national and cultural association			4	2.2
Organisation events of the national and cultural association (on holidays – Navruz, Qurbon, Ramadan, etc.), meetings, etc.	169	16.9	16	8.8
Provision of financial assistance	322	32.2	25	13.8
Helping new migrants-fellow citizens to find employment	72	7.2	26	14.4
Helping new migrants in the initial settlement period (accommodation, registration)	74	7.4	14	7.7
Teaching new professional skills	274	27.4	5	2.8
Provision of consultations/advice	13	1.3	28	15.5
Being a “roof”	134	13.4	1	0.6
Provision of moral support	235	23.5	10	5.5
Provision of financial support for the evacuation of the deceased/funerals	152	15.2	61	33.7
No participation	10	1.0	819	
Other	-	-	1	0.6
Help in conducting rites (funerals, wakes, etc.)	348	34.8	4	2.2
Help in organizing the religion activities (mavlyud, tarobeh etc.)	189	18.9	16	8.8

Therefore when speaking about the activities of the Diaspora the survey findings revealed that migrants and returnees draw on informal migrant networks and institutions, such as fellow citizens, teams, patronage, informal employment agents, “roof” and take an active part in their activities.

At the same time the formal Tajik Diaspora organisations are not well coordinated and often represent leading political groups competing with each other. However, some of the Diaspora

organizations in Russia are also providing fairly effective services to migrants (information dissemination, counselling).

1.4. Conclusions

The profile of returnees shows that migrants return to Tajikistan for several reasons. These reasons are age, health conditions, family issues (the need to lead the household) and deportation. The study shows that migration creates additional motivations for acquiring qualifications and additional skills expanding migrants' capacities. The survey findings revealed that 63.9% of respondents acquired additional skills abroad. Among those that did not gain additional skills it was the lack of knowledge of the Russian language which was the main obstacle. The lack of mechanisms which would finance the education of migrants (financial aid, loans) and of specialised programmes to train migrants (evening courses, training in the workplace etc) are other obstacles in gaining additional qualifications and professional knowledge and skills.

The study shows that the majority of returnees prefer not to work as employees and particularly not to be employed in state-owned and private enterprises. Instead they want to be self-employed in their own business and to work independently therein.

Once the migrant who is the head of the family returns home, he/she starts searching for decent employment and looking for the possibility of starting his own business or another profit generating activity. The data received demonstrate that 47.9% of the sample returnees started and developed a business or entrepreneurial activity. At the same time 21.7% already had their own business.

Although returnees create a certain number of jobs when building-up a business, the, number of new jobs is smaller than what would be desirable because their businesses are usually of small and micro scale. The impact of returnees on technological development in Tajikistan is not significant. Returnees do not have a significant impact on the modernisation of separate productions, in integration of new technology, tools and skills. The experience of returnees is employed only partially and mostly in small and very small enterprises, when returnees prefer to launch their own businesses, when they are engaged in businesses belonging to relatives, friends and acquaintances. For this reason, returning migrants exert the most positive innovative influence in the following spheres of the economy:

- the services sphere, to which migrants contribute efficient tools and technologies;
- housing construction, especially finishing works, where migrants use new tools, techniques and materials and where they disseminate technological innovations that have appeared on the market;
- production, processing and storage of agricultural products.

The study has shown that, in all these spheres, employers prefer to hire returnees and to pay them a higher salary on average.

Nevertheless, migrants do not exert a major impact on those spheres where the modernisation or the construction of big enterprises is required or where more investment is needed. Moreover,

companies that are not in need of technological or organisational innovations do not hire migrants. The additional qualifications and experience of returned migrants are thus underused precisely in these spheres of the economy which are experiencing the greatest shortage of skilled manpower.

Returning migrants do not play any major role in the social integration and the development of local communities. They largely have relations with migrant networks and the Diaspora in host countries. However, formal Diaspora organisations are not well developed and their role of intermediaries between migrants and public authorities is limited both, in host countries and in the country of origin. The study shows that returnee families are prone to gender conflicts. In general returned migrants maintain the traditional view of gender roles which often conflicts with the increasingly important role of women in returnee families.

CHAPTER TWO – EMIGRATION OF SKILLED HUMAN RESOURCES

2.1. Impact of labour emigration on the labour market, productivity and service delivery

Previous studies show that there is a part of the demand for labour which remains unsatisfied in spite of the high unemployment level (Kuddusov, 2004: 149). Statistics data show that although the number of vacancies decreased in 2007, unmet demand on the labour market of Tajikistan still remain significant.

The review of official statistical data reveals that while governmental/municipal sectors make up the largest share of vacancies, that there is a growing amount of vacancies in the private sector, and that the highest demand for labour occurs in industrial production, construction and agriculture. The lowest demand for labour is attributed to management, services, trade, catering and transport (StStasCom RT, 2008: 76). Overall, according to the Ministry of Labour and Social Security of the Population of the Republic of Tajikistan, 25.6% of vacancies in the country can be found in industry, 21.1% in construction, 20.5% in agriculture, 15% in housing and utilities, 11% in trade, public catering and domestic services and 6.8% in transport and communications.⁷

Explaining the reasons for unsatisfied needs on the Labour market in Tajikistan, Jafar Olimov mentions that there are a high number of open vacancies which cannot be filled up because of the limited skills of unemployed individuals (Olimov, 2007). On the base of survey findings J. Olimov made the conclusion that the low qualification of labour force is a major barrier to the economic development of Tajikistan. The authors of the World Bank study on the dynamics of public welfare in Tajikistan came to the conclusion that many of the country's enterprises are suffering from a shortage of skilled manpower (World Bank, 2008). The purpose of this chapter is to study the impact of labour migration on the labour market, the connection between brain drain and manpower shortage, as well as the responses of the educational system of Tajikistan to the needs of the labour market.

Interview of top managers

In order to obtain an answer to the questions raised in the study, we conducted a survey of top managers of enterprises in Tajikistan. The standardised questionnaire consisted of 42 questions, grouped into the following sections: description of the firm, vacancies (from 2005 to 2007 inclusive), personnel hiring, occupational training and the response of the educational system, brain drain and return by migrants.

A survey on senior managers was carried out by Research Centre SHARQ in May 2008 as a part of this study using standardised questionnaires. Interviewers interviewed managers and chief accountants of 100 firms operating in Tajikistan. 39% of firms are located in Dushanbe, 11% in the Direct Rule District (DRD), 30% in Sughd province and 20% in Khatlon province. The geographical distribution of firms reflects the extent of contribution of each province to the national GDP.

⁷ Source: Ministry of Labour and Social Security of the Population of the Republic of Tajikistan

Table 26. Distribution by regions

	Number of firms	Percent
Dushanbe	39	39.0
Sughd Region	30	30.0
Khatlon Region	20	20.0
DRD (Direct Rule District)	11	11.0
Total	100	100.0

The distribution of firms by size is presented in table 31. The table shows that the majority of enterprises (52%) have less than 50 full-time employees and 21% of firms have more than 50 full-time employees. The table also shows that there is a sizeable share of small-scale firms in the sample: about a third of firms (27%) employ less than 10 full-time workers.

Table 27. Distribution by the number of staff in firms

Number of people	%
1-10	27.0
11-49	52.0
50+	21.0

In terms of production composition, 17% of firms predominantly produce manufactured goods, 16% operate in the agricultural sector, 3% specialise in construction and 20% are involved in trade. The distribution by type of production approximately reflects the contribution made by each type of production to the National GDP in 2007.

Table 28. Distribution by productive activity

	No. of respondents	Percent
Manufacturing of production tools	3	3.0
Manufacturing of consumer goods	14	14.0
Retail trade	20	20.0
Wholesale trade	10	10.0
Financial services	3	3.0
Personal services (dry-cleaning, barbers (hairdressers), repair of items etc.)	17	17.0
Transportation support	2	2.0
Informational, intellectual services	3	3.0
Construction, renovation of premises	3	3.0
Restaurant and hotel services	5	5.0
Health care and social services	1	1.0
Training, education	1	1.0
Vehicle repairing	2	2.0
Agricultural products processing	6	6.0
Agricultural production	10	10.0
Total	100	100.0

Demand for skilled workforce

The top managers' survey clearly testifies that there is a continuous unsatisfied demand for workforce in all spheres of the economy.

According to survey findings the highest demand for workforce has been registered in the following sectors: health care and social services, service sphere, communication and information, trade and public catering (restaurants). The lowest demand has been observed in the transport sector, public and housing services. The only companies which do not require additional workforce are the companies involved in transportation services.

In Tajikistan, there is a considerable supply of labour on the labour market and this situation might let one expect that firms should not experience a constant demand for manpower. In order to explain this contradiction, one needs to turn to the matter of wage levels. As noted in many studies, the labour market of Tajikistan suffers from low productivity and low wages (World Bank, 2008).

Therefore, the main reason that vacancies, especially in the social services sphere, remain unfilled is the low wage level.

*Today it is very difficult for a man to sustain his family. The teachers are in the worst position; they have to emigrate to support the family adequately. If not themselves, then their children go. It should be mentioned that in each teacher's family at least one person is working abroad. **Manuchebr, IT engineer, currently businessman, 28 years old, FGD with university graduates, Khujand***

Firstly, the survey revealed that there is a scope for decent salaries for skilled workers. However not all employers can offer this. .

Secondly, according to the survey findings despite the labour supply of workforce, companies are not able to hire enough employees, because the workers do not possess adequate skills and proficiency. In fact, the answers of top managers show that most frequently the companies fail to fill the vacancies requiring high qualifications – this is the problem of 42% of the surveyed companies, 27% companies often feel shortage of skilled workers and only 16% companies are often short of low skilled employees. Analogous conclusions are drawn in the World Bank Report, which states that many enterprises in the Republic of Tajikistan suffer from a shortage of skilled manpower. However, this deficit is mainly observed in the social services spheres and in rapidly developing enterprises using modern technologies (World Bank, 2008).

Table 29. Skill levels demanded and required by employers (responses from employers)

	Often %	Sometimes %	Never %
1) Highly skilled	42.0	42.0	16.0
2) Skilled	27.0	63.0	9.0
3) Low skilled	16.0	30.0	51.0

Thirdly, the manpower deficit, especially of skilled personnel, is a consequence of labour migration, including brain drain.

One of the main conclusions to be drawn from the survey of top managers is, therefore, that Tajikistan's labour market displays an unsatisfied demand for skilled manpower, which exerts a negative effect on the economy and social life in Tajikistan. The survey of top managers indicates that the largest demand for skilled manpower occurs in branches such as: healthcare, education, municipal services and social services (However it is not clear how much of this is an absolute or relative shortage).

Other branches experiencing a greater than average demand are communication services, construction and other services, where qualifications and special skills are required. At the same time, branches that do not necessitate special qualifications are not particularly worried by the shortage of skilled personnel. It should also be borne in mind that, irrespective of the branch, it is modern technologically advanced enterprises that suffer most from the shortage of skilled manpower.

Impact of deficit of skilled staff on productivity and social services

In the course of top managers' survey it was revealed that in 82% of the sample companies the shortage of the skilled personnel is a palpable or very serious problem hampering the company's development.

Table 30. Importance/unimportance of the shortage of skilled staff

Shortage of the skilled staff	No. of respondents	Percent
Completely unimportant	4	4.0
Practically unimportant	14	14.0
Rather important	48	48.0
Very important	24	24.0
Of prime importance	10	10.0
Total	100	100.0

The table below contains the answers of managers on whether a skilled work-force deficit was relevant to their sector. As we see, over 50% of respondents indicated that shortage of workforce is a moderate, and sometimes a serious constraint for expanding business, on average in all sectors. Further, we can see that those economic sectors requiring skilled personnel deem the shortage of skilled workers a serious issue. For instance, 50% of health care managers, 46.6% of managers of companies providing communal and communication services, and 41.4% of managers of construction companies assess the lack of skilled workforce as serious problem. Further, you can note that those economic sectors which achieved a high level of activity and invested major amounts of capital over the last years (such as construction, transport, communications, as well as public services) suffer most of all from the shortage of skilled staff. This conclusion is supported by data received during the survey «Shadow Economy in Tajikistan» (see table 31).

Table 31. Skilled workforce deficit (by sectors)

Economic sector	Not important at all	Not that important	Really important	Very important	Crucial	Increase of the main means (%) since 2003-06
Agriculture	6.7%	35.6%	31.3%	22.1%	4.3%	13.43
Industry	10.0%	35.7%	34.3%	18.6%	1.4%	22.63
Construction	9.5%	29.7%	35.1%	18.9%	6.8%	23.14

Trade and public catering	18.2%	35.5%	28.9%	15.7%	1.7%	20.10
Public and social services	10.0%	20.0%	43.3%	10.0%	16.7%	36.55
Communication services	0.0%	18.2%	72.7%	0.0%	9.1%	14.40
Transport services	28.6%	35.7%	14.3%	14.3%	7.1%	50.00
Other services	0.0%	18.2%	36.4%	45.5%	0.0%	48.67
Housing services	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.00
Health and social services	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	50.00
Total	10.8%	33.1%	33.1%	18.5%	4.4%	20.41

Source: Olimov, 2007

The shortage of specialists affects healthcare and education most seriously. The marked deterioration in the state of healthcare is connected not only with the shortage of budget financing, but also with the fact that medical workers emigrate from the country. The country currently has 13,267 doctors (18.8 per 10 thousand of the population) and 29,437 middle-level medical personnel (41.7 per 10 thousand of the population). At the same time, there is a shortage of 3,142 doctors and 5,365 nurses and paramedics (StStasCom RT, 2008: 141).

The shortage of doctors is acutely felt, in particular, in remote and mountainous regions of Central Tajikistan, the Khatlon Region and the GBAO. Training doctors in medical institutes does not by itself resolve the problem, since the graduates often either emigrate or change their profession. Although 26 inhabitants of the GBAO graduated from the medical institute in Dushanbe in 2006, only 5 of them returned home.⁸

The education sector is also acutely short of specialists. As of today, the Republic's schools lack 6800 teachers, including about 700 in Dushanbe.⁹

Vacancies

According to the results of the top manager survey, the reasons for vacancies appearing are mostly resignations, followed by the expansion of production and the formation of new businesses.

In general, people resign for the following reasons: salary dissatisfaction, migration, too heavy work load with inappropriate salary and difficult working conditions.

⁸ "IA Pamir Merdia", Khorog, 25 April/ Ifitihor Mirshakar

⁹ G. Usmanova. The schools of the capital are short of 700 teachers. Vecherniy Dushanbe, No. 35, 28.08.08. For the purpose of making up the shortage of teachers, 4705 young specialists from higher and secondary specialised educational institutions have been allocated to secondary schools of the Republic.

To define the professions, in which vacancies come up most frequently, we have scrutinized the composition of vacancies available in the studied companies. The findings have shown that the largest number of vacancies has occurred since 2005 till present in the following professions: accountants – in 20 companies, salesmen in 14 companies, cleaners – 11, security guards – 9, mechanical engineering personnel – 9, machine operators – 9, economists – 9, metalworkers – 7, managers – 7, cooks, confectioners – 7, pharmaceutical chemists – 6, cashiers – 6, computer experts – 6, electricians – 5, barbers (hairdressers) – 4, agronomists – 4, welders – 4. Certainly, the number of vacancies in certain professions is explained, first of all, by the activity profile of surveyed companies. Many of the professions, both skilled and blue-collar, are in demand regionally and globally as well.

Box 1. Requirements of the labour market in Tajikistan

According to the qualitative analysis of demand on the labour market by region, as carried out by the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection of the Republic of Tajikistan, the professions which were in greatest demand (20.4%) on the labour market of the Sogdiisk Region from 2005 to 2007 were professions associated with information and communications technologies (accountants with knowledge of computer technologies, PC operator). The demand of, plasterers, painters and concrete experts amounts to 12.2%, of gas and electric welders - 10%, of tailoring professions - 8.8%, of cooks and confectioner - 8%, of workers in the field of mechanical trade - 7.4%, of tractor, bulldozer and excavator operators - 6.6%, of electricians - 6.5%, of carpenters - 5.2%, of drivers - 5.1%, and of turners - 3.1%.

According to the same source, during the 1st quarter of 2008, in the Sogdiisk Region there was a demand for 216 gas and electric welders, 181 machinists, 143 tractor and bulldozer operators, 134 cooks and confectioners, 124 PC operators, 111 smiths, millers and turners, 94 accountants with a knowledge of computer technologies, 90 drivers, 83 electricians and 75 crane operators.

In the capital Dushanbe, during the 1st quarter of 2008, there was a demand for 481 weavers, 164 gas and electric welders, 131 drivers, 86 electricians, 82 painters and plasterers and 50 turners.

According to the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Tajikistan, there is currently a demand for 6800 teachers in the Republic's schools.

Source: Ministry of Labour and Social Protection and Ministry of Education of the population of the Republic of Tajikistan

In addition to the demand on the national labour market in Tajikistan, many professions are in demand on the regional (CIS) labour market. For instance, there is an acute need for healthcare specialists. Although, for example, Russia trains sufficient medical specialists on the whole, 50% of doctors do not work in their speciality because of the low salaries. They are replaced by foreign specialists. Doctors from Tajikistan, Ukraine and Belarus are actively hired to work in Russian hospitals (Badanov, Okuneva, 2008: 1; 7).

The Russian Federation is currently the main destination country of migrants from Tajikistan and will continue to need both skilled and unskilled manpower in the future. Since 1999, the Russian economy has been growing resulting in a sharp rise in the demand for skilled manpower. Judging

from the structure of requests submitted to regional employment centres, the general rise in short-term, temporary vacancies for unskilled manpower has been accompanied, over the last four years, by a sharp increase in the demand for skilled tool smiths, turners and millers etc in Russia. It is anticipated that, over the next 5 years, in the construction industry alone about 3 million workers of various qualifications will be required – from casual workers to highly qualified specialists. (Evplanov, 2006).

Rosstat data show that, in spite of the significant level of unemployment, Russian enterprises are experiencing a shortage of skilled manpower: the employment service centres have listed over one million vacancies. Vacancies for specialists in the sphere of design, production and operation of computers are 50% filled. Most experts believe that the rise in the shortage of skilled personnel will accelerate and will reach its peak in the next three years (Evplanov, 2006). It is clear that migrants are going to fill some of the vacancies. The total demand for foreign workers in the Russian Federation in 2008, according to the Ministry for Health and Social Development, was 1,828,000 (Roshin, 2008).

Staff recruitment: vacancy conditions, terms of and reasons for opened vacancies

The data produced in the survey reveal the three most popular methods of staff recruitment: a) informal networks and patronage – with the recommendation of friends and acquaintances (69%), through family ties (48%), with the patronage of influential people (20%); b) on a competitive basis – through media vacancy announcements (40%), contests for a post (34%); c) through specialized agencies – recruiting agencies (25%), state employment service (22%).

The most popular way of staff recruitment is by informal networks/patronage.

A difference in the ways staff is recruited can be observed in separate sectors and specialties. The patronage method is widely spread everywhere, but in trade and in the sphere of services it is absolutely predominant.

Media announcements are used more often for filling the vacancies of highly skilled specialists and skilled workers in production and in high technology sectors (IT).

The prevalence of the informal networks/patronage method of staff recruitment results in the fact that people find a job which is not in accordance with their speciality, but rather in the place where their relatives work. As a result, a large number of young specialists undergo retraining from one speciality to another. In FGD with young specialists held in Khujand and Isfara, certified constructors have been found who worked as accountants and loan inspectors, economists with higher education and an accountant, who worked as constructors.

Usually, young specialists are idle after graduation from higher education establishments. They either migrate, either run small businesses or find a good job with the assistance of acquaintances and relatives. For instance, after graduating from university I failed to find a job I was trained for in a construction company, because of low remuneration. With the help of my friends I have found a job in a bank. Of course, I am not a bank specialist, but I have a higher education diploma. It is

difficult to find a job according to one's profession. Akmalikhon, architect, currently credit inspector, 30 years old, FGD, Khujand

To my mind, both knowledge and contacts are required for young people to find a job. For example, my friends had good knowledge and work experience, but without contacts they would not have been able to find an adequate job. I myself do not work in accordance with my speciality. It is difficult for an industrial engineer to find a job with an adequate salary; therefore, I am engaged in commerce. Manuchehr, IT engineer, currently businessman, 28 years old, FGD, Khujand

Basic requirements placed on the candidates – age, education, qualification, work experience (normally 3-5 years), in general, are complemented with language proficiency requirements in Tajik, Russian, and English. In enterprises in the sectors of trade, catering and hotel services the additional requirements are an attractive appearance for waitresses, sociability for salesmen and receptionists. Only in 9 companies computer literacy was an additional requirement.

The table shows that employees comply with age and gender requirements to a greater extent than with those of education and skills.

Table 32. Correlation of the suitability of employees for available work with vacancies

Criteria for suitability	Suitable (% answers)	Partially suitable (% answers)	Rather unsuitable (% answers)	Unsuitable (% answers)	No response (% answers)
By gender	51.0	37.0	9.0	2.0	1.0
By age	38.0	50.0	10.0	2.0	0
By education	33.0	39.0	21.0	6.0	1.0
By qualification	26.0	46.0	22.0	6.0	0
By professional skills	34.0	41.0	22.0	2.0	1.0
By work experience	29.0	45.0	17.0	3.0	6.0

Main reasons of long term unfilled vacancies

According to the employers' survey the main reasons, for which employers fail to fill vacancies and to select a suitable employee, are:

- The applicant is not satisfied by the salary or because of the lack of the social package.
- The applicant's qualification does not correspond with the education diploma/certificate, in other words, in spite of his diploma the candidate does not possess professional knowledge and skills.
- The applicant lacks work experience.
- The applicant's low level of education does not comply with the job requirements.

- There is no training on the required types of professions in Tajik educational institutions.
- Impossible to find the specialist needed because they have emigrated to abroad.

Here are some examples of the situation with the workforce deficit on specific jobs:

Economists, agronomists, veterinarians – Tajik universities train lots of certified specialists in this field, but the level of knowledge is very low, they do not have practical skills. Young specialists seeking jobs do not meet the employers' requirements, while older specialists already have jobs or have emigrated.

IT specialists – although the level of training for IT specialists is satisfactory or even good in the opinion of the sample top managers, higher educational establishments train fewer specialists than required. In addition, the salary level does not meet applicants' expectations.

Machine operators, tractor drivers, drivers – many people attend training courses for machine operators and tractor drivers, but these provide only a basic knowledge and practical skills, so that the young people are not able to work independently. Top managers deem it appropriate to increase the number of practical lessons of the training courses.

*Many drivers purchase driving licenses, but cannot drive a car. **Director of a wholesale depot***

Skilled workers (metalworkers, turners, tinsmiths, carpenters, constructors, etc.) – very few skilled workers are trained in Tajikistan since the old system of professional and technical education has been destroyed. The older generation of workers was the first to go abroad to work. Presently, the system of vocational education is on the decline; predominantly returned migrants form the group of skilled workers, but they are seeking much higher salaries.

*Good specialists – builders and workers are much demanded. They are well paid in Russia and do not want to work for our local salary. **Director of a construction office***

Staff recruitment term

Normally, the longest period which companies need to wait until they find a highly skilled applicant trained on a profession for which no training is conducted in Tajikistan is 23-30 weeks. Namely these professions are printing seamstresses, relief printers, chemical production dosing specialists, entomology agronomists and some others.

The same searching term applies for companies that look for applicants to the post of managers – specialists-taskmasters, chief accountants, chiefs of production, (chief) commodity experts, (chief) engineers, and (chief) technologists. The reasons for the enduring search are the following. First, extensive work experience and high proficiency are required. Second, a high level of responsibility is demanded of the applicants but it is not compensated for by an adequate salary, on the contrary, the low salary level is incompatible with the responsibilities.

“Brain drain” and skilled workforce deficit

Studies have shown that the brain drain from Tajikistan has not yet ceased. This has an adverse effect on the economic and social development of the country. Data from the press, information of

the Migration Service of the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Tajikistan and the Ministry of Labour and Social Security of the Population of the Republic of Tajikistan, indicate that this tendency has not abated in 2008 (Usmanova, 2008).

According to the survey of top managers, in 52% of the sample companies there were employees who resigned during the last 3 years in order to go abroad.

To reveal the impact the emigration of highly skilled workforce has on the Tajik economy, we asked about the extent to which the outflow (of resigned) employees has become a constraint for the companies. According to the data produced, only 18.6% of the sample top managers think that the absence of highly skilled specialists does not have an impact on the development of their companies. 81.4% said that the absence of emigrated skilled specialists has become an important, very important and critically important constraint for their companies' activity and development.

Table 33. Relevance of the absence of migrated skilled labour on business development

	Highly skilled specialists No. of companies	Percent	Skilled workers No. of companies	Percent
Almost irrelevant	3	10.7	8	18.6
Rather important constraint	4	14.3	11	25.6
Very important constraint	13	46.4	11	25.6
Critically imp. constraint	8	28.6	13	30.2
Total	28	100.0	43	100.0

From 2005 to April 2008, workers leaving the studied firms to work abroad included electricians, teachers, chief engineers, engineers and engineering technicians, pattern-makers, heads of workshops, chief accountants and accountants, agronomists, veterinary surgeons, foremen, commodity experts, senior sales personnel, programmers, deputy directors for commerce, galvanization experts, managers, lawyers, economists, irrigation experts, safety engineers, drivers, stylists, tillers, painters and plasterers, smiths, relief printers, pharmacists, and cabinet makers.

The major part of skilled staff emigrated to Russia 84.7% and to Kazakhstan 6.8%. The rest left for China, Canada, Germany, Ukraine and Uzbekistan.

Table 34. Destination countries of skilled staff

	No. of respondents	Percent
Russia	50	84.7
Kazakhstan	4	6.8
China	1	1.7
Canada	1	1.7
Germany	1	1.7

Ukraine	1	1.7
Uzbekistan	1	1.7
Total	59	100.0

Medical personnel continue to emigrate. Tajik doctors and middle-level medical personnel are in demand in Russia, Yemen, Afghanistan, Egypt, Libya and other countries. Most medical workers migrate to Russia.

Box 2. Tajik meetings in Ryazan oblast of Russia

In the Ryazan Region of the Russian Federation, there is an acute shortage of doctors. In some districts, vacancies for doctors remain unfilled for years. In order to find at least some way out of this critical personnel situation, regional hospitals have started recruiting Gastarbeiters from Tajikistan. For instance, at the moment there are five Tajik doctors working in the Korablinsk District of the Ryazan Region: a gynecologist, a surgeon, a traumatologist, an anesthesiologist and a pediatrician. The regional health department helped in “ordering” personnel from abroad, while the central district hospital arranged registration and accommodation for the Tajik doctors.

Initially, temporary employment contracts were concluded with each of the doctors for 6 months. Then the contracts were prolonged. The Ryazan medical personnel were satisfied with the work of their foreign colleagues. Their qualifications proved to be of a high standard: virtually all of the arrived doctors had graduated from Russian medical institutes and spoke Russian well. The Tajik doctors were also satisfied: the salaries were, of course, quite low, but at least better than in their homeland.

Source: Badanov, Okuneva, 2008

The survey has revealed that the top managers can be separated into two almost equal groups according to their answers on the question whether there are adequate conditions and possibilities in place in Tajikistan that allow for the return of skilled workforce, the top managers. Slightly more than a half of the sample thinks that such possibilities are lacking, the other part thinks that such possibilities are available. Moreover, 63% of respondents think that the “brain drain” process is worsening.

Table 35. Perspectives for skilled staff who have returned to Tajikistan

	Yes	No
Tajikistan provides conditions and possibilities for the return of skilled workforce	46	54
Skilled workforce has started to return to Tajikistan	27	73
Tajikistan does not provide conditions and possibilities for the return of the skilled workforce	51	49
Skilled workforce is leaving Tajikistan in an increasing manner	63	37

2.2 Response of the educational system to the requirements of the labour market

Profile of the professional educational system in Tajikistan

Professional education in Tajikistan includes elementary, secondary professional education and higher education.

The Ministry for Labour and Social Security of the Population of the Republic of Tajikistan is in charge of the system of elementary and secondary professional education in the Republic of Tajikistan, which is financed out of the state budget.

Elementary and secondary professional education is regulated by a number of laws and regulations. The Law “On Elementary Professional Education” envisages the provision of this type of education in various kinds of educational institutions, the implementation of integrated programmes of elementary and secondary professional education considering the requirements of the labour market, the retraining of unemployed and citizens without jobs, as well as additional paid educational services etc. The Resolution of the board of the Ministry of Labour and Social Security of the Population No. 49 dated 26th September, 2002, approved the Model Regulations on elementary professional education institutions of the Republic of Tajikistan. Also, the Resolution of the board of the Ministry No. 50 dated 23rd October, 2002, approved the Model Regulations on specialised elementary professional education institutions of the Republic of Tajikistan. The elementary professional education system includes 16 professional lycées, 54 professional and technical colleges (hereinafter referred to as PTU), 2 evening PTUs, one special PTU for young offenders and one engineering and teaching college, in which production training experts are trained. In 2007, 32.4 thousand students, of whom more than the half were girls (18.6 thousand) (StStasCom RT, 2007: 58) received training in all of these institutions. More than 100 professions are covered in the training institutions. These institutions have a total of more than 3.5 thousand engineering teaching staff. In 2007, 10.8 thousand students began their studies in the system of professional technical education, while 7.5 thousand graduated in a profession. Students are accepted on the basis their completion of senior or junior secondary school. The duration of studies on the basis of senior secondary school is 1-2 years, and on the basis of junior secondary school - 3 years. On average, 60% of graduates find jobs in organisations and enterprises, commercial structures, private firms, small enterprises and dean administrations, while some of them, mostly women, work from home.

Analyzing the situation with respect to elementary and secondary vocational education in Tajikistan, it should be acknowledged that the given educational system does not satisfy the needs of the labour market neither in terms of the number of specialists trained nor the range of professions offered. This is underlined by the fact that, since Soviet times, the proportion of students in professional technical colleges and secondary specialised educational institutions has fallen by more than a half. Today, the number of specialists with a secondary education is not high, totalling 10.7 per 10 000 of the population, which is clearly not enough.

In Tajikistan, state and private medium-level institutes are now being set up to provide educational services to potential migrants. This involves primarily professional secondary level education in the

form of Professional Education Centres under the Ministry of Labour and Social Security of the Republic of Tajikistan; Professional Training Centres and courses attached to Employment Centres, functioning in each city and region of the Republic of Tajikistan; Professional Training Centres for children and adolescents, operating within the scope of the activities of public associations and non-governmental organisations (NGOs).

The most serious problems faced by the elementary and secondary professional education system include the shortage of budget financing and the inadequacy of training and production facilities, which obstructs the training of specialists in a whole series of professions. To finance the system, 4 million soms are allocated from the state budget, of which only 44% is utilized in order to maintain equipment, acquire fixed assets, cheap equipment and study materials, and to maintain buildings and structures. This amount is not sufficient. Perspective plans for the professional education system envisage a partial transfer to self-financing, development of a system of modular study centres and development of paid forms of professional training.

Higher education in Tajikistan comes under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Tajikistan. In recent years, work has been performed to reform the higher education system. A legal base for higher education has been developed. Laws “On Education”, “Model Regulations on higher professional educational institutions”, “Public standards for higher professional education”, “Public requirements towards the minimum content and level of graduate training”, “Public classification of higher education orientations and professions”, Law of the Republic of Tajikistan of 8th December, 2003 No. 48 “On higher education and post-graduate professional education” and others have been issued.

In 2007, Tajikistan had 34 higher education institutions, including universities, Academies and others with a total of over 146 thousand students. The majority of the students were studying natural sciences, humanities, social sciences, economics, medicine and educational science. In 2007, 17.1 thousand people graduated from the country’s higher education institutions.

Education policy and labour migration

The elaboration of a national policy in the field of migration¹⁰ also had an effect on the development of the national education policy in Tajikistan.

In early 2006, a National Strategy for the development of education in RT for the period of 2006-2015 was adopted. One of the priority’s of the programme is the development of vocational education and in particular, it is intended to conduct a reform of vocational schools.

To this end, the Decree of the Government No. 115 has been adopted on 5th March, 2008, on forming educational centres for adults. So far, this system incorporates 15 training centres and 4

¹⁰ State Migration Policy Concept (1998);
Concept of Labour Migration Abroad of Citizens RT (2001);
Programme of External Labour Migration of Citizens RT for 2003-2005 (2002);
Programme of External Labour Migration of Citizens RT for 2006-2015. (2006);
Law RT “On Migration” (1999); Law RT “On combating trafficking in human beings” (2004) etc.

branches providing 3-6 month courses in various spheres. Students consist mainly of unemployed and of people who have professional skills but lack a relevant certificate. This very often applies to returning migrants.

Another important part of the work is directed towards the recognition of diplomas and other documents certifying qualifications. Tajikistan has signed the CIS Agreement on the recognition of diplomas and actively supports the activity of the Council on Mutual Recognition and Equivalence of Documents on Education, Scientific Grades and Ranks under the EurAsEC Integration Committee. In addition to supporting multilateral initiatives, Tajikistan is striving to sign bilateral agreements focused on the protection of labour migrants' rights. Thus, agreements have been concluded with the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan: "On the protection of rights of labour migrants", "On mutual recognition of education and scientific degrees", etc.

Response by the higher education system to the requirements of the labour market

Study materials have shown that the higher education system in Tajikistan is undergoing changes associated with the need to react to the changing demand on the labour market. One good example of such changes is the inclusion of professional preparation and courses into university programmes which are designed to train experts in information and communications technologies (See Box 3).

Box 3. Brain drain and training specialists in the field of IT technologies

Currently, the shortage of specialists in the telecommunications sector can be clearly felt in Tajikistan. This problem derives from the drain of skilled personnel from Tajikistan which amounted to 40%. During the period from 1990 until 2000, as a result of the civil war, in the communications sector 4,426 people, including 721 in university education, with 460 in vocational education went abroad. The shortage of staff has not been fully replenished during the past years, 189 engineers have arrived in the communication enterprises of the country, 141 electricians and 685 technical support staff of the communication branch. Only 1,422 have been trained, retrained and undergone qualification upgrade courses over these years.

An increase in the delivery of training in the field of information and communication technologies can be observed in Tajik universities. Currently, Tajik Technical University (TTU), Technological University of Tajikistan (TUT), Tajik State National University (TSNU) as well as Russian-Tajik Slavonic University (RTSU) train engineers in communication and telecommunications, computer specialists, automated control systems and information technologies system control, software - engineers-system managers, etc. In 1994 the Tajik Technical University started training specialists in radio engineering; in 1996 the Department "Communication Networks and Commutation Systems" has been opened. In 1999 - 2000 the first graduates in the fields of radio engineering and telecommunications graduated. Currently, 141 communication specialists are studying at the Tajik State University, and 71 specialists at the Technical College. The Department "Automated Information Processing and Control Systems" was opened in 1981. Annually, it releases 30-40 engineers-system analysts. During the study the students specialise in such fields as system programming, computer networks, network technologies, etc.

The Department's graduates work mainly in the fields of management, corporate network building and website designing.

Source: UNDP, 2001: pp.66-67

educational science fell by 53.1% and in healthcare by 47.7%. As a result, in 2005, 62.7% of the graduates from higher education institutions of the Republic of Tajikistan were specialists in humanities and social sciences and only 4.9% of them were technical sciences graduates. During the period of transition from a planned-distributive system to a market economy, there is, of course, a need for more experts in economics, business and law, but there are many specialties still in demand on the labour market for which training has dropped to a minimum.

An imbalance between the demands of the labour market and the supply provided by the educational system also exists with respect to secondary professional education. Currently, secondary professional educational institutions of the Republic of Tajikistan are training mostly personnel for the country's education and healthcare systems – 32.5% of all graduates, while there is an acute need for training highly-skilled workers, technicians, middle-level specialists for construction, industry, agriculture, storage and processing of agricultural produce.

The imbalance between the demands of the labour market and the supply provided by the educational system can be explained to a certain extent by the absence of any mechanism linking market demand with the professional education system. This applies above all to the collection of information about vacancies.

Recording of vacancies lies within the responsibility of the Employment Services in each of the regions of the Republic of Tajikistan. They draw up lists of vacancies by enterprise on the basis of data submitted by the latter. State organisations do provide information about vacancies, but private firms that hire their own staff and in general do not approach the Employment Services and have no interest in informing them about any vacancies they might have. The underestimation of vacancies is also reflected in the data gathered by the State Statistics Committee (Goskomstat) of the Republic of Tajikistan. As a result, the overall picture of the demands of the labour market in the Republic of Tajikistan is both incomplete and unclear. For the purpose of improving the gathering and analysis of information, an Analytical Departments has been set up under the Employment Service of the Ministry of Labour and Social Security.

We are lacking a mechanism for determining the demand for specialists in given professions in accordance with the demands of the national and international labour market. The education system is virtually isolated from the labour market and has little linkage with its demands. Consequently, the the Education system annually generates a multitude of specialists, many of whom cannot find appropriate work and join the ranks of the unemployed. As a result, there are a lot of graduates but it is hard to find demanded specialists, as they are not being trained. The Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Labour are working independent of each other. Actions are not well co-ordinated or agreed. There is no mechanism to link higher education institutions and other professional training establishments, on the one hand, and the structure of the labour market, on the other hand. There are no recruiting agencies that would be able to set up databases of skilled manpower and vacancies. Interview with an official in the Ministry of Labour and Social Security of the Population of the Republic of Tajikistan

The gap is wider with respect to the training of skilled specialists and workers for the international and regional labour market. No mechanism has as yet been set up for studying the demands of the

foreign labour market and providing professional training for potential migrants in accordance with the demands of the regional and the international labour market. Private employment agencies, recruiting agencies, migration services, the Ministry of Labour and Social Security of the Population are in no way linked with educational institutions and have no effect on the list of specialties, curricula and study course contents. Comparing the vacancies for 35 professions provided by the Employment Services of the Ryazan Region of the Russian Federation to the “Tajikvneshtud” unitary enterprise for the purpose of recruiting workers from Tajikistan with the list of professions for which training exists in Tajikistan, it becomes evident that the Republic trains specialists in only 5 professions.

Overall, the study showed that the main barriers to effective responses by the professional education system to signals from the national and international labour markets are:

- general problems: the shortage of budget financing and poor training and production facilities;
- the lack of qualified personnel in the educational system due to brain drain;
- problems with regard to recording demand on the labour market;
- the lack of a mechanism linking higher educational institutions with other professional education establishments, on the one hand, and with labour market structures, on the other;
- the lack of flexibility of the professional education system;
- the lack of inter-departmental co-ordination and co-operation, primarily between the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Labour and Social Security of the Population.

What is a skilled worker/specialist in Tajikistan?

Judging from FGD materials, the results of the top manager survey and expert interviews in Tajikistan, it is not clear what a skilled worker or specialist actually is. The predominant opinion was identified that a skilled worker is considered to be a person who possesses skills in demand on the labour market, either confirmed or not confirmed by a diploma.

*If a worker's skills are in demand, he/she is a skilled worker. If there is no demand for them, whether the worker has ten diplomas or not, he/she is an unskilled worker, since he/she will be able to find only an unskilled job or sit at home. **Expert.***

Specialists in the Republic of Tajikistan can be grouped as follow:

- “skilled specialists” – those having diploma and work experience confirmed by a test/examination or recommendations and professional knowledge and skills;
- “young skilled specialists” – graduates of higher and secondary educational institutions with professional knowledge but no work experience, often with recommendations from their teachers;
- “unskilled” specialists – these are university graduates having a diploma, but no work experience – often they are young specialists who have recently graduated from educational establishments and have not applied for a job yet;

- “skilled non-specialists” – people having work experience, professional knowledge and skills confirmed by recommendations or a test/examination, but without a diploma or certificate – often these are returned migrants.

Informal training of skilled personnel

In addition to the professional education system, in Tajikistan there exist informal ways of training skilled personnel. These are, above all, actions undertaken by employers for the purpose of making up shortages of skilled personnel in their own enterprises. According to the materials of the top manager survey, 24% of the firms studied had taken steps to train skilled workers. Most often, the firms employ students of relevant professions and train “their own” specialist on the job – this is what 9% of the studied firms do. 6% of firms send their staff on various retraining and further training courses and 0,86% firms provided grants for training specialists in the required spheres.

Table 36. Actions of employer to make up for the shortage of skilled personnel

	Number of responses (more than one possible)	Percent
Provided study grants	2	0.86
Sent on retraining and further training courses	15	6.47
Hired a higher education student in order to train their own skilled worker	21	9.05
Poached an associate of another enterprise	42	18.10
Hired on the basis of recommendations from friends/acquaintances	62	26.72
Applied to a recruitment agency	19	8.19
Applied to a state employment service	20	8.62
Put an announcement in the media	31	13.36
Hired as a favour to people on whom the business is dependent	19	8.19
Other	1	0.43

Response to the demand on the regional and global labour market. Professional training for migration

The professional and technical education system does not provide sufficient professional training for potential migrants. Those young people without a profession, who travel abroad to get their first job, usually learn on the job from senior team members.

Migrants who leave the country have various professions but there are some who have no knowledge at all. Many of them work free of charge for 1-2 months, until they have learned a

specific job. Then, once they have learned the basics, they work and earn money. Abdunabi, a returnee migrant, currently a trader, 30 years of age, FGD, Hubjand

Often, migrants themselves provide informal educational services, capitalising, as it were, on their professional and living experience in migration. No matter how effective this system might be, it provides no certificates.

Personally, in order to learn how to do a job, I went to other migrant workers to study their specialities. Yokub, returnee migrant, now a tractor driver, 31 years of age, FGD, Bohtar

2.3. Labour migration of young specialists

Employment of university graduates

As per the employers' survey, 59.2% of those who were hired after 2002 were new graduates who received diplomas between 2002 and 2007. The survey of senior managers shows that the bigger the size of an enterprise is, the bigger is the proportion of young specialists. In other words, big enterprises usually prefer to recruit young specialists, i.e. they have more vacancies opening up and the managers more often hire graduates of higher and secondary educational institutions.

One of the main problems university graduates come across is the difficulty to find a first employment and to acquiring experience. After all, as the overwhelming majority of companies requires work experience of 3-5 years.

Often young university graduates agree to a job with a small salary in order to accumulate a service record, in other words, the acquire work experience and practical skills, but in fact they only have the status of volunteers.

Presently the salaries in state-owned enterprises are very low, but private companies are paying well. In spite of the fact, that every year a fair of vacancies is held, nobody is willing to get a job in governmental organisations and enterprises because of low salaries. I am working in the village jamoat (local self-government body). I am not working here because of the salary, but in order to accumulate a service record. The salary I get here is very small. In future, I will work in a private enterprise. Maruf, local state authority (Jamoat) staff, 24 years old, FGD, Khujand

I have graduated from the Medical University and have looked for a job independently. I was eager to work in our village outpatient clinic. To that end, I was compelled first of all to work in the Isfara City Central District Hospital. I have worked there for 3 years having no working record. I stayed on night shifts almost every day. Then I was referred to the out-patient clinic in our village as a surgeon. Hakimkhon, doctor, 32 years old, FGD, Isfara

The large number of “unqualified specialists” compared to “qualified non-specialists”, i.e. the fact that in Tajikistan qualification does not comply with education in place, triggered the increasing practice of probation periods and an in-house qualification exams which the employers organise for applicants to a post.

*Presently, a diploma has no importance. In each enterprise while hiring an employee they organise exams. The applicant is recruited only after that. That means that if you have knowledge and skills you will always have a job. Employers do not look at the speciality specified in the diploma. **Khakim, agronomist, currently businessman, 27 years old, FGD, Khujand***

Overall, the survey showed that employers are generally satisfied with the level of knowledge and skills of their hired graduates of higher educational institutions in Tajikistan: 73% of the sample top managers think that the knowledge of young specialists/managers is satisfactory and good, 77% of respondents are satisfied with the knowledge of qualified specialists, 81% of the sample are content with skilled workers and 84 % are satisfied with the knowledge of young specialists of other profiles.

Table 37. Assessment of knowledge and skills of young specialists by employers (%)

Assess, on a scale of 1 to 5, the knowledge and skills of young graduates when hired	Lacking	Unsatisfactory	Satisfactory	Good	Excellent	Total
1) Manager	8.0	19.0	42.0	29.0	2.0	100.0
2) Specialist	6.0	17.0	48.0	27.0	2.0	100.0
3) Skilled worker	1.0	18.0	55.0	25.0	1.0	100.0
4) Other positions (administrator, seller)	1.0	15.0	54.0	30.0	0	100.0

The data obtained at first glance seem to contradict the opinion that specialists have a poor level of training. It should be recalled, however, that when employers select graduates satisfying their requirements, they base their decision on recommendations and arrange qualifying exams.

The survey showed that the proportion of young people among highly-skilled specialists and skilled workers is much lower than among workers with lower skills. This is, of course, primarily because young people have not yet acquired work experience or occupied prestigious positions. On the other hand, the data obtained indicate a falling interest in education among young people. FGD materials also show that young specialists are not interested in career advancement. They do not see any prospects and thus do not plan their “business” life, but just live for one day at a time.

*It seems to me that people are not interested in career advancement any more. A person trades in the market and earns money for education, medical treatment and food for children. Why should he think about a career? **Bosmamadova, FGD, economist, 28 years old, FGD, Khorog State University***

Findings of the FGD with university graduates reveal that most graduates, who studied in universities with the purpose of avoiding conscription or getting a diploma without the need to prove

knowledge, even do not try to find a job in RT after their graduation. They understand that they cannot claim a decent job with their level of knowledge and leave for abroad, where they are engaged in low skilled labour.

*A diploma does not guarantee that you will get a good job. Currently, almost everybody has a diploma, but not everybody can find a job. Now it has become normal that specialists graduate from the university, get a diploma and travel abroad. They even do not try to find a job and do not rely on their knowledge. Many of them have bought diplomas. The rest asserts that their salary is small. Many enterprises have been privatised. The competition is tough and every enterprise is looking for good specialists. Currently, all newspapers and TV channels make vacancy announcements. That means that specialists in demand. Every enterprise is willing to recruit a good specialist. **Khairullo, credit expert, 28 years old, FGD with university graduates, Khujand***

“Brains” are lost not only abroad but at home, too. Young specialists who do not want to take a job with an inadequate salary and who have no opportunity to open their own business have given up on finding a suitable job and join the ranks of the economically inactive population. This is particularly characteristic of women.

*I have two university educations: an economic and a philological one. But I do not do speciality work. Currently, I am bringing up two children and help my mother to sell goods at the market. Nowadays, very few people work in a job they have been trained for, maybe only teachers and doctors do. The rest of the people are working how they can. Young specialists even deal in drugs. But what can they do, they have to survive. Therefore, graduates select a job which is not in accordance with speciality, but the one they succeed in finding. My brothers and relatives, all with a university education, work on construction sites in the Ekaterinburg City and help my parents every month by sending \$500. **Bozmamadova, economist, currently housewife, 28 years old, FGD, Khorog State University***

Why do young specialists leave?

The main factors encouraging young graduate specialists to leave are the following:

Low salary level

Young specialists feel encouraged to seek work on foreign labour markets primarily because of the extremely low salaries.

*Why do young people prefer to go abroad instead of staying and working here? It is not a secret to anyone that the main reason is the low salary level. If a young man earns 80-90 Somonis a month, will he be willing to work honestly and to do good quality work? Of course, he will look for another option. Such an option has been found – emigration to Russia for work. There a handyman earns \$600-800 a month on a construction site. **Navruzbekov, history teacher, 26 years old, FGD, Khorog State University***

Presently, I do not work on my speciality. Before entering the University I have completed a 6 month training course on Microsoft Office within the University. This course was very useful for me. Now I am working as an IT specialist at “Pamir – 1” Hydro power Station (HPS).

To the question about the reason, for which young specialists leave for abroad I can say that:

- 1. Tajikistan is not able to provide specialists with a good job and a decent salary*
- 2. Good specialists are not valued here.*

*Nobody will work for 40 – 50 Somoni, let alone young specialists. Today, it is becoming hard to survive given such a growth in prices. The salary should be compatible with the market costs. I have self-respect and will not work for 40-50 Somoni at school. That means that I studied during 5 years in vain, I do not need the diploma, if I do not work in accordance with it. A certificate I got after a 6-month course feeds, dresses and maintains me and my family. **Ghiyosov, IT specialist, 26 years old, FGD, Khorog State University***

*I am a post-graduate student and work in the KSU. My salary is 120 Somoni. Can a man with a family survive with such a salary? My family needs at least \$200 a month. The kids are still small, therefore the needs are small, too. And what should I do when they are grown up? I am still thinking about what I should do. Many of my acquaintances are living and working in Moscow already for several years and earning good money and even encourage me to join them. One of them is suggesting me to come and to work as an interpreter for \$1500. **Rajabbekov, graduate student in linguistics, 27 years old, FGD, Khorog State University***

Lack of accommodation

Lack of accommodation is the most acute problem for many young specialists that have recently graduated. They are often prepared to accept a low salary to get a plot of land for building a house. This applies especially to young teachers and doctors who, after graduating from higher educational institutions, are sent to work in remote parts of the Republic of Tajikistan. According to the legislation of the Republic of Tajikistan, they enjoy benefits; for instance, under article 41 of the Law of the Republic of Tajikistan “On Education” and the Resolution of the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan No. 197, young specialists are allowed to jump the queue for receiving plots of land for building a house. In practice, however, these legislative acts are not enforced.

Conscription dodging

Some graduates from higher and secondary educational institutions go abroad immediately in order to avoid conscription.

*After graduation from the university young specialists do not want to serve in the army, therefore they do not come home to see their relatives for many years. But there, in Russia, our diplomas are not even looked at. Because they know that the level of knowledge of Tajik university graduates is very low. **Mutalib***

Most specialists are not demanded here. Chemists, physicists, biologists and mathematicians can find work at school only. The region has no plants or factories to be employed there. That means that a graduate has no choice. We are “forced” to spend our 3 mandatory post-diploma years

working at school. But the teacher profession will not be respected, and the professional level will not be upgraded unless the salary is increased. This entails illiteracy of school graduates, students and certified specialists. They study to avoid conscription and to receive a diploma, but not to acquire knowledge. Navruzbekov, teacher of history, 26 years old, FGD, Khorog State University

Unfavourable conditions for opening/developing one's own business

Most of our entrepreneurs work illegally within the shadow economy by means of corruption. Therefore, young specialists, who would like to start their businesses, do not start working in this direction and are not even planning to do so in the future. Because they will have to constantly pay bribes to continue their business. And so far, they have no contacts and influence leverages for their business to generate profit within the corrupt schemes. Therefore, they leave. Marufkhodja, economist, currently tax inspector, 24 years old, FGD, Khujand

I am a biologist by profession. After graduating from university I failed to find a job I was trained for and worked as a secretary in the regional military commissariat for 2 years. I was not satisfied with the salary and was forced to work without days off. I have decided to change the job. Now I sit in the market and sell footwear. I am not fulfilled with the living standard in our country. If my trading business does not improve, probably I will leave for Russia as well. Shobulbulova, biologist, currently businesswoman, 36 years old, FGD, Khorog State University

“Brain drain ” or “Brain waste”?

“Brain drain” in the case of Tajikistan means “loss of brains”, as young specialists often fail to apply their professional capacities and qualification in the destination country. Only 20.5% of migrants work in accordance with their speciality certified by a diploma or certificate.

The main reasons behind such a state of affairs are:

A) ***Lack of demand*** on the Russian Federation labour market ***for the qualifications migrants have***. There is an imbalance between the skills young specialists migrating from Tajikistan possess and the demands of the labour market in the host country. The demand structure on the labour market in the Russian Federation, reflecting a need for low and medium skills, for construction and industrial workers, for “hands” rather than “brains”, compels migrants with a high level of skills to agree to low-skilled work.

It does not matter abroad whether you have a diploma, certificate or any other document confirming your profession or not. You need to show your abilities and knowledge as if you were passing an exam for suitability to a job. Nobody cares about your speciality. Naturally, you are not accepted for a higher post. Since we are needed there for simple and cheap work and we need no diplomas. Ikromiddin, constructor, 28 years old, FGD, Khorog

B) ***Low level of knowledge and skills, poor quality of specialists who have graduated from RT universities***

To a large extent, the tendency to not value the diplomas of young specialists from Tajikistan in CIS countries, despite bilateral and multilateral agreements on recognition of degrees, results in the sharp decline of the level of education in the country. The low quality of specialists who have graduated from RT universities first of all stems from the drastic deterioration of the secondary education system after the disintegration of the USSR.

Between 1989 and 2001 the budget provision of general secondary education has decreased. During the period between 1990 and 2001 the part of state expenditures for the sphere of education in GDP of Tajikistan were downsized from 9.7% to 2.4% (compared to the average level worldwide which is 4.1%) (UNDP, 2005: 171). All this happened against the background of the GDP decrease itself that made the decline in absolute figures still more striking. A marked decrease in funding for the sphere of education has led to a declined quality of school education, a decrease in school attendance, as well as the deterioration of the education infrastructure. As a result, the illiteracy level is increasing and functional illiteracy is spreading.

As far as higher and vocational education is concerned the situation is similar.

In order to be able to invest in the actual education of children, rather than buying a diploma, it is necessary to have an adequate employment perspective. The future income should compensate for the cost of education and the income “lost” during the years of study. In other words, people choose a low skilled work abroad, when in their homeland the options for an adequate employment for educated and skilled people are limited, where even a certified specialist is in a worse situation in his homeland in comparison to being employed in low skilled labour abroad.

Formerly, the specialists were trained in accordance with a certain plan. Not everyone was able to study at the university, because they required actual knowledge from a university entrant. And presently, if money is available, even an illiterate person can enter. Therefore, our national university diplomas are not recognised abroad. In the past, our specialists were trained at the highest level. Therefore, specialists from the USSR period are admired and valued by all. For instance, the Tajik specialists having graduated from universities before 1992 are recruited without any problems in Russia. And diplomas of graduates after 1992 are simply disregarded.
Shobulbulova, biologist, currently businesswoman, 36 years old, FGD with university graduates, Khorog

Diplomas conferred after the 90s are not trusted, and do not help to be recruited. I have a higher pedagogical education, but I worked in construction.
Khayolbek, teacher, 32 years old, FGD, Khorog

Work in the informal economy

A considerable number of Tajik migrants continue to live without registering and work in the informal economy. Unregulated legal status is a serious barrier to finding a job according to a specific speciality.

No matter how good specialists we are, in Russia they recruit us as support staff, as we do not have Russian citizenship and most often we find a job illegally. Even having a first class degree, I am

compelled to work as a wage worker at a construction site with the salary of \$400-500. And I would contend with that, if it were not for police raids. Hilolov, mathematician, currently businessman, 30 years old, FGD, Khorog

Poor language knowledge and skills

A skilled worker cannot find a job in his own profession unless he knows the language of the host country. Knowledge of a second and third language is more common among older age groups and experienced migrants. The younger the migrant workers are, the poorer their knowledge of other languages. This applies primarily to the Russian language. The significant deterioration of the language training of young people is a consequence of the collapse of the information and educational space in the post-Soviet period being accompanied by reduced use of Russian as the lingua franca. According to a survey conducted in the countries of Central Asia with the financial support of the World Bank, in Tajikistan fewer than half of those surveyed claimed to speak Russian fluently (UNDP, 2005: 175). This trend is rooted in several factors, including the cutback to a minimum of Russian language courses in secondary schools, the departure of the Russian population, the complete change-over to the national language and the overall deterioration of the education system.

The level of knowledge of the English language among university graduates is even lower than that of Russian.

In 2004, in Tajikistan a Decree of the President of the Republic of Tajikistan was passed on improving the standard of Russian and English language teaching, but the educational resources in the country are even limited to the extent that the implementation of the Decree is encountering major difficulties.

Studies of labour migration from Tajikistan in recent years have shown that migrants with a high level of education cope with changing their skills and job profile in the initial stages of migration much more easily than migrants with a low or medium level of education. Subsequently, however, when they could launch a new professional career, they encounter such high barriers in their professional and working lives that they are compelled to continue with a reduced socio-professional status, this being reflected in their income level and enduring poverty (Olimov, Olimova, 2010).

Box 4. What should be done to encourage young specialists to stay at home?

Akmalkhon, architect, currently credit manager in a microfinance fund, 36 years old: *Should the plants and factories start to work again in the manner they did before, nobody will leave abroad. Should our state support entrepreneurship, especially small and medium business, and exempt those from the burden of taxes for 2-3 years, more people will start their own business in Tajikistan, including migrant specialists.*

Mutalib, economist, currently unemployment migrant, 25 years old: *The salary should be increased. Specialists should be valued. Young specialists do not have initial capital to start their own business. Migrants have none either. The money migrants earn abroad, they spend to sustain their families. If the tax rates and the interest rates in banks and micro-loan funds were reduced, we could start our own businesses. Having started a business, a person creates jobs, thus possibly providing young specialists with a suitable job.*

Muhsin, agronomist, currently unemployed migrant, 23 years old: *Our businessmen, who create jobs, should be supported. If the state adopted a decree providing that in case an entrepreneur provides jobs for 10 unemployed, his tax rate is decreased by 10%, many people would not leave for abroad.*

Manuchebr, IT engineer, currently businessman, 28 years old: *The training quality in higher education institutions (HEI) should be improved; the contacts between higher education institutions and production should be maintained; a possibility to work should be created for the students, for them to acquire not only knowledge, but also practical skills and find a job. Presently HEI are focusing not on the quality of training, but on the quantity of graduates; therefore, we have many young specialists and little jobs for them. There should also be a focus on quality, otherwise the specialists will be only specialists in name, and will not have adequate knowledge of the job.*

Source: Recommendations of the focus group discussions, Khujand, June 2008

2.4. Conclusions

The data reveals that unlike many other countries with transitional economies, the rules and regulations of the labour market in the Republic of Tajikistan do not hamper the functioning of the labour market, and are not the driving force for companies to conceal informal recruitment. There is clear evidence that most companies actually feel the need for a bigger workforce. This appears contradictory given the high unemployment rate in Tajikistan.

The study found however, that the unsatisfied demand for workforce of companies stems from the inadequate qualification of workers dominating the workforce. Further, the study has spotted that companies working in economic sectors, which require higher skills, are in big need of workforce, and the companies, where a special qualification is not required, have less demand for workforce or would prefer to reduce their amount of staff. These results indicate that the available workforce is under skilled. This is a substantial restraint for many companies' efforts to expand their activities.

One of the main reasons for the shortage of skilled personnel is the brain drain, which has a negative effect on the country's social sphere and economy. An adverse impact is also exerted by the imbalance between the demands of the labour market and the supply by the education system. The educational services has shown itself unprepared to react quickly to the change in demand, thus

making it impossible to resolve the problem of the shortage of skilled personnel or to eliminate the imbalance between supply and demand on the national labour market or to respond to signals from the global labour market.

The professional education system in Tajikistan is now ready for change and has demonstrated good responses, in individual cases, to the changed demand on the labour market. Overall, however, the professional education system is unable to react quickly to signals from the national, regional and international labour markets due to poor links between market demand and education system supply. Existing gaps are, to a certain extent, filled by informal systems for training skilled workers: a) staff training by employers for their own enterprises; b) training by migrant teams or individually by skilled migrants.

A group that is actively taking part in the brain drain process consists of graduates from the Republic of Tajikistan's higher educational institutions. These include the best graduates, who are dissatisfied with the opportunities for career growth in Tajikistan, and who are not able to find a appropriate job in their educational speciality.

The main reasons for the brain drain of young specialists are low salaries, absence of housing, conscription dodging and lack of opportunities for opening one's own business.

In the case of Tajikistan, brain drain often means "loss of brains", since young specialists who emigrate are frequently unable to realise their own professional potential or to employ their skills in the host country and lose their qualifications as a result.

CHAPTER THREE – REVIEW OF CURRENT POLICIES ON ATTRACTING INVESTMENTS, MIGRANT’S SAVINGS, AND TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER AS WELL AS POLICIES ON DIASPORA AND THE RETURN OF QUALIFIED SPECIALISTS

The following chapter aims at answering the question which state policies are in place in Tajikistan aimed at retaining skilled labour and attracting skills, technologies or the return of skilled labour from abroad. Further, it maps main Diaspora initiatives in relation to migration and development and provides a comparative picture of two countries of origin (India and the Philippines).

With regards to national policies on labour migration, legislation, structures and mechanisms, even though they are of a rather limited nature, they have focused on the deployment of labour migrants to CIS countries (namely Russia and Kazakhstan) and dealing with problems that arise there. So far, there are no policies in place to attract the return of skilled migrants either on a temporary or permanent basis or to facilitate the transfer of technology, skills or attract investment or savings. However steps have been taken to make remittance transfers less costly.

Governments of countries such as Germany, Russia and Kazakhstan have designed policies to encourage/facilitate the return and settlement of their nationals. The Philippines implements programmes aimed at the reintegration of labour migrants which are funded by a Migrant Welfare Fund. Both the governments of India and the Philippines have put in place mechanisms to encourage the temporary return and recruitment of scientific personnel. On a global scale and for a number of years, the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) has been implementing programmes facilitating both short-term and long-term return of qualified specialists. Such programmes have covered Africa and post conflict zones (Iraq and Afghanistan). Taiwan has accomplished one of the most comprehensive programmes aimed at reversing brain drain and its 1990 census indicated that around 50,000 highly skilled expatriates returned to Taiwan during the period from 1985 to 1990 (Hugo, 2003).

As mentioned in chapter one, since the early 2000s the Tajik government recognised the need to interact with the Diaspora on an organised basis. Within the Presidential Administration, MFA and MIA departments have been formed to deal issues concerning Tajiks abroad. On 4th October, 2007 President E. Rahmon has approved the action plan for addressing the problem that parts of the population leave the Republic of Tajikistan for labour migration aimed at expanding cooperation of the Tajik government, the staff and representatives of respective ministries and agencies with organisations of the Tajik Diaspora “for presenting our cultural values abroad in a worthy manner” (Rahmon, 2008).

With the intention to form a Russia-wide movement of Tajik migrants the 1st Congress of migrant organisations, non-governmental organisations and representatives of the Tajik Diaspora has taken place. More than 300 delegates from 32 regions of the Russian Federation have participated. The Union of Tajikistanis of Russia was formed at this occasion. Almost simultaneously, an alternative congress of Tajiks in Russia has been conducted.

In May, 2008, the Government opened a “Cultural Centre of Tajiks” in the Russian Federation.

3.1. International Labour Migration and Diaspora Policies in Selected Countries of Origin

Newly independent states like Tajikistan come forward with new initiatives to enter the international labour market and to mobilise their Diaspora. In this process they can certainly learn from international experience. For this purpose the experience of India and the Philippines, two countries with fairly well established policies, might be useful to be drawn upon.

Though, in a broad understanding all three of the countries are Asian countries, the experiences of India and the Philippines in international migration differ somewhat. Their more recent wave of labour migration to the Gulf countries started around the same time following the initial oil boom of the late 1970s. However, the two countries have thereafter moved along different trajectories. The Philippines have dominated the market for seafarers, diversified destination countries away from the Gulf to other regions and moved up the value chain in placing caregivers and nurses. Indian labour continues to rely on the Gulf as its major destination, however, India’s share of skilled migration has increased. The Philippines have also been more successful in institutional development and are now presented as a successful model for managing labour migration. India, for its part, has been able to mobilise its Diaspora quite effectively.

Both countries annually receive substantial amounts of money by way of remittances. However, the capital inflow from remittances has become less crucial for India since it managed to substantially finance its trade deficit through service exports. In contrast in the Philippines, remittances continue to provide support to the balance of payments. On grounds of stronger economic growth, India itself is facing skill shortages and reducing unemployment, which is not the case in the Philippines. These perspectives will be kept in view when judging the experiences of the two countries.

India

Post-independence migration from India has not been driven or supported by any policy. Although, the Emigration Act of 1922 was replaced by the Act of 1983, largely on the demand of the Supreme Court, no attempt was made to articulate a policy for governing international migration. With the creation of the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA) as an independent Ministry in 2004 and assigning work relating to international migration to MOIA, the formulation of a policy on international migration and a legislative review were initiated.

The Protector General of Emigrants (PGE) operates under the auspices of the MOIA and is in charge of enforcing the Emigration Act of 1983. He is supported in his work by eight representatives for the protection emigrants who work in different parts of India and to whom some of his powers are delegated. Recruiting agencies duly registered with the PGE can recruit persons for overseas employment. Registration is granted after assessing the financial soundness, experience, etc. of the agency. There are over 4000 registered agents of whom about half are professionally active. Before

granting emigration clearance, the PGE verifies documents like the demand letter, power of attorney, model/actual contract, etc. In this process, PGE gets the support of Indian missions abroad.

Overseas Indians are either Persons of Indian Origin (PIO) if they have adopted the citizenship of the host countries or Non-Resident Indians (NRI) if they retain the Indian passports. Together they constitute the Indian Diaspora. The size of the Indian Diaspora is estimated at 25 million. However, there is no reliable data on migration flow figures. Under the Emigration Act, only less skilled workers who have not completed high school and are intending to go to one of 18 specific countries need to obtain clearance. Even under this liberal regime, over 800,000 people had obtained emigration clearances in 2007. Probably, all of them have migrated for overseas employment. The number of skilled emigrants is again not known. On the basis of secondary data it has been estimated to amount to over 100,000. Thus, including those who do not require emigration clearance, nearly a million Indians go abroad every year for employment.

In recent years, MOIA has taken a number of initiatives to improve the quality of the Indian emigration regime. Pre-departure orientation has been revamped. Awareness campaigns developed by professional agencies have been launched. MOIA has concluded bilateral agreements with a number of important receiving countries like Kuwait, UAE and Malaysia. Skill upgrade programmes have been taken up with strong involvement of private industry. Job seekers take out compulsory insurance that covers the family/heir in the event of death/permanent disability. An Overseas Indian Facilitation Centre (OIFC) to support investments in India has been set up as a non-profit partnership of MOIA with the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII). A greater amount of social protection measures is planned to be delivered on-site through overseas Indians centres which are being set up shortly. Social security agreements have been concluded with a number of countries like Belgium and Holland and are under negotiation with Germany and France. In spite of the measures mentioned above, in cases when large numbers of less skilled workers involved, complaints about the substitution of contracts, delayed or non payment of wages, poor living conditions, etc. have only increased.

India has been able to engage its Diaspora successfully, particularly after the setting up of MOIA. The Diaspora has become a strong partner, particularly in the growing influence of India as a “soft power”. A number of new initiatives such as granting of Overseas Citizenship of India, setting up of the Overseas Indian Facilitation Centre, etc. have been taken. As per World Bank estimates, India was the highest recipient of remittances in 2007 with US \$ 24.5 billion, ahead of Mexico and China. However, the value of the relationship with the Diaspora exceeds these numbers.

Some of the specific programmes developed in India with regards to enhancing the development impact of migration, include:

Skills Development

In India, the Federal Ministry of Labour and Employment has taken up a World Bank assisted scheme to upgrade 400 Industrial Training Institutes (ITI) as Centres of Excellence. Another scheme to similarly upgrade 1396 Government ITIs by means of Public-Private Partnership (PPP) has also been launched. Under this scheme, each ITI is granted an interest free loan of Rs. 25 million

(US \$ 600,000) to improve its infrastructure. The Government has also adopted a new strategic Modular Employable Skills (MES) framework for skill development of workers in the unorganised sector on a large scale. The investments of the Ministry on training and skill development have increased ten-fold amounting to the top number of US \$ 250 million during 2007-08. The Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) is leading the effort in launching a number of initiatives of the industry which are ambitiously aimed at making India the skills capital of the world.

Financial products to attract remittances

Currently, India is the country receiving the largest amount of remittances. Non-Resident Indian (NRI) deposits were established in 1970 and have become one of the main ways of attracting savings by Indian migrants. A series of incentives were provided: higher interest rates, exchange rate guarantees, repatriation facilities, and exemption of wealth and income tax on savings and on interest. The incentives were created mainly to augment foreign exchange reserves and, once this was achieved, many were withdrawn during the 1990s (Varma, Sasikumar, 2005). NRI accounts have proved attractive largely to migrants belonging to the categories of professional and skilled workers.

In recent years, one of the most important initiatives for attracting savings from Indian migrants has been floating specialised bonds for development purposes. Two such bonds, Resurgent India Bonds (1998) and the Indian Millennium Deposits (2000) raised US \$ 4.2 billion and US \$ 5.51 billion respectively (Varma, Sasikumar, 2005).

The Philippines

The evolution of the Philippines as a major labour exporter in Asia and worldwide began in the 1970s based on various factors. On the demand or “push” side, population had outpaced economic growth, unemployment was high and there were severe balance of payments problems. Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) was low and development assistance was tapering off. The major supply or “pull” factor was that the oil-rich Gulf countries needed workers for construction projects. With demand and supply factors converging, the Philippines were ripe for large-scale labour migration.

The government saw an opportunity to “export” workers left unemployed because of the stagnant economy and established a system to regulate and encourage labour outflows under the Labour Code of the Philippines in 1974. Continued demand for workers in the Gulf and the opening of new labour markets, especially in East and Southeast Asia, have fuelled further migration. The annual flow of Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) has now crossed the million mark. The Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA) processes workers’ contracts and pre-deployment checks, as well as licenses, regulates and monitors private recruitment agencies. The Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA) provides assistance to migrants and their families. All requirements up until the point of departure are handled by POEA, while OWWA assumes responsibility for the workers’ welfare abroad. The Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO) organises programmes and provides services to permanent emigrants.

The job placement branch of the POEA handles only a fraction all OFWs who are employed by foreign employers. The private sector, with over 1000 licensed recruitment and manning agencies, is playing an important role since 1976. Agencies charge migrant workers “placement fees” for services provided while manning agencies are not to charge any placement fees as these are to be paid by the principal or employer.

Among the countries of origin in Asia, the Philippines offers a fairly comprehensive package of programmes and services covering all phases of migration from pre-departure to on-site services to return and reintegration. These programmes demonstrate the government’s efforts to balance the offer of work force with the protection of workers. Some of these initiatives, such as the pre-departure orientation seminars for departing workers and the deployment of labour attachés and welfare officers to countries with large OFW populations are good practices that other countries of origin have also implemented.

The development of a legal and institutional framework to promote the protection of migrant workers is also an important factor. The Philippines was the first country among Asian countries of origin to draft a law that aims “to establish a higher standard of protection and promotion of the welfare of migrant workers, their families and overseas Filipinos in distress.” Although there had been discussions about a Magna Charta for migrant workers for some time, it was not until 1995 that the Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipinos Act (also known as Republic Act or RA 8042), which is quite limited in nature, was finally passed. In addition to government initiatives, the efforts of NGOs, church-based organisations, and migrants’ organisations, as well as transnational and international efforts directed at promoting and protecting migrants’ rights help provide an “antidote” to the dangers of migration.

Among the countries of origin in Asia, the Philippines is also a leader in introducing several migration-related laws, including the Anti-Trafficking in Persons Act of 2003, the Overseas Absentee Voting Act of 2003, and the Citizenship Retention and Reacquisition Act of 2003, which allows for dual citizenship. It has ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Their Families and the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children.

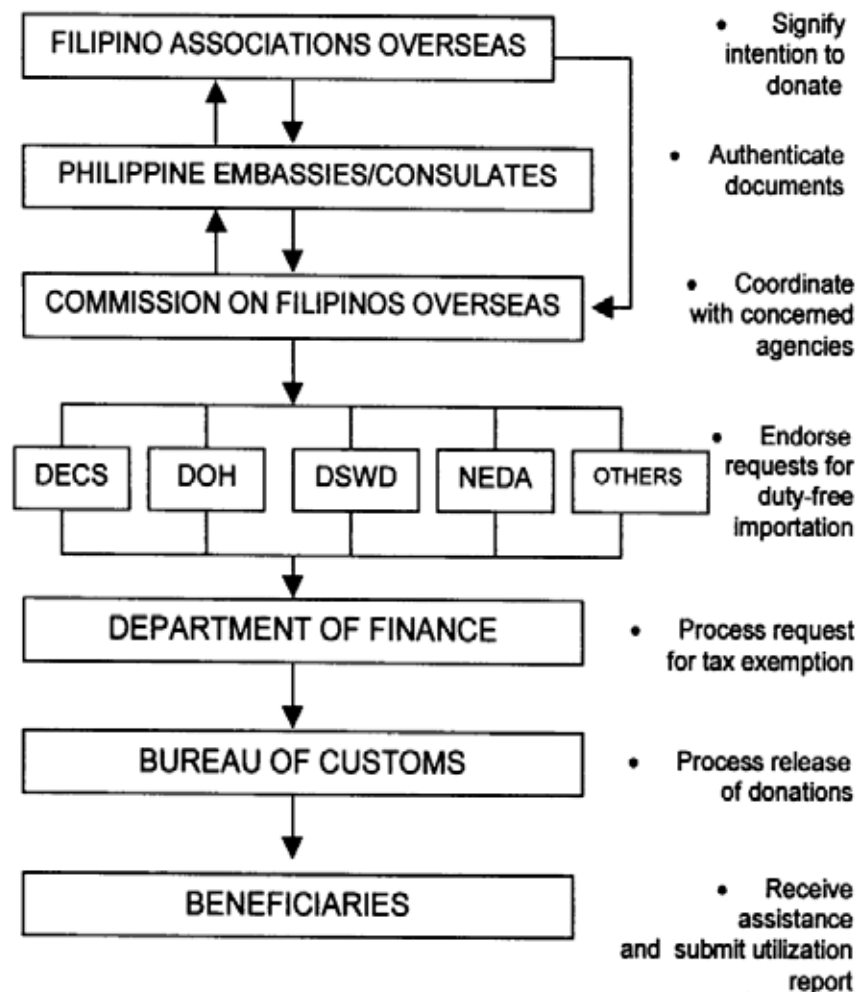
The Philippines are not only well known for their policies and mechanisms in the sphere of labour migration, but also such policies and mechanisms have been put in practise with regards to people of Filipino origin who are citizens of another country. The Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO) which is chaired by the Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs, whose board is constituted of representatives of concerned Departments, is mandated to:

- Provide advice and assistance to the President and the Congress of the Philippines in the formulation of policies concerning or affecting Filipinos overseas;
- develop and implement programmes to promote the interests and well-being of Filipinos overseas;

- serve as a forum for preserving and enhancing the social, economic, and cultural ties of Filipinos overseas with the Philippines; and
- provide liaison services to Filipinos overseas with appropriate government and private agencies in the transactions of businesses and similar ventures in the Philippines.

There are three schemes which are of particular interest. The first one is the Link for Philippine Development Program (LINKAPIL). It was developed in 1988 to mobilise overseas Filipinos as partners in national development efforts. Between 1990 – 2002, over 1.1 billion pesos were received in donations for humanitarian assistance (24%), health (58%), education (14%), livelihoods (3%) and small scale infrastructure (1%). Seminar-workshops on innovative teaching methods were conducted by US based teachers. Foreign based Filipino professionals shared their expertise in different areas. The LINKAPIL programme relies on cooperative linkages among Filipinos overseas, the national government, local government units, non-government organisations, and the private sector to enable the transfer of resources and skills from overseas to beneficiaries in the Philippines (CFO, 2002).

LINKAPIL COORDINATION PROCEDURES



Source: CFO, 2002

Second, the Balik Scientist Programme allows foreign based science and technology experts of Filipino descent to return or reside in the Philippines and share their expertise in order to accelerate the scientific, agro-industrial and economic development of the country. Incentives are provided by the Department of Science and Technology to short-term experts (at least one month), long term experts (at least two years) and for post doctoral research. Third, the Philippine Retirement Authority (PRA) offers a retirement programme for former Filipinos and qualifying foreigners that provides benefits related to tax/duties and immigration.

The CFO also publishes a Handbook for Filipinos Overseas which is a very useful and concise guide for the Diaspora on laws and regulations affecting them, immigration policies and programmes as well as services of government agencies.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR MEANINGFUL POLICY MEASURES AIMED AT ENHANCING THE DEVELOPMENT IMPACT OF MIGRATION AND MITIGATING ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES

Labour Migration and Return

Labour migration

The scale of labour migration in Tajikistan continues to be unprecedented in size, and social and economic impact. According to MIA Migration Service data, more than 500,000 labour migrants stay on the territory of the Russian Federation alone. According to previous surveys men constituted the vast majority of migrants. Furthermore, people from rural areas dominate the figures (76% labour migrants). Young people lead the age profile of migrants. The overwhelming majority of seasonal workers do not want to bring its families, as wages are low and are insufficient to meet the needs of the family in the host country, whereas they suffice to sustain the family in the homeland, where the cost of living is significantly lower. The previous survey results reveal that unemployment is one of the driving forces prompting people to higher mobility in search of a better level of payment. Migration is mainly arranged in an informal manner. Migration networks have a dominant position. Recent survey findings reveal that only 1-1.5% of the sample migrants leave and find employment via governmental and private foreign employment agencies.

About one third of labour migrants stay abroad for up to one year, when they leave to work for the first time. Two thirds work for more than one year, during which they usually leave and return repeatedly for seasonal migration. Despite the fact that undoubtedly seasonal labour migration is most common there is a rather large group of migrants that stay abroad for a longer period. Moreover, the study reveals that the number of migrants who do not return home for quite a long period is growing. From 1999 the growth rate of migrants who stay in the destination country constitutes 8% a year.

According to the ADB 2007 Survey (draft), the list of occupation of migrants abroad is characterised by the prevalence of construction work (74.1%). Other employment sectors are: wholesale and retail trade involving 10.8% of migrants, industry - 4.8%, agriculture - 5.4%, and other sectors (services, education and etc.) - 4.8%. As per the behavioural survey of migrants (IOM, 2006) the share of workers with an unregulated status is 52%. Studies on the trafficking in human beings from Tajikistan (IOM, 2006) reveal that more than 70% of migrants from Tajikistan working in Russia are prone to various forms of trafficking, in other words they are restricted in the freedom of movement, frequently do not dispose of their documents since they are withdrawn by employers.

Return

According to the ADB 2007 Survey (draft) 88% migrants who worked abroad in 2006 planned to work abroad in future, and 83.9% stated that they would leave to work abroad in 2007. Those who were not certain about their future plans constituted 3.2%. 8.8% of the total number of migrants quite clearly did not intend to work abroad in the future. Therefore, while currently seasonal labour

migration (and temporary return) is prevalent, the number of permanent returnees is of a smaller proportion.

As a part of this study, a survey of 1000 returnees was conducted in order to shed light on the profile of returnees and their contribution to job creation, business development, investment/savings and transfer of skills/technology. The gender profile of the returnees, as well as of labour migrants in general is characterised by the prevalence of men. 88% of men and 12% of women have been covered by the current survey. Most returnees were found to be in the age group from 25 – 54 year (as compared to migrants who are mostly aged from 25 – 34 years). The education level of returnees was found to be significantly higher than of both, the general population and labour migrants. The main motives for return were family unification and responsibilities to be taken care of in the family. Other reasons included health problems and the achievement of success/increase of income. Six percent were compelled to return home (deportation). Ninety five percent of the returnees were migrants in Russia. Almost half of them worked in Moscow city or region.

The findings of the returnees' survey revealed that 63.9% of respondents acquired additional skills abroad. Mainly, migrants in the Russian Federation obtained professional skills, knowledge and experience acquired in the process of work without any supporting certificate (69.2%); Russian language proficiency, nearly 66.1 %. The data received certify that 68.1% of returnees are employed or self-employed, most preferring not to be employed in state-owned and private enterprises, but to work independently – as self-employed or in their own business. Of the returnees who currently follow an occupation the largest groups are owners of a business/company/enterprise (18.7%) and self-employed (17.3%). A lesser number of returnees are working in a state-owned enterprise/institution (14.4%) and as salaried workers in the private sector (10.1%); 7.1% are hired individually for various types of work.

The data collected show that 47.9% of the sample returnees started and developed business or entrepreneurial activity. At the same time 21.7% have their own business. The survey implies that investment intentions of returnees which do not have an own business yet, are rather high, 31% of all returnees have been thinking and discussing the possibility of starting their own business with their families. The survey has revealed that while developing a business the returnees create a certain number of jobs, but less than would be desirable, as their business is of small and micro scale. Labour migration, which in Tajikistan is very much influenced by the fact that the family constitutes the core of society, leaves a clear imprint on the businesses returnees establish. Most frequently, returnees start their businesses with the involvement and support of the family and relatives: 43% of 279 informants having their own business or managing relatives' business do not pay a salary to their employees, as those are their relatives and family members forming one household. Therefore the income of the workers fed into the family budget managed by the returnee.

A third of returnees surveyed mentioned that they would possibly migrate again, depending on circumstances. More than the half of the interrogated migrants had returned permanently or on a long term basis. The survey revealed that women play a rather important role in the absence of their husband who have migrated. Many respondents mentioned tensions when the returned husband came across an increased influence of his wife and her reluctance to depend fully on the husband

again. The traditional view of gender roles male returnee migrants often have in many cases conflicts with an increased confidence of females in returnee families.

With regards to national policies in the field of labour migration, legislation, structures and mechanisms, though they are of a rather limited nature, they have focused on the deployment of labour migrants to CIS countries (namely Russia and Kazakhstan) and dealing with problems that arise there. There are no policies in place as yet to attract the return of skilled migrants either on a temporary or permanent basis or to facilitate the transfer of technology, skills or attract investment or savings. However, steps have been taken to make remittance transfers less costly.

Given the slow growth of decent work opportunities at home, labour migration from Tajikistan has not abated and will continue in the foreseeable future. This means that the government will need to respond with appropriate policies, structures and procedures that aim to protect migrant workers and effectively govern migration. This would include policies and mechanisms to protect migrant workers from exploitative recruitment and employment practices and to provide appropriate assistance to migrant workers in terms of pre-departure, welfare and on-site services; optimising benefits of organised labour migration, particularly the development of new markets and increasing remittance flows through formal channels, as well as enhancing its development impact. At the same time steps will need to be taken for mitigating the adverse impact of the emigration of skilled human resources and for building institutional capacity and inter-ministerial coordination to meet the challenges labour migration presents. Underlying it all is the need for further cooperation with destination countries for the protection of migrant workers, access to labour markets and the prevention of irregular migration.

For all this to happen, more resources need to be allocated for the ministry in charge to properly carry out its mandate, in coordination with other ministries and parties. This is justified considering that for some countries the largest financial inflow is provided by labour migrants. More resources need to be invested by the government into support services to protect the labour and human rights of migrant workers. Mechanisms such as the Migrant Welfare Fund, that acts both as insurance cover and source for on-site assistance for migrants in distress in the Philippines and Sri Lanka, need to be considered seriously.

The research has shown that migrants on return contribute to establishing small businesses. Improvement in the overall business and investment climate is the best solution for the obstacles returnees currently face in this area. Meanwhile, as far as possible steps should be taken to integrate returnees in on-going loan and business support programmes, in order to complement their investments and knowledge. The research has also shown that migrants on return bring with them better language skills, technical skills (in areas such as construction) and a greater capacity for innovation/change. With the support of international donors, Diaspora and the private sector, more institutionalised mechanisms should be developed to provide opportunities for returnees and migrants to contribute their skills and expertise. This can include a skills bank or data-base where returnees in occupation shortage areas can register.

Emigration of Skilled Human Resources

Both secondary sources and a survey of senior managers carried out for this study show that in spite of high unemployment/under-employment, it is difficult to fill positions that demand a high level of skills due to a lack of well trained or qualified applicants. According to the survey of senior managers, in 52% of the sample companies, employees have been resigning from their jobs for the last 3 years in order to leave their country of origin. According to the survey data, only 10.7% of the sample top managers think that the absence of highly skilled specialists did not significantly affect the activity of their companies. For all other informants the “brain drain” was an important, very important and critically important constraint for their companies’ activity and development. Two reasons cited in focus group discussions for young specialist emigrating were low salary levels and the will to avoid forced military service.

The “brain drain” in the case of Tajikistan often means “brain waste”, as the young specialists fail to apply their professional and qualification capacities in the destination country. Only 20.5% of migrants work in accordance with their speciality certified by a diploma or certificate and 16.8% rather work in a field which is close to the migrant’ speciality. The reasons for “brain waste” include irregular employment and low recognition of qualifications. The latter is partly due to poor quality control with regards to admission, curriculum, teaching, assessment and graduation in the field of higher and secondary education in Tajikistan.

Engaging the Diaspora as Development Partners

Every Diaspora is a repository of various resources – of skills, know-how, finances, contacts, ideas, etc. In the course of the interaction between the home country and its Diaspora, such resources get utilised, haltingly and exploratively to begin with, but with greater mutual confidence as the interaction deepens and its quality improves over time. As Tajikistan consciously embraces its Diaspora in a more far-reaching way, it is convenient to have a typology that conceptually outlines the various types of resources and the means to tap them. It is also necessary for the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan (GoRT) to develop a common agenda for action and joint projects with the Diaspora.

Diaspora – Confidence Building Measures (CBM)

The term “Confidence Building Measures (CBM)” is normally used in the context of adversarial situations between warring parties or nations. It is not being suggested that Tajikistan and its Diaspora have an adversarial attitude to each other. However, from the current situation of mismatched expectations, the relations now have to move towards a mature phase of partnership and collaboration. To mark this transition, it is necessary that GoRT carries out a series of measures aimed at consciously and publically reaching out to its Diaspora. These are grouped under the broad heading of CBM and discussed below.

CBM 1 – Ministerial Responsibility and Focal Point

As Tajikistan begins to approach its Diaspora systematically and it begins to respond, there will be a need within GoRT to respond to queries and steer proposals from the Diaspora. Today, not one Ministry bears responsibility for the Diaspora. Different aspects of the interaction with the Diaspora are handled by different agencies and often in an uncoordinated way. It is necessary to locate a focal point within GoRT with which the Diaspora and the embassies can be in touch.

CBM 2 – Diaspora Portal

As a second component of the CBM package GoRT should immediately set up a user-friendly, interactive web portal for all Diaspora matters. GoRT already has its government portal that could be more informative. Moreover, it is not yet designed to be interactive or to be used to get on-line feedback and responses from citizens or other visitors to the portals.

The Diaspora portal has to be different. It must be equally adept at informing the Diaspora (broadcast) and capturing their concerns (receive). It should allow for more user generated content (themes) and must be designed to be very lively and appealing. It might be best to develop it as a stand-alone portal of the focal point ministry rather than including it in the government portal. The Diaspora portal, if established and operated properly, can serve as a dynamic tool in the hands of the Diaspora and of Tajikistan to forge a number of links and partnerships for the future development of the country. Some of the possibilities will be spelt out in greater detail in subsequent paragraphs.

Diaspora – Out-Reach Measures (ORM)

Reaching out to the Diaspora is a difficult process that requires a multi-level effort. CBMs need to be supplemented by efforts in foreign countries to stay in close contact with the Diaspora on a regular basis. In this chapter, a few of these measures are suggested.

ORM 1 – Quarterly/Monthly Meeting of Diaspora Associations

The Tajik Diaspora has set up a number of organisations, particularly in Russia. As a first step, quarterly meetings headed by the Ambassador with officials and activists of these associations participating could be initiated in Russia. This will straightaway create a pro-active forum that can be used for two-way communications.

In the prospective mobilisation of the Tajik Diaspora, communication is indeed the key. The Diaspora is not au fait with current developments and initiatives in Tajikistan. While distance and preoccupation with their own lives may be the reasons for this, there is a perceptible communication gap. Even potential investors are not often aware of all the opportunities. Equally, the problems faced by the Diaspora community in countries of residence and back in Tajikistan need to be heard and solved. A forum, as suggested, in the form of the quarterly meetings would satisfy this need.

ORM 2 – Recognition of Excellence in the Diaspora

The Diaspora continues to be proud of its Tajik values and the success of some of its members.

Unfortunately, this success is often not widely shared, neither within the community nor with the embassies.

To foster a sense of pride and competition among the Diaspora's student community a system of annual medals/prizes for outstanding performers at school and university could be instituted. The medals/prizes could be awarded in the name of GoRT or an embassy. The mechanics and the budget may be worked out by the embassies after consulting the Diaspora associations. The Ministry of Education could possibly fund the costs. The concern of medals/prizes should be handed over to a separate division in the embassy.

Awards to recognise substantial achievements in professional fields could also go a long way in keeping, particularly the second and third generation of the Diaspora, in touch with Tajikistan. These are successful young men and women who have become partners of firms or have risen to positions of authority in important organisations. Again, the details could be worked out by the major embassies and approved by GoRT.

Finally, a conscious attempt should be made to recognise and include Diaspora Tajiks for National awards for distinguished merits. Such merits may have been achieved in any professional, social or cultural field. Mechanisms can be put in place to have Diaspora communities and embassies abroad nominate outstanding overseas Tajiks for National awards. This will foster a sense of connectedness to the life in one's native country and redress a feeling of grievance that can be described by the proverb "out-of-sight-out-of-mind". Like special residency status, dual recognition of one's achievements in the country of residence as well as in the country of birth fulfils deep emotional needs.

ORM 3 – Embassy Websites/Newsletters

The Diaspora Web Portal can be supplemented by similar initiatives at the local level. To begin with, the embassies in countries where there are a significant numbers of Tajiks abroad such as in Russia could immediately launch websites and newsletters with content of local and also national concern. Diaspora members could be encouraged to contribute news as well as their opinions on such publications.

Such websites/newsletters could also be used to create visibility for the Diaspora members in their countries of residence.

ORM 4 – Diaspora Advisory Seminars

A number of overseas Tajiks, including students, may have pending legal matters pertaining to their visas, work permits, etc. Perhaps persons concerned receive informal advice from lawyers who are also members of the Diaspora community. However, this situation might confer the feeling on the Diaspora community that their own government cannot provide any advice or guidance.

To overcome this feeling, setting up Legal Advice Seminars under the auspices of the embassies once a week/fortnight might be an option to be considered. Embassies can install panels of volunteering Diaspora lawyers. This forum can also be used to explain changes in laws relating to

migration, citizenship, etc. in the foreign countries to the members of the Diaspora.

Later, such seminars could be extended to cover the fields of employment, investment, etc. based on local need and priorities. Such services, anchored in the embassies, will go a long way to connect GoRT with the Diaspora community.

Diaspora investment can be soft, in the form of knowledge resources and/or hard, in the form of financial resources. The latter covers remittances or private transfers, portfolio or financial investment, sectoral or targeted business investment and/or direct or general business investment. The quest to mobilise Diaspora resources requires measures to stimulate all these types of investments. Some of these measures are identified and mentioned hereafter.

In developing these measures, it is more convenient to look separately at knowledge and financial resources. To begin with, a **skills bank or data-base** can be developed (parallel to the one on returnees). Diaspora members with demanded skills and who are interested in long or short term assignments could register in a skills bank.

Knowledge Resources

The knowledge resources of the Diaspora are the total sum of its collective skills, abilities, scientific and technical know-how, professional expertise, business acumen, etc. Much of this knowledge is transferable through formal, structured means. However, success in the transfer and the assimilation of knowledge depends on the degree of preparedness of both parties. As the knowledge available and required covers a wide spectrum, it is proposed to identify several tracks along which the knowledge sharing and transfer can be facilitated.

Knowledge Resources: Track 1

These are resources to be leveraged, for example, under a vocational training programme (VETP). Components like training and reskilling, capacity-building in SMEs, finishing schools, entrepreneurship development, etc. are ideally suited for the participation and the investment of the Diaspora. The business model can allow for both, the Diaspora's own personal expertise and outsourced expertise put together/managed by the Diaspora. The latter option will allow the Diaspora to share its entrepreneurship skills as well.

The guidelines of VETP should be broadened to allow the Diaspora to be included as partners responsible for the delivery of the projects. Wide publicity and information dissemination can enable the Diaspora to understand the fundamental importance of VETP to the economic development of Tajikistan. They can then be enlisted as both strategic and contracting partners. They can propose projects with clear commitment on delivery for funding.

Innovative projects to make use of their infrastructure to overcome capacity constraints should also be encouraged.

The scope of VETP must cover the enhancement of the employability of fresh entrants to the labour market.

Knowledge Resources – Track 2

A second track can be developed in order to increasingly involve academics in collaborative R&D projects in their home countries. To achieve this, the authorities concerned could launch a Brain Bank Scheme (BBS) to provide for online registration and ensure big publicity. BBSs could seek proposals for collaborative R&D project from the Diaspora according to their interests and priorities. In this context, the “Collaborative Project with Scientists & Technologists of Indian Origin (CP-STIO)” of the Department of Science & Technology (DST) of the Government of India is worth looking at. CP-STIO aims to enhance institutional and human capacities in the fields of science and technology in India, implement R&D projects, enhance technology entrepreneurship and mentor young talents. DST pays for international travel, honorarium and living allowance of the STIO for up to a maximum of 12 weeks stay. The Indian host institution takes care of accommodation and local transport. (Details can be accessed on the DST website <http://dst.gov.in>).

Financial Resources

Financial resources of the Diaspora materialise through one of three possible modes. The first is through remittances. Remittances are private transfers and are accounted for as such in balance of payments accounting. Secondly, financial resources can be acquired in the form of portfolio investments, mainly in equity and debt instruments traded on the stock exchange. The third mode refers to direct investment in starting new businesses. In the context of mobilising the Tajik Diaspora, all these three modes are important (at least in the medium term). They are discussed below.

Portfolio Investment

Portfolio investment usually refers to investments in equity and debt instruments through the capital market. The narrow breadth and depth of the local stock market is a limiting factor. The absence of a vibrant Mutual Fund (MF) industry is another possible constraint. A possible way out is to broaden the range of products offered to Diaspora investors. The Diaspora is a significant group whose savings can and need to be tapped. “Personal Wealth/Investment Management” services could be offered to more aggressively to members of the Diaspora community. Trading in regional/overseas securities and MFs should be encouraged. In the early growth phase of the capital markets in India during the eighties, it was the Diaspora led by Non-Resident Indians (NRIs) who provided market depth and sophistication.

Bank Deposits

Investments in bank deposits are another example of resource flows from the Diaspora, encouraged by interest rate differentials and expectations on interest and exchange rate movements. If these are not carefully calibrated, there is the possibility of arbitrage and speculation. Given their medium-term balance of payment outlook, Tajikistan can decide on whether it wants to opt for a steady flow of Diaspora deposits to buttress their current account and if so, at what incremental cost.

One practical way to test the waters is to advise banks to come up with attractive pilot schemes with

competitive inflation- and depreciation-adjusted returns to attract the Diaspora. An investment bank could study the feasibility of a substantial bond issue targeted at the Diaspora on the example of the Resurgent India Bonds issued by the State Bank of India in 2000. Subject to feasibility and based on the evaluation of the pilot schemes, preparations for a launch could be contemplated.

Direct Investment

The unwillingness of the Diaspora to make substantial FDIs into manufacture and service industries is partly related to the difficulties in starting and sustaining businesses in Tajikistan. More than foreigners, Diaspora communities all over the world tend to be critical of bureaucratic hassles and corruption in their home countries. There is therefore a need to review the entire procedure for setting up new industries in Tajikistan and streamline the approval process not only for the Diaspora but also for all investors.

The strategy to attract investments from the Diaspora should be refined to offer differentiated options to distinct segments of the Diaspora. This calls for a concerted commercial policy that would highlight the comparative advantages of investing in Tajikistan. Obviously, such a campaign has to be led by Government agencies.

Annex I LIST of representatives of public organisations and the Tajik Diaspora in Russia *

*as of September, 2007

No .	Name of organisation and name of the participant	Region	Address	Telephones and e-mail
1	Fund “Tajikistan”, Legal Information Centre “Migration and Law” Juraeva Gavhar	Moscow	16, Olympiysky Prospect	Phone: (495) 775-21-75, 933-13-85 926-216-97-63, 8-915-133-35-08, Mobile: 8-926-395-54-73
2	Non-for-Profit Autonomous Organisation “ETMOS”, ATOO, Moscow Davlatov Abdullo	Moscow		Phone: 193-04-00, 193-55-77 Mobile: 8-926-350-28-93
3	Regional Public Organisation “Tajik Cultural Society” Maibaliev Mukim	Tver	40/2, Chaikovsky Ave, Office 1	Mobile: 8-961-014-37-44 gks@ocenter.ru
4	Regional Public Organisation “Somoniyon” St Petersburg Muhammadnazar Mirzoda	St. Petersburg		Phone: 812-159-91-51, 974-63-20
5	Member of the Public Chamber under the Ryazan Province Governor. NPO “Sino” Samejon Ghafurov	Ryazan		Phone: 8-960-572-33-24, (4912) 24-95-37 glas@rin.ru

6	Regional Public Organisation “Central Asian Cultural Society” Ashrapov Inomjon Rahmatovich	Republic of Karelia, Petrozavodsk City	100, Muezerskaya Str.	Phone: 8 (921) 460-50-15 Phone/Fax: 8 (8142) 56 52 39 E-mail: sasia@mbox.ru
7	Tajik National Cultural Centre “Samanids” Mirzokhujaev Rustam Ahmadjonovich	Yaroslavl	11, Pereulok Industrialny, APT.#2	Phone: (4852) 46-91-99, 8-903-829-96-08.
8	Regional Public Organisation Tajik Diaspora “Nur” President Lashkarbekov Boghsho Boghshoyevich	Moscow	23, Pravda Str.	Phone: 257-40-05,748-27-42 Mobile: 8 926 219-63-95
9	Regional Public Organisation “Somoni” Burov Khakimjon Begijonovich	Ufa	150/2, Gagarin Str. Apt.#.40,	Phone: (347) 230- 60-77 Mobile: 8 917 793-99-33, 8-917-34-80-541
10	Regional Public Organisation “Somoniyon” Mirzoev Saidasror Davlatovich	Samara	9, Voronezhskaya Str.	Phone: (8462) 995-35-76, 8 927- 264-61-66 Mobile: 89608187246, 89272646166
11	Public Centre of the Perm Province Tajiks, Member of the Province Council for National Issues of the Perm Province Governor Administration Mazoriev Rahmatullo	Perm	24, Chardynskaya Str.	Phone: (3422) 93-95-66, 89026410084, 8-342-221-21-13
12	Orenburg Regional Public Organisation of Tajikistanis “Vahdat” “Edinstvo”, Barotov Tolib Mamurovich	Orenburg	2, Conductorsky Str.	Phone: (3532) 57-66-62, 33-91-10 Mobile.: 8-950-187-84-85, 8-922-846-85-11

13	Social and Legal Support Centre for Migrants and Fund “Public initiative” Hojiev Maruf	Kazan	67, Ostrovsky Str.	Phone: 88432796845, 88432963321 8-843-233-00-03
14	Regional Public Organisation of the Tajik National and Cultural Centre “Somoniyon” Rajabov Islomudding	Chelyabinsk	11, Khudyakov Str.	Phone: (351) 2629973 Mobile: 8 908 580-63-55
15	Svedlovsk Regional Public Organisation “Somon”, Farrukh Mirzoev	Yekaterinburg	2, Naberezhnaya, Rabochaya Molodyozh	Phone: (3432) 371-07-73; 240-17-88 Mobile: 8 912 22944 34.
16	Tajik Cultural Centre “Paivand” Alimov Khaidar Kurbanovich	Krasnoyarsk	1, Square of Peace	Phone: (3912) 23-83-89, 40-52-49, 23-83-12, 41-38-69
17	Tajik Cultural Centre of the Moscow City Hamrokulova Khursheda	Moscow	19, Skatertnaya Str.	Phone: 612-42-38 off. 155-08-55off. 156-07-26
18	Information and Consultation Centre for NGOs of the Kaliningrad Province Isoev Azamat	Kaliningrad	Prospect Mira, 136-514	Phone: (4012) 762765 71-51-20, 93-46-31, azamati@mail.ru icc_region@mail.ru migration department: (4012) 775-551 Danchenko Dmitry
19	Head of the Group for Migration Policy and Relations with the Tajik Diaspora in RF Ghafurov Musamirsho	Moscow	13, Granatny Pereulok	Phone: 290-21-80 somon93@mail.ru

20	Regional Public Organization: Diaspora of Representatives of the Nations “Pamir” St. Petersburg Berdov Bachtibek	St. Petersburg		Phone:.. (812)159-91-51
21	Regional Public Organisation “Compatriots” Karimov Alexander	Moscow	3/40, Chayanov Str.	Phone: 280-00-06, 300-09- 87 karimov-AR@yandex.ru

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