

REGIONAL ECONOMY

EXPORT OF LABOR RESOURCES FROM KYRGYZSTAN: TENDENCIES AND CONSEQUENCES

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ABSTRACT

The article discusses contemporary tendencies in the export of labor resources from Kyrgyzstan. The issue of seeking employment abroad remains topical for a significant share of the country's population due to the complicated socio-economic situation and high levels of unemployment and poverty. The major vectors of labor resources' export are researched—in the recent years, citizens of Kyrgyzstan have been seeking employment in Kazakhstan, Turkey, Rumania and South Korea increasingly more often. An assessment of factors that define Russian Federation as the key receiving country is provided. Most of those working abroad continue to choose Russia, despite the increase in the share of the younger generation that often considers other countries. Young men aged 20-29 with a completed high school education are currently predominant in the labor migrant flow. The presence of cultural and historic ties, along with the tight proximate transport connectivity has established the framework for the development of close economic relations, including the issues related to the export and import of labor resources. The widespread use of the Russian language in the Kyrgyz Republic allows to obtain significant competitive advantages when obtaining employment in various spheres of the Russian economy. An analysis of the struc-

ture and number of workers, their distribution over Russian regions and employment spheres is conducted. A clear eastern vector is apparent in the migration of Kyrgyz citizens to Siberia, the Urals and the Russian Far East, despite the fact that a significant share of workers is still concentrated in the major cities of the European part of Russia. The share of migrants from the Kyrgyz Republic among the working population is currently higher beyond the Ural Mountains—Kyrgyz labor force is becoming increasingly more needed specifically in the Eastern part of Russia. The contribution of labor migration to the economy of the Kyrgyz Republic and the Russian Federation at the national and regional levels is studied. Employment opportunities available to Kyrgyz Republic citizens are described. The process of establishment of ethnic Kyrgyz community organizations and their influence on the quality of life and labor conditions, as well as on the growth of the number of migrant workers from the Kyrgyz Republic are discussed. The Kyrgyz Republic's problems related to the labor resource export are analyzed. The outflow of able-bodied population with an active life potential leads to noticeable degradation of the country's social system. Opportunities for subsequent development of the Kyrgyz Republic's economy are brought to light.

KEYWORDS: *labor resources, export of labor resources, working migrants, Kyrgyzstan, Kyrgyz workers.*

Introduction

In the recent decades, internal socio-economic and political factors promote a continual increase in the export of labor resources from the countries of Central Asia. A significant share of the workers is comprised of natives of the Kyrgyz Republic, who are currently working in dozens of countries around the world. The geographic directions of labor migrants' distribution continue to be diversified. Among other reasons, this fact is stipulated by the new generation of young people entering the labor resources export process. Their knowledge of Russian is weaker, they are not as oriented towards Russia, think more broadly and are capable of utilizing modern means of communication and obtaining information.

Nonetheless, Russian Federation still remains the leading direction of labor resources export for citizens of Kyrgyzstan, which allows to speak of strong economic ties between the two countries, which encourages their bilateral development. Large-scale emigration processes have significant socio-economic, demographic and political consequences for both the donor and the receiving countries. The Kyrgyz Republic holds a high place in the world rating of countries by the share of remittances in GDP (a significant share of transfers is conducted from Russia). Meanwhile, the export of labor resources from Kyrgyzstan also has great socio-economic importance for the Russian Federation. Numerous sectors of the economy, such as construction, housing and utilities, service, agriculture, transport, etc. and are developing owing to the inflow of labor resources. The entry of the Kyrgyz Republic into the Eurasian Economic Union in August 2015 has given rise to a new phase in Russian-Kyrgyz relations, including the sphere of labor migration. Currently, migrants from Kyrgyzstan have significant advantages compared to representatives of other countries due to a higher level of mastery of the Russian language, as well as to the fact that free movement of labor force is allowed within the Eurasian Economic Union member countries (working without a work patent, the term of temporary stay, provided for by an employment or independent contractor agreement and exemption from the need to recognize academic degrees).

Factors that Promote the Export of Labor Resources from Kyrgyzstan

We can emphasize several key factors that stipulate the export of labor resources from Central Asian countries, including Kyrgyzstan, to Russia in particular.

Economic factor. On the one hand, in the countries of labor migrants' origin, the outflow of a significant number of able-bodied population was stimulated by typical "propelling" factors: a drop in industrial production, low wages, high unemployment, lack of workplaces, spreading of poverty, excess of labor resources. On the other hand, Russia, as the receiving country, has appealing factors: a high-volume labor market, a diversified economy, a need for labor resources in many regions and segments of economy, higher wages, better quality of life. As a result, a large-scale migration corridor between Central Asian countries and Russia has been established in Eurasia, in the post-Soviet territory.

Socio-demographic factor. Over the course of the 1990s-2010s, the size of the able-bodied population in Russia shrinks, while the share of older people increases. These factors exacerbate the deficit of labor resources on the Russian labor market, increases the competition for labor resources, stimulates the export of labor resources from donor countries with an excess of population. The demographic situation in Central Asian countries—the main point of origin of labor migrants—is completely opposite.

The forecasts state that by 2050 the able-bodied population will increase by 6.4 million in Uzbekistan, by 2.8 million in Tajikistan, by 900,000 in Turkmenistan, and by 600,000 in Kyrgyzstan.

Cultural and historic factors. Comprehensive interaction of Central Asian countries with Russia is based on the socio-economic ties that have formed in the framework of the ex-U.S.S.R. and on the wide distribution of the Russian language as the main interpersonal communication tool. When choosing a destination for going abroad residents of many donor countries are oriented towards the Russian Federation, since their knowledge of the Russian language and the understanding of the Russian mentality significantly increases their chances of finding employment in Russia in particular. Notably, this is especially characteristic of the Kyrgyz citizens, who obtain an additional advantage in finding employment due to their better mastery of the Russian language. The majority of migrant workers in Russia find work through social networks, relatives, private intermediaries, etc. Unfortunately, the role of state structures and private employment agencies in migrant job placement remains extremely low.

Infrastructural and geographical factor. Despite their geographical location in the very heart of Eurasia, the Central Asian states are linked far more closely with the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan than with China, the Middle East and Western Europe. There are several transportation options for traveling to the Russian Federation from Central Asia, namely, railroad, automobile, maritime, and air. In the recent years, airborne transportation has been developing and promoting the export of labor resources to Russia. Many national and Russian airlines have launched direct flights not only to Moscow, but also to other major Russian cities with relatively inexpensive flight tickets, and the gradually developing system of credits for flights to Russia (for instance, in Central Asian countries). The transportation factor in conjunction with the geographical location stimulates the export of labor resources from Central Asian countries to Russia.

Political factor. On the one hand, migration in Central Asian countries was determined by an entire range of ethnopolitical factors (civil wars, ethnic conflicts, everyday nationalism, a shrinking sphere of application of the Russian language, impossibility of career growth, lack of prospects for making a career), which led to a large-scale migration of Russian and Russian-speaking population from Central Asian countries to Russia in the 1990s-2000s. Meanwhile, the political and economic integrative processes within the CIS, and, subsequently, the EEU, the presence of a visa-free regime between the countries acted as stimulating factors for workers throughout the post-Soviet territory and promoted the influx of labor resources from the Central Asian states to Russia and Kazakhstan.

The Geography of the Export of Labor Resources from Kyrgyzstan: Russia as the Main Receiving Country

~~Over several years, the Kyrgyz Republic has been a major supplier of labor resources to other countries, Russia and Kazakhstan being the two main destinations. Over the course of the recent years, a gradual diversion of labor migrants from Kyrgyzstan to new destinations, such as Turkey, South Korea, and the Middle Eastern countries (see Figs. 1-2) has been occurring. According to the State Migration Service under the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic, in 2017 over 800,000 Kyrgyz citizens were living abroad, including over 640,000 in Russia, 35,000 in Kazakhstan, 30,000 in Turkey, 5,000 in South Korea, and the rest—in Europe, the Middle East (UAE, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, etc.) and in the U.S.¹~~

¹ See: The State Migration Service under the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic, available in Russian at [<http://ssm.gov.kg>], 5 September, 2018.

Figure 1

Main Destination Countries of Kyrgyz Citizens' Labor Migration in 2015

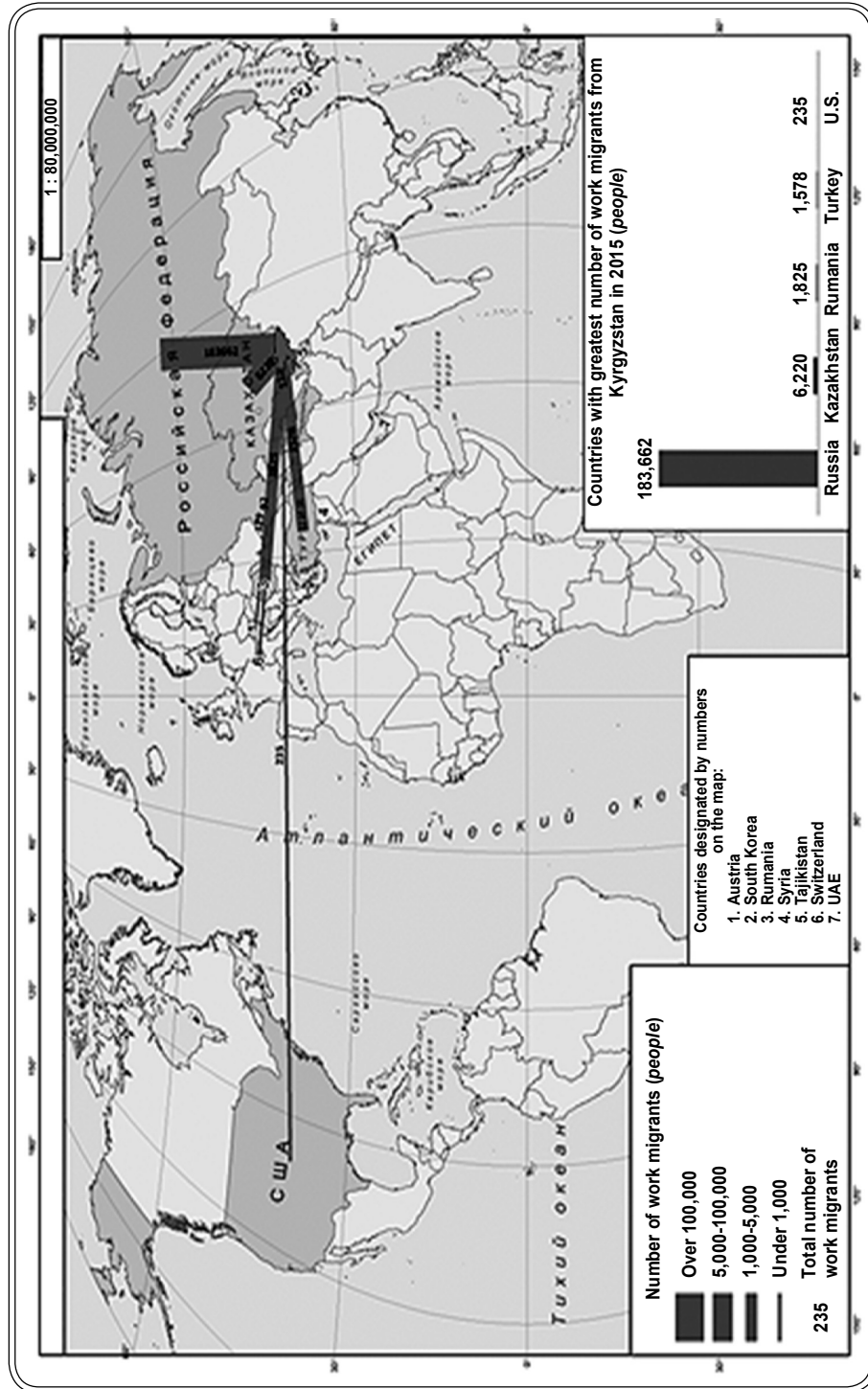


Figure 2

Main Destination Countries of Kyrgyz Citizens' Labor Migration in 2016

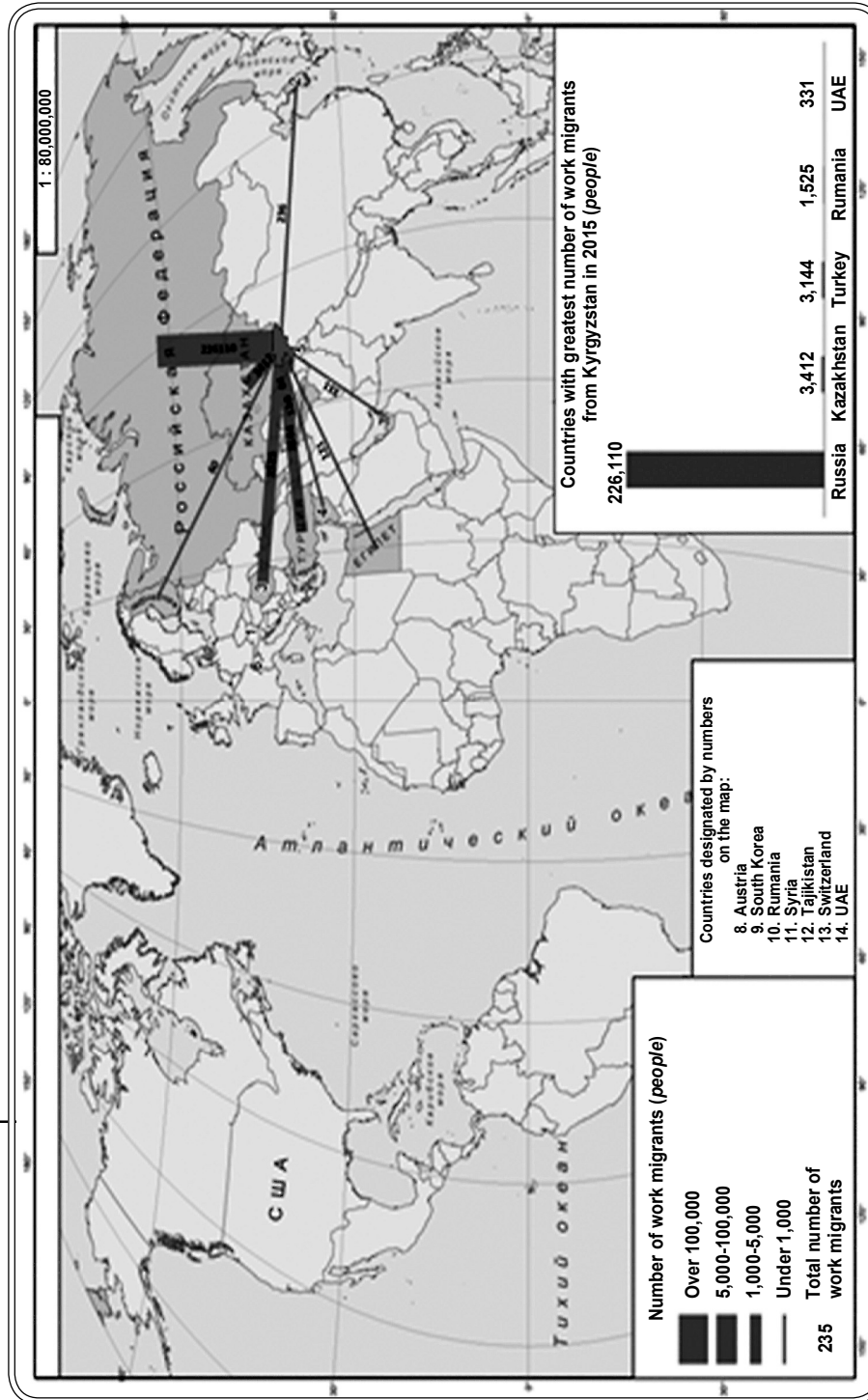


Figure 3

Distribution of Labor Migrants from Kyrgyzstan to Russia by Region in 2015*

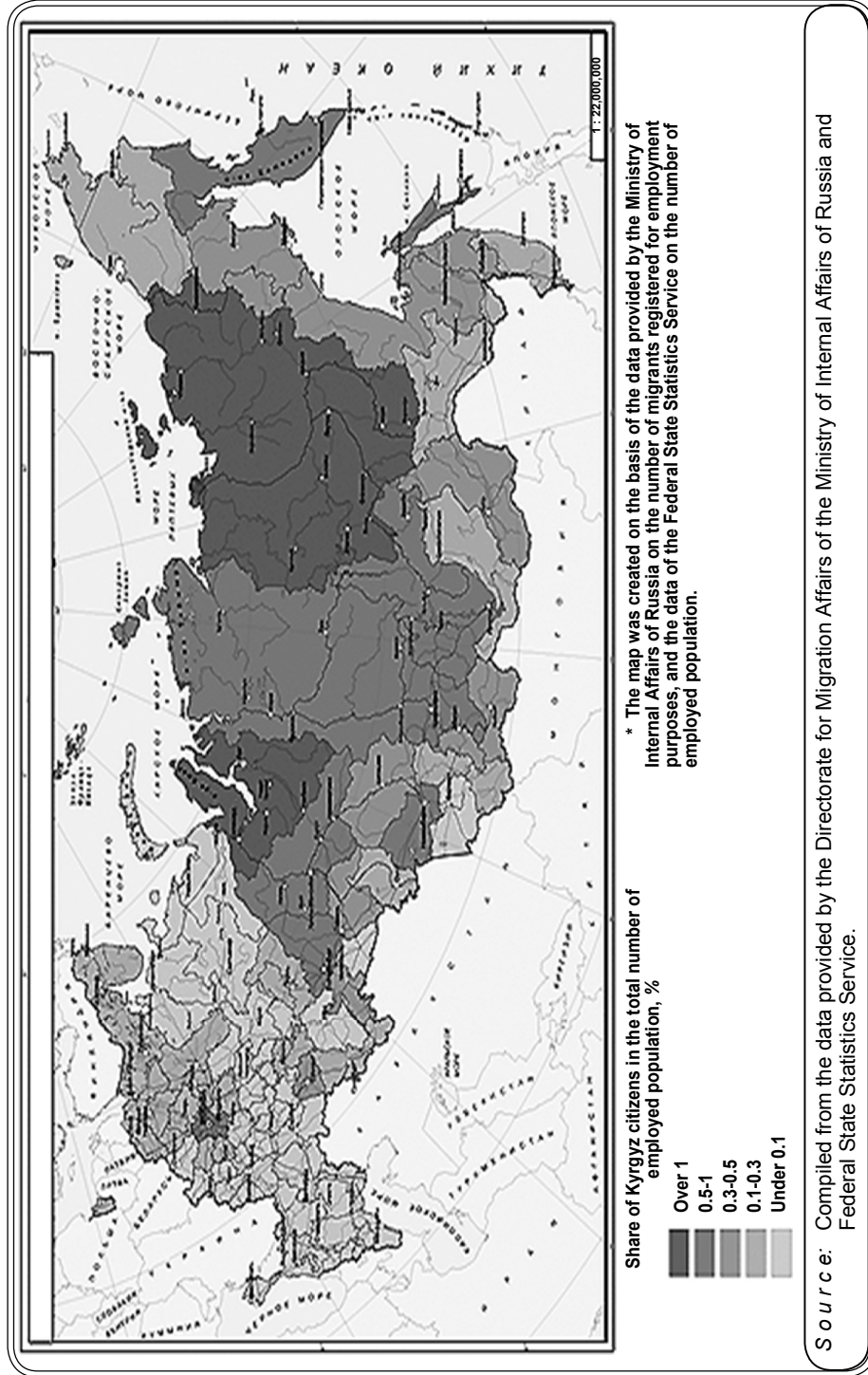
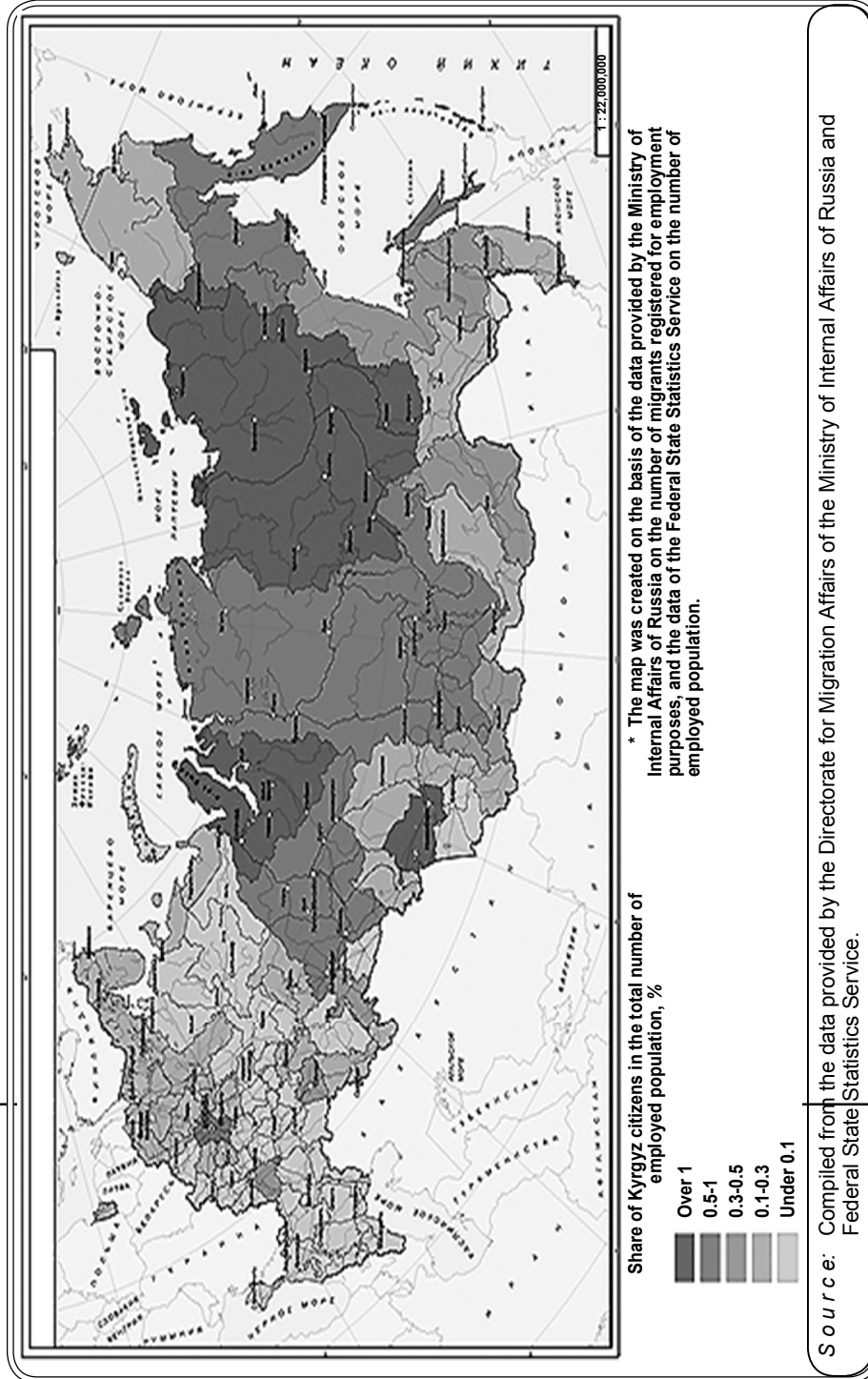


Figure 4

Distribution of Labor Migrants from Kyrgyzstan to Russia by Region in 2017*



The export of labor resources from Kyrgyzstan to Russia picked up momentum in the 2000s, and reached its peak in the 2010s. According to the Russian Federal Migration Service, in 2014 there were approximately 238,000 documented laborers from Kyrgyzstan, of which 73,400 were employed by companies, and 164,500—in the private sector. According to the Main Directorate for Migration Affairs of Russia, about 640,000 Kyrgyz citizens were registered as migrant workers in 2017.² Despite an increase in departure options and the emergence of new geographical directions of labor migration, it is currently the Russian labor market that is the most attractive to the able-bodied population of Kyrgyzstan.

In 2017, the Central Federal District employed the most Kyrgyz Republic citizens in Russia. Within the Central Federal District, the laborers are concentrated in Moscow, the Moscow Region and Tver Region. Over half of Kyrgyz citizens in Russia, namely, over 300,000 people, work in the above-mentioned regions. This is not accidental, since the Moscow agglomeration is home to the most capacious and diversified labor market in the country, which accumulates about a third of migrant workers in Russia. Interestingly, Kyrgyz citizens account for about 3% (over 212,000 people) of all the laborers in the Moscow labor market.³

The Siberian Federal District is the second one in the number of labor migrants from the Kyrgyz Republic. Kyrgyzstan natives work in the Novosibirsk Region, Krasnoyarsk Territory, Irkutsk Region, Zabaikalie Territory and Tomsk Region. Approximately 150,000 Kyrgyz citizens are currently working in the above-mentioned entities of the Russian Federation.⁴

The main regions of migrant employment in the Ural Federal District are Ekaterinburg and the Sverdlovsk Region, Tyumen Region, Yamal-Nenets and Khanty-Mansy Autonomous Areas, and Chelyabinsk Region. Approximately 70,000-80,000 Kyrgyz Republic citizens are currently working in these regions. In relation to the number of employed population, the share of migrants from Kyrgyzstan in the eastern part is significantly higher than in the European part of Russia.

Kyrgyz Republic citizens also work in the Far Eastern Federal District (Sakhalin Region, Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), Primorie Territory), Volga Federal District (Republic of Tatarstan, Nizhny Novgorod Region, Perm Territory, Samara Region), North-Western Federal District (St. Petersburg and Leningrad Region, Murmansk Region, Kaliningrad Region). The majority of Kyrgyzstan citizens in the South Federal District (about 13,000 people) work in Krasnodar Territory (see Figs. 3-4).⁵

The Socio-Demographic Structure and Employment of Labor Migrants from Kyrgyzstan on the Russian Labor Market

The socio-demographic structure of labor resources from Kyrgyzstan is characterized by the domination of young people. According to the data provided by a 2016 selective study of household budgets, a third (32.2%) of Kyrgyz migrants working abroad were 20-24 years old, while one-

² See: The Main Directorate for Migration Affairs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation, available in Russian at [<https://pda.guvm.mvd.ru/>], 28 August, 2018.

³ See: The Russian Federal State Statistics Service, available in Russian at [http://www.gks.ru/wps/wcm/connect/rosstat_main/rosstat/ru/statistics/accounts], 5 September, 2018.

⁴ See: The Main Directorate for Migration Affairs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation.

⁵ See: *Ibidem*.

fifth (21.4%) was 25-29 years old, thus 53.6% of Kyrgyz labor migrants abroad were young people 20-29 years old.⁶ According to the estimates of the experts of the State Migration Service under the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic, the structure of Kyrgyz citizens working abroad comprised 47% of young people 18-29 years of age (including 17% of women), and 31% of people of 30-49 years of age 39% of them women).⁷

It is difficult to determine the engagement of labor resources from Kyrgyzstan in various spheres of the Russian economy, due to the fact that the permit system and the approach to keeping track of labor migration have changed several times.

According to the Russian Federal Migration Service data, in 2014, 57% of Kyrgyz laborers worked in the service industry, 17%—in construction, 5% in retail, 4%—in the transport industry.⁸ A significant share of service industry workers is explained by the fact that Kyrgyz citizens have a good command of the Russian language. Kyrgyzstan is one of the few countries of the ex-U.S.S.R. where the Russian language has had a wide sphere of application and had remained a second official language for a long time. This fact gives labor migrants from Kyrgyzstan substantial competitive advantages on the Russian labor market. For instance, a 2012 study conducted by the Center of Social Demography of the Institute of Socio-Political Research of the Russian Academy of Sciences demonstrated that women from Kyrgyzstan often work as governesses, caregivers and nannies due to their strong command of the Russian language. Women from Kyrgyzstan with a nursing degrees work as home attendants, take care of the elderly. It is a very particular type of work that requires certain skills and medical abilities.

According to the data provided by a 2014 selective Rosstat study, 40% of the Kyrgyz natives who worked in the private sector were engaged in the retail sector, 26% in the manufacturing industry, 20% in agriculture, 11% in the municipal infrastructure sector.⁹

Kyrgyz citizens are currently engaged in the construction sphere (brick layers, welders, general laborers, installers), service industry (hairstylists, cooks, waitstaff, street cleaners, cleaners, taxi drivers), retail (cashiers and store attendants), as well as in the sewing industry. Men are usually engaged in more complex and heavy labor: at construction sites, in menial labor, in street and yard cleaning. More qualified workers find work as cooks and taxi drivers. Thanks to the fact that the Russian language has the status of an official language in Kyrgyzstan, in 2017 the Russian authorities preserved the Kyrgyz citizens' ability to work as drivers in Russia with their national driver's license, while it had become illicit for citizens of other countries.

Women from Kyrgyz are engaged in room cleaning in company and institutions' offices, work as service personnel, general laborers, waitresses. Those with good command of the Russian language are employed in better-qualified and higher-paid positions: as nannies in households, attendants to the elderly and the sick, manicurists and hairstylists in beauty salons, massage therapists in massage salons, cashiers in supermarkets, retail clerks in stores, medical personnel in medical institutions. However, labor migrants are often unable to find work according to their qualifications. Some obtain new skills and qualifications in Russia, often after they start their work. People with secondary education are in greatest demand abroad—they account for 70% of Kyrgyz citizens working abroad, according to the data of the selective national study of household budgets in 2016.¹⁰

⁶ See: The National Statistics Committee of the Kyrgyz Republic, available in Russian at [<http://www.stat.kg/ru/statistics/>], 5 September, 2018.

⁷ See: The State Migration Service under the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic.

⁸ See: The Main Directorate for Migration Affairs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation.

⁹ See: The Russian Federal State Statistics Service. Selective Federal Statistical Study of Migrant Labor [http://www.gks.ru/free_doc/new_site/imigr/index.html], 22 September, 2018.

¹⁰ See: The National Statistics Committee of the Kyrgyz Republic.

Remittances and Their Contribution to the Socio-Economic Development of Kyrgyzstan

Between the Central Asian states, on the one side, and the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan, on the other, a stable migration corridor has been established, which is one of the largest ones in the world from the point of view of transition of population and remittances.¹¹ Kyrgyzstan is an active participant of regional migration processes.

According to World Bank's international comparisons, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan shared the first and third place in the international rating of the share of remittances in GDP, with 47% and 29%, respectively. The volumes of remittances to Central Asian countries from abroad peaked in 2013, amounting to \$12.9 billion. Subsequently, due to the financial and economic crisis in Russia, which was accompanied by the devaluation of the ruble and outflow of labor resources, a decrease in the amounts of remittances to Central Asian countries occurred. As a result, the volume of remittances reached a minimum (\$6.6 billion) in 2016. In 2017, it grew again to \$7.9 billion. In Kyrgyzstan, the increase in the volume of remittances was already noted in 2016, and in 2017 they already exceeded the pre-crisis 2013, amounting to \$2.5 billion.¹²

A certain positive factor in the export of labor resources for Central Asian countries in general and Kyrgyzstan in particular is the fact that people who do not have a chance of working in their home country, or are engaged in low-paying work, are able to leave and earn far more abroad than at home. Thus, thanks to labor migration, household incomes are growing, and poverty in donor countries is increasingly relieved.

It is rather telling that the export of labor resources from Kyrgyzstan occurs mostly from the regions with a high population poverty level.

In the short-term, the export of labor resources abroad is rather advantageous for Kyrgyzstan. Large-scale remittances support household incomes, decrease poverty, stimulate consumption and the development of certain sectors of economy (retail, service, restaurant business and small manufacturing enterprises). According to expert estimates, in the absence of labor migration the poverty level in Kyrgyzstan may have risen from 25% to 34%.

Sociological studies conducted in the Central Asian countries demonstrate that over one-half (54%) of those working abroad are not ready to invest in the development of national economy. Approximately a quarter of those surveyed is ready to invest, but only under conditions of a higher interest on deposits, and 11%—if there are guarantees from the authorities. Surveys show a lack of population's trust in the state in the investment issues. Meanwhile, the experience of other donor countries demonstrates the short-term effect of large-scale remittances ("money transfer tsunami"). It stipulates the need to search for the ways to stimulate the investment of migrants' money in the regional and local economy. Tax breaks, state guarantees, insurance instruments are the mechanisms that have helped other countries attract the investments of their citizens who work abroad in the regional and local economy.¹³

Despite the positive aspects of using remittances at the regional and local levels, we cannot overlook the negative consequences of the export of labor resources at the national level in the mid-

¹¹ E. Pismennaia, S. Ryazantsev, V. Bozhenko, "Central Asian Diasporas in the Russian Federation: Migration Channels and their Contribution to the Socioeconomic Development of the Sending Communities," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, Tom 17, Issue 4, 2016, pp. 87-95.

¹² *Migration and Remittances Fact Book 2018*, 3rd Edition, The World Bank, Washington, D.C., 2018, pp. 149-238.

¹³ S.V. Ryazantsev, E.S. Krasinets, "Sovremennye tendentsii i ekonomicheskie efekty trudovoi migratsii iz Tsentralnoi Azii v Rossiui," *Nauchnoe obozrenie*, Series 1: *Ekonomika i pravo*, No. 5, 2016, pp. 5-14.

and long-term. First and foremost, the outflow of able-bodied population with an active life potential leads to a notable degradation of Kyrgyzstan's social system—health care, education and science have lost a huge number of qualified specialists who are much needed by the country. In addition, the spending of migrants' remittances is inefficient at the macro level—the majority of funds is understandably spent by the people on current consumption (usually on food, everyday goods, weddings and funerals, in the best-case scenario—on acquiring and renovating a residence and children's education). The funds are rarely invested in economic and business development; thus, the impact of the remittances is a short-term one.

Studies demonstrate that, nonetheless, citizens of Central Asian countries working abroad are largely ready to invest in social projects that tangibly improve the life of local communities. About 33% of households are ready to collect and invest funds in the construction or renovation of water supply lines, sewage, gas pipelines in their locality, approximately 31%—in the construction or renovation of roads, 16%—in the construction or renovation of a school, about 11%—in the construction or reconstruction of a hospital, about 3%—in the construction or renovation of cultural centers and socially significant sites. Moreover, there are numerous examples of already implemented projects of local infrastructure development in Kyrgyzstan using the funds provided by migrant workers. This demonstrates a high level of social responsibility of households that include migrant laborers, as well as their commitment to the development of the local community and its infrastructure.

Apparently, Kyrgyzstan currently is experiencing a certain “loss of revenue”—it does not receive the revenues that it could have, had the remittances been invested in the industrial sector of the economy and small business. An economic model based on the replacement of labor resources export with the export of goods and services, which, in its turn, must be based on the growth of export-oriented manufacturing and expanding population engagement, would be far more efficient for Kyrgyzstan. The export of labor resources grants Kyrgyzstan a chance to switch to a new economic development model. In order to do this, the country needs to stimulate the development of entrepreneurship.

An important aspect of investments on the part of the citizens engaged in labor abroad are the funds used to launch enterprises and small businesses. In this context, remittances provide excellent starting conditions to realize the entrepreneurial potential of the local population, not just of those who have directly participated in migration, but also their relatives and household members.

Of course, Kyrgyzstan's stimulation of population's entrepreneurial potential is still weak. It is more viable to introduce more favorable lending terms (lower interest rates on credits, longer-term credits), offer tax holidays and prolongations for those launching business. This may not have only led the laborers who'd returned home to Kyrgyzstan to invest money, but also stimulated the investors—Kyrgyz migrants who chose to permanently reside abroad—in Russia and other countries—to do the same.

The Contribution of Kyrgyz Labor Resources to the Economy of the Russian Federation: National and Regional Levels

The import of labor resources from Central Asia in general and Kyrgyzstan in particular has a significant social and economic impact on Russia. There are no precise estimates of migrants' economic contribution. In 2009, the then-director of the Federal Migration Service of Russia Konstantin Romodanovsky remarked that labor resources from other countries are responsible for 6%-8% of Russia's GDP. Unfortunately, the calculation methods used by the Federal Migration Service were

not made public, however, the number began to circulate in the Russian media and political circles. Our research was based on the evaluation methods that allow to estimate the contribution of migrant laborers to the economy of Thailand, proposed by U.S. economist Philip Martin in 2007.¹⁴ According to our calculations, in 2013, migrants have produced goods and services in the amount of 1.4 trillion rubles (or 3.12% of GDP). Considering the fact that 173,100 Kyrgyz citizens were officially working in Russia (with work permits and patents) in 2013, which amounted to 7.8% of all labor migrants in Russia, we may assume that the contribution of labor migrants from Kyrgyzstan to Russian economy was as high as 109.2 billion rubles, which is the sum of goods and services produced by them in 2013 (0.25% of Russia's GDP).¹⁵

Unfortunately, many migrant workers in Russia are undocumented, have an only partially legal status, lacking resident registration and work permits. Due to this fact, they are exploited by the employees, while the lack of a legal status and migrants' work in the informal and shadow economy lead to several missed opportunities of the donor countries' socio-economic development.¹⁶

- First of all, the unstructured and undocumented nature of migrants determines corresponding behavior strategies—as a rule, they exclusively aim to increase the current consumption level and give no consideration to savings and long-term investments beyond the satisfaction of daily needs.
- Secondly, the earning opportunities for undocumented workers and those working in the informal and shadow sector of the economy are decreasing, thus, the amounts of remittances to their home country and their families are also decreasing. Even more importantly, the lack of a fully documented status makes their earnings and transfers irregular and unstable, creating sizeable risks for the stable position and balanced development of households in their home country. It also breaks up the social connections between migrants and members of their families, which is sometimes accompanied by the severance of personal relations and breakup of families.
- Thirdly, a certain share of laborers accumulates savings, however, due to their undocumented status there is a problem with officially transferring the money and a lack of opportunity for investment. Banks do not always manage to concentrate migrants' small amounts of money. The average amount of transfer is \$200-300, and while the transfers are conducted several times a year, it is impossible to invest such insignificant amounts in production industries. In this context, the only viable long-term investment option is the purchase of real estate, cars, construction (reconstruction) of a house.

Over the years of active labor migration, rather notable (in demographic and socio-economic regard) ethnic communities of Kyrgyz migrants have been established in Russia and other countries. According to expert estimates, in 2017 the number of Kyrgyz Republic natives in Russia amounted to over 1 million people, and half of them had already exchanged Kyrgyz Republic citizenship for Russian Federation citizenship. New ethnic communities were also established in Kazakhstan (50,000), in Turkey and South Korea (15,000 each), a number of European countries and the U.S.

Due to the fact that labor migrants from Kyrgyzstan enjoy advantages on the labor market and occupy higher socio-economic niches in the Russian economy, they are integrating more success-

¹⁴ P. Martin, *The Economic Contribution of Migrant Workers to Thailand: Towards Policy Development*, International Labor Office, Bangkok, 2007, 32 pp.

¹⁵ S.V. Ryazantsev, "Vklad trudovoi migratsii v ekonomiku Rossii: metody otsenki i rezultaty," *Humanities. Bulletin of the Financial University*, No. 2 (22), 2016, pp. 16-28.

¹⁶ S.V. Ryazantsev, "Nedokumentirovannaia trudovaia migratsiia v rossiiskoi ekonomike," *Bulletin of the Tyumen State University. Socio-Economic and Law Studies*, No. 1, 2015, pp. 24-33.

fully into the Russian society. In addition, Kyrgyz citizens have been actively obtaining Russian citizenship, using the preferences that were granted to them at some point, and being generally oriented at establishing permanent residence in Russia.¹⁷ In 2001-2011, 374,000 Kyrgyz citizens obtained Russian citizenship. Unfortunately, Russia's migration policy in regard to offering citizenship to Kyrgyz citizens was not particularly stable and underwent periods of procedure tightening and rule complication in 2002 and 2010. In 2014-2016, about 23,000 Kyrgyz natives became citizens of the Russian Federation. According to the data provided by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia, 8,800 Kyrgyz citizens became Russian Federation citizens in 2017, another 5,000 obtained a Russian Federation resident permit, and 7,600 people received temporary residence permits.¹⁸

No elaborate organizations (associations, ethnic communities) that encompass all the migrants have been established in the main countries of Kyrgyz migrants' resettlement. As a rule, community organizations are established due to the efforts of activists and unite those people who immigrate to live abroad permanently and either change their citizenship, or obtain new citizenship without renouncing their Kyrgyz Republic citizenship. The active members of the organizations usually actualize the problematic issues that emerge during relocation, and sometimes protect the rights and interests of migrants and their family members, provide consultations, initiate mutual assistance, especially in places where their fellow countrymen work collectively, in large companies, at market-places, or via social media.

Most organizations mainly target the preservation of the Kyrgyz identity, language, culture, traditions and customs, and these diasporas first and foremost unite the ethnic Kyrgyz. In the context of active migration, the role of community organizations remains significant. In the regions with no presence of state authority structures of the Kyrgyz Republic, community organizations become the centers of mutual assistance, they shape ethnic communities, conduct joint meetings, festivals and celebrations, sports competitions.

Conclusion

Kyrgyzstan is currently an active participant of migration processes in Eurasia and the Central Asian region, as a large country that sends labor resources abroad. The import of labor resources from the Kyrgyz Republic continues to grow in many countries, first and foremost in the Russian Federation.

The geographical distribution of laborers from Kyrgyzstan in Russia is changing. The majority of them seeks employment and, as a result, is concentrated in Moscow and the Moscow Region and the major cities of the European part of Russia. Nonetheless, there's a clear eastern-bound vector of migration of Kyrgyz Republic citizens to Siberia, the Ural region and the Russian Far East. Their share in the employed population in the eastern regions is higher than in that of the European regions of Russia. ~~The demand for the labor of Kyrgyzstan natives is becoming increasingly greater, in the eastern part of Russia in particular.~~

Despite the apparent advantages of remittances at regional, local and national level in the mid- and long-term perspectives, one cannot overlook the negative consequences of large-scale export of labor resources. The spending of migrants' transfers remains inefficient at the macro level. The funds rarely get invested in the development of economy.

¹⁷ S. Ryazantsev, "Integratsia migrantov v kontekste vneshnei integratsionnoi politiki Rossii," *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia*, No. 1, 2018, pp. 105-111.

¹⁸ See: The Main Directorate for Migration Affairs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation.

In turn, with the increase of the number of working Kyrgyzstan natives in Russia, the size of their contribution to the Russian economy also grows.

In the context of active migration, the role of community organizations remains significant. In the regions that lack the presence of Kyrgyz Republic authority structures, migrant community organizations become the centers of mutual assistance. They shape ethnic communities, conduct joint meetings, festivals and celebrations and sports competitions. Associations of Kazakhstan natives mainly seek to preserve the Kyrgyz identity, language, culture, traditions and customs, with diasporas uniting, first and foremost, the ethnic Kyrgyz. A significant number of Kyrgyzstan natives obtain Russian citizenship.

There are no significant changes in the Kyrgyz Republic labor resource tendencies forecasted for the near future. The most significant event that had an impact on the structure and number of labor migrants from Kyrgyzstan was the beginning of the financial and economic crisis in Russia in 2014. Nonetheless, even such a substantial event turned out insignificant in the long-term.
