

УДК 316.74

**Трудовые мигранты из новых независимых государств
на российском рынке труда****В.И. Мукомель**

Институт социологии Российской академии наук, г. Москва, Россия

Аннотация: В статье рассматриваются социально-демографические профили и профили занятости трудовых мигрантов из стран СНГ и Грузии на российском рынке труда, распространенность среди них незаконной и неформальной занятости. Особое внимание уделяется условиям и оплате труда трудовых мигрантов, их мобильности на рынке труда.

Новации в российском законодательстве, вступившие в силу с 2015 года, а также процесс интеграции в рамках Евразийского экономического союза (ЕАЭС), существенно облегчили доступ к рабочим местам в России гражданам новых независимых государств пост-СССР. Доля нелегально работающих мигрантов снизилась по сравнению с предшествующими годами, что позитивно сказалось на оплате труда иностранных работников: легальная занятость стала оплачиваться лучше нелегальной. Однако сохраняется значительный разрыв в оплате труда мигрантов-женщин и мигрантов-мужчин, широко распространена неформальная занятость иностранных граждан, затрудняющая прогресс в области создания условий для достойного труда мигрантов.

Эмпирической базой исследования являются результаты социологических опросов мигрантов из государств СНГ и Грузии, проведенных в 2011 г. и в 2017 г. (соответственно, 7,4 тысячи и 8,0 тысячи респондентов, присутствующих на российском рынке труда).

Ключевые слова: мигранты; трудовые мигранты; рынок труда; безработица; виды экономической деятельности; занятия; трудовая мобильность; интенсивность труда; оплата труда, незаконная занятость; неформальная занятость.

Для цитирования: Мукомель В.И. Трудовые мигранты из новых независимых государств на российском рынке труда // Caucasian Science Bridge. 2019. Том 2, № 1(3). С. 44–57.

**Labour migrants from the newly independent countries
on the Russian labor market****Vlavimir I. Mukomel**

The Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russia

Abstract: The article discusses the socio-demographic profiles and employment profiles of migrant workers from the CIS countries and Georgia in the Russian labor market, the prevalence of illegal and informal employment among them. Special attention is paid to the conditions and remuneration of labor migrants, their mobility in the labor market.

Innovations in Russian legislation, which came into force in 2015, as well as the integration process within the Eurasian economic Union (EAEU), significantly facilitated access to jobs in Russia for citizens of the newly independent post-Soviet States. The share of illegal migrants has decreased compared to previous years, which has had a positive impact on the remuneration of foreign workers: legal employment has become better paid than illegal employment. However, there remains a significant pay gap between women and men migrants, and informal employment of foreign nationals is widespread, hampering progress in creating conditions for decent work for migrants.

The empirical base of the study is the results of sociological surveys of migrants from the CIS and Georgia, conducted in 2011 and 2017 (respectively, 7.4 thousand and 8.0 thousand respondents present in the Russian labor market).

Keywords: migrants; labour migrants; labour market; unemployment; economic activities; occupations; labour mobility; labour intensity; remuneration; illegal employment; informal employment.

For citation: Mukomel V.I. Labour migrants from the newly independent countries on the Russian labor market // Caucasian Science Bridge. 2019. Vol 2, № 1(3). P. 44–57.

Introduction

Every year, about 5 million people come to Russia to work, the vast majority of them (4.7 million) come from the newly independent states of the post-Soviet space (GVMM 2019).

According to the Russian discourse, challenges associated with the social exclusion of migrants, threatening social stability and which cannot be stopped outside the framework of the policy of integration of migrants, are of particular importance.

There are no alternatives for the adaptation of those who are focused on temporary stay in the country and on integration who intend to link their future with Russia.

One of the most difficult areas of integration policy is the adaptation and integration of migrants in the labor market. This article focuses on the analysis of socio-demographic profiles, migrant employment profiles, illegal and informal employment, labor intensity and remuneration, labor mobility of migrants.

The study is based on sociological surveys of citizens of the CIS countries and Georgia conducted by the Center for Ethnopolitical and Regional Studies (CEPRI) for the HSE under the supervision of the author in 2011 and 2017. The survey that was conducted in 2017 in 19 constituent entities of the Federation, which account for 2 / 3 legally located on the territory of the constituent entities of the Federation of foreign citizens and 4/5 with patents.

Foreign citizens were interviewed regardless of their legal status or ethnicity. At the regional level, the number of migrants was monitored for several of the most significant states of migrant citizenship for the region.

Below, we analyze data on migrants from the CIS countries and Georgia present in the Russian labor market, i.e. working or temporarily not working, but ready to start work at the time of the survey. (Accordingly, 8033 people in the

2017-survey and 7395 people in the 2011-survey).

The key problems that will be attempted to be resolved in this article are: who are labor migrants, what are their socio-demographic profiles and employment profiles by type of economic activity (RCEA, 2014) and occupation (RCO, {2014})? What are their working conditions and wages? How common are illegal and informal employment? What is their labor mobility?

Socio-demographic profiles

Most migrants are secondary educated. As a rule, they are young men, mostly married - Table 1.

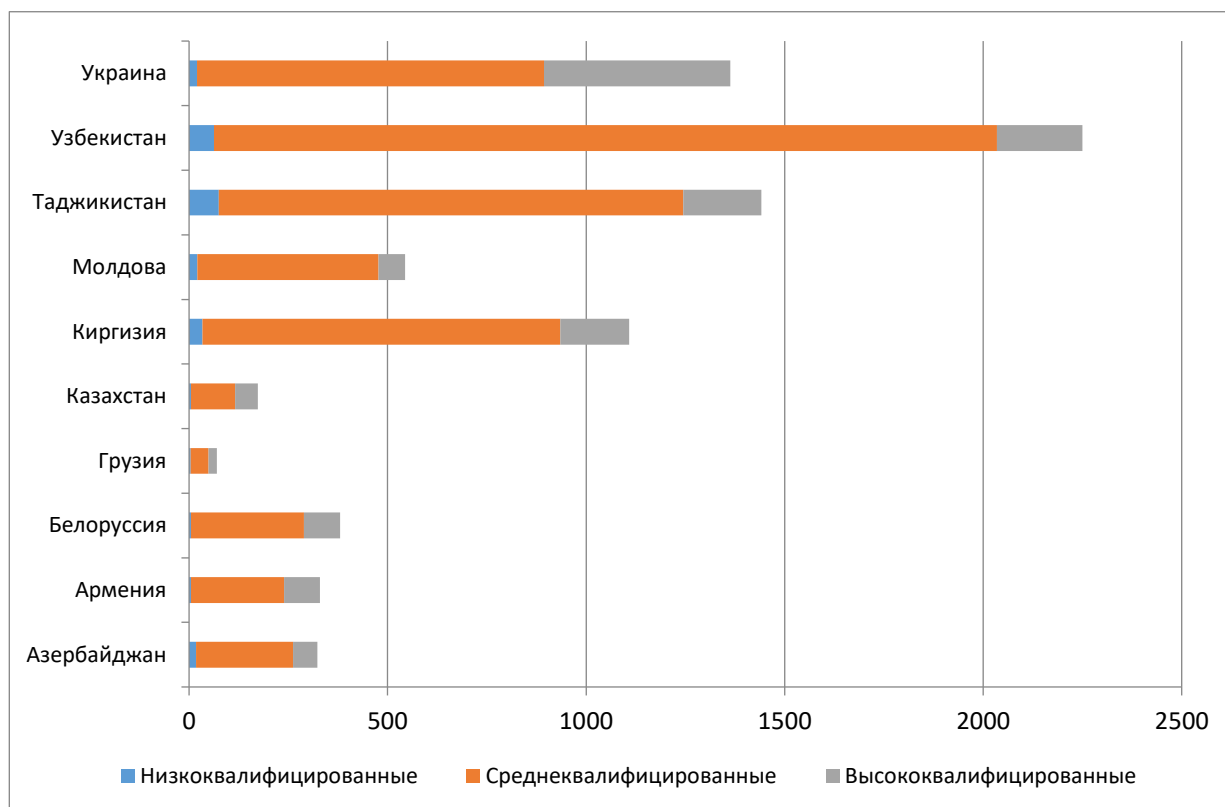
Labour migrants profiles.

Men predominate in all flows, except flows from Ukraine and Moldova: half of migrants from Moldova are women, and the majority of migrants from Ukraine are women too. At the same time, every fifth women among migrants is widowed or divorced, and every third is from Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova.

Women began to come more often in recent years. Women are older and more educated than men; more often than men they come from the capital and large cities of the country of origin. (Despite the widespread stereotype that mainly rural residents go to Russia to earn money, in reality many migrants are from capitals and large cities among migrants). The level of education of migrants is lower than Russians. The vast majority of labor migrants has secondary qualification (78.8%), highly skilled migrants - 18.1%, and low-skilled migrants are only 3.1%. There are many high-skilled migrants among visitors from Ukraine, Kazakhstan (every third), as well as Belarus (every fourth). Immigrants from these states account for 42.5% of all highly skilled migrants. Whereas Central Asian migrants make up 63.2% of middle-skilled workers and 68.8% of low-skilled workers - Figure 1.

Table 1. The main socio-demographic characteristics of labor migrants,%

Characteristics		Men	Women	Total
Age, years	Up to 20	2,6	1,6	2,3
	20-29	41,5	25,4	26,6
	30-39	29,5	30,1	29,6
	40-49	17,2	28,3	20,6
	50-59	8,6	12,7	9,8
	60 and older	0,7	2,1	1,131
Marital status	Never married	31,7	17,4	27,4
	Married (incl. Civil and religious)	64,3	60,3	63,0
	Widows, divorced	3,8	21,8	9,2
	Primary and incomplete secondary education	3,4	2,3	3,1
Education	Secondary general education	52,7	37,2	48,0
	Primary vocational education	6,6	6,7	6,6
	Secondary special education	22,5	27,5	24,0
	Higher, incomplete higher	14,7	26,2	18,1

**Figure 1. The skill level of workers by country of origin**

Most of the interviewed migrants are representatives of the Central Asian ethnic groups of the country of origin. At the same time, every 10th migrant is ethnic Russian - Figure 2.

Most migrants come to Russia to find work, which does not exclude side plans - to start a family, get an education,

educate children, etc. However, work is an undoubted priority - Figure 38

Employment profiles

Most migrants come to Russia to find work, which does not exclude side

⁸ All respondents, including economically inactive respondents who are not present on the Russian labor market (N = 8577)

plans - to start a family, get an education, educate children, etc. However, work is an undoubted priority - Figure 3⁹.

And the majority of respondents manage to realize their labor plans: 34.5% found a job, while another 46.1% got a well-paid job, and 6.4% got the qualifications and knowledge.

The vast majority of migrants present on the Russian labor market find work, but 10.0% of them are unemployed, looking for work and ready to start it. At the same time, migrants who first arrived in Russia (regardless of whether they worked at home or not) are most susceptible to unemployment, among whom 17.9% are unemployed.

Unemployment is a scourge of young migrants

However, among economically active migrant youth under 25 years old, the unemployment rate is lower (9.7%) than among older migrants, especially those over 35 years old (over 20%). This is due to the fact that among the youngest migrants, immigrants from Central Asian states prevail (78.1% of migrants) who agree to any work.

More often than not, unemployment among migrant women is higher than among men¹⁰. In the Russian case, the opposite is true: unemployment among women is lower than among men.

The thing is that migrant women have a serious bonus in the form of a better education: the proportion of women with higher and incomplete higher education is 26.2%, while only 14.7% of men have such an education; the percentage of women with specialized secondary education is also higher than that of men (27.5% versus 22.5%).

⁹ All respondents, including economically inactive respondents who are not present on the Russian labor market (N = 8577)

¹⁰ OECD (2019), Foreign-born unemployment (indicator). doi: 10.1787 / ba5d2ce0-en (Accessed on 22 July 2019). OECD data are for those born abroad, including those who had citizenship of the country of residence

Underemployment of migrants is not a characteristic of the Russian labor market: only 2.6% of respondents said that they work less than 30 hours a week (which is an order of magnitude less than in the EU or OECD)¹¹. Underemployment among women is slightly higher than among men - 4.0% and 2.0%, respectively. As a result, underemployment is more common in typically female types of economic activity - household activities, the provision of communal, social and personal services, hotel and restaurant businesses.

Young migrants are more likely to be unemployed than their Russian peers (Labor ... 2018: 134. Firstly, it is explained by the fact that more educated Russian youth are more demanding on the nature and remuneration of labor and are not inclined to accept the vacancies that young migrants occupy. Secondly, young Russians, most of whom can rely on financial support from their parents, have a certain "airbag" that allows them to miss the first job they come across.

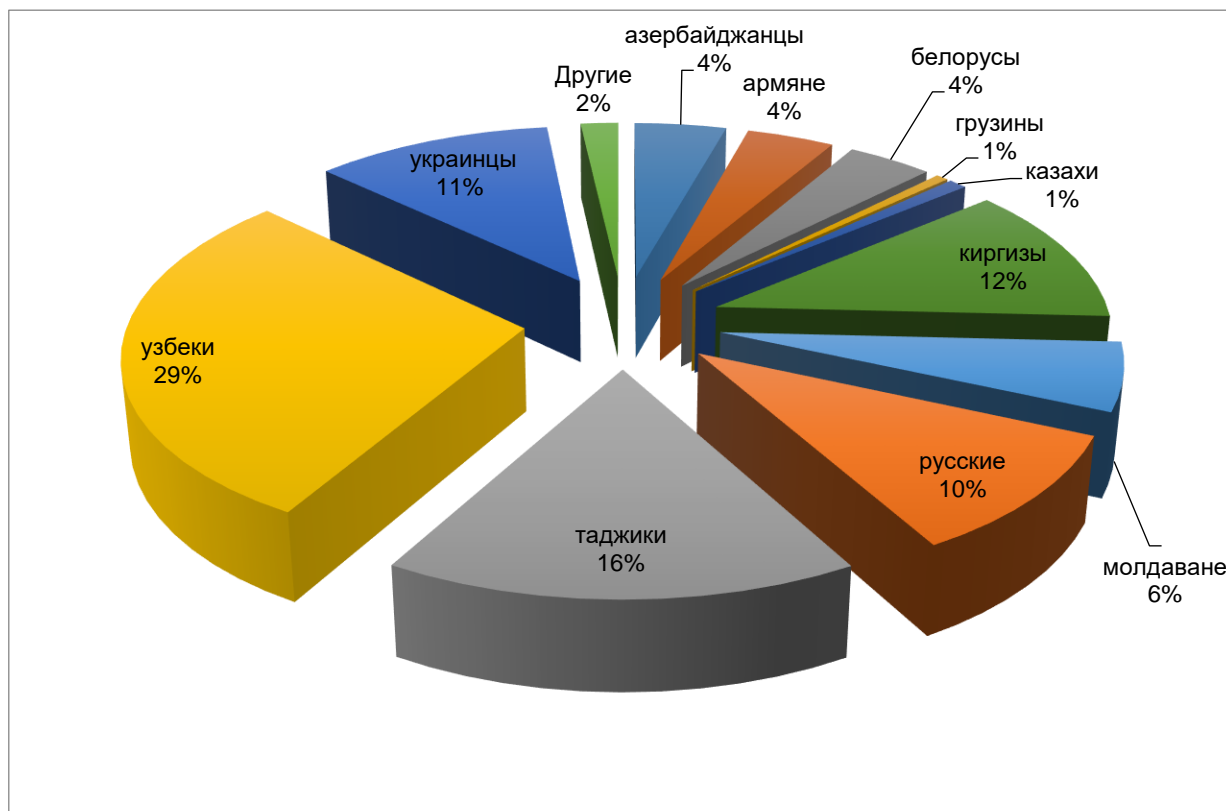
At the same time, unemployment is highest among low-skilled migrants (13.6%) and minimal among middle-skilled workers - 9.6%.

Half of the migrants are engaged in wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and household products, as well as in construction, another 36.0% - in every seventh migrant worker - in municipal, social and personal services, household activities, in the hotel and restaurant business, transport and communications, other types of economic activities. The areas of migrant employment are changing and more and more migrants are occupying jobs in which the employer has high demands on the employee: predictability of daily work, language skills, and teamwork.

¹¹ Accordingly, 25% and 19% in 2012-2013. (OECD (2015). Indicators of Immigrant Integration 2015. Settling In.p. 112. DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264234024-en>)

It seems that the employment of foreign workers is diversifying: compared with the 2011 survey, a decrease in employment in trade, in construction, in the hotel and restaurant business was accom-

panied by an increase in employment in households, manufacturing, and other types of economic activity.



Along with the main areas of employment, which trade and construction are among migrant men, men are also widely represented in the public utilities, transport and communications - Figure 4. Moreover, compared with 2011, the 2017 survey showed a sharp decrease in the share of men employed in construction - by 27.5% compared to 2011.

Compared to 2011, the share of women employed in trade (by 7.0%), hotel and restaurant business (by 11.9%) decreased, but employment in other utilities, social and personal services, and household activities increased.

The types of economic activity of migrants, as well as Russians, are gender-oriented (Figure 4). Male migrants predominate in construction, transport and communications, where their share is over 90%, women make up the majority in education, health care.

Areas of possible employment for women (cleaning, maintenance) provide a very small space for possible professional growth and women are usually less demanding when choosing a job. It is especially difficult for women over 35 to find work: in the age group of 40-44 years, for example, 14.6% of women are looking for work, compared to 8.9% among men of the same age.

Young unmarried girls have more opportunities to get married than married women: firstly, these are the requirements of employers in the service sector: good knowledge of the Russian language, age under 30, "good looks"; secondly, a young, often unmarried girl, may settle for an uncomfortable moving schedule. Older women often lose the opportunity to settle legally and can only hope for informal part-time jobs.

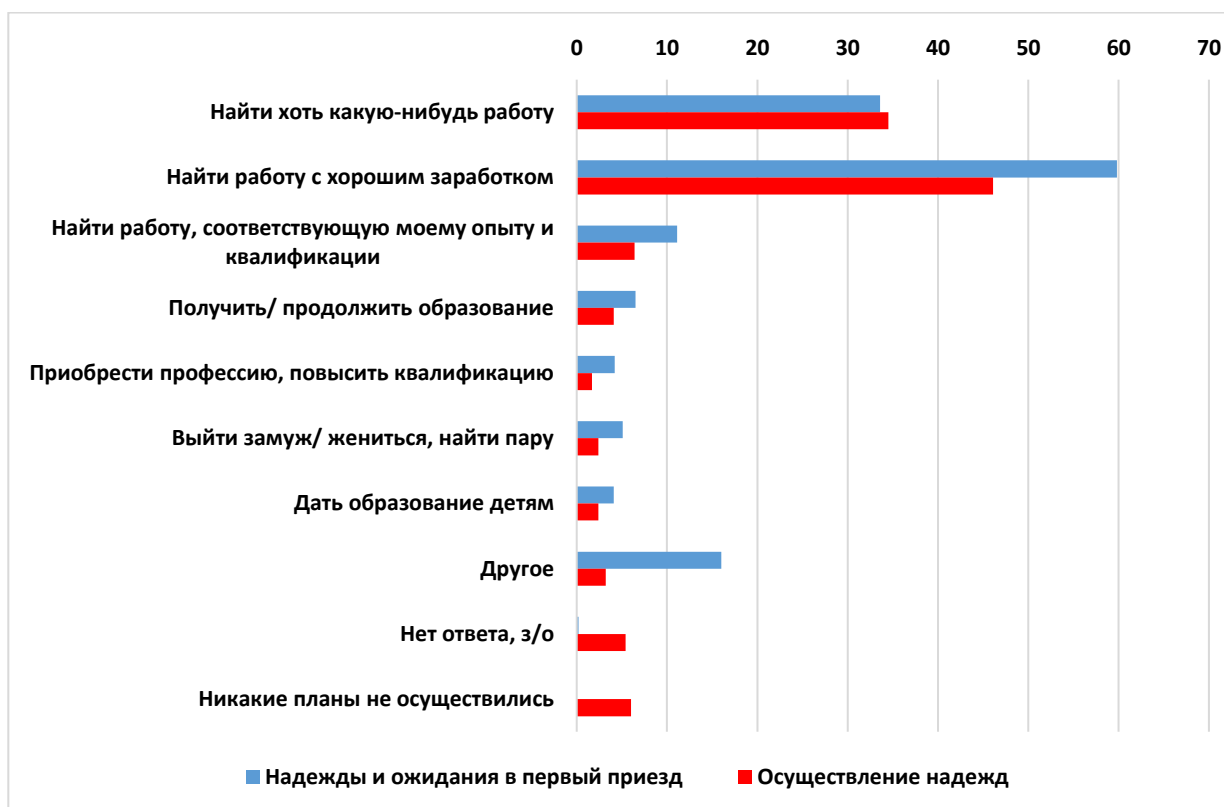


Figure 3. Hopes and expectations associated with coming to Russia, and their implementation, % of respondents

There are certain differences in the types of economic activities of long-term (staying in Russia for more than a year), short-term / circular migrants, as well as those who have just arrived and started working in Russia for the first time. If long-term migrants are uniquely concentrated in trade, construction and transport are also attractive for circular migrants — activities that allow them to regularly travel to their homeland and family. In construction, for example, more than half of the workers are circular, short-term migrants.

Newcomers to the Russian labor market - many of them are graduates of educational institutions - occupy "poor" jobs that do not impose serious requirements on the qualifications and education of workers: more than half of them work as unskilled workers. It is difficult for them to get jobs that require a projected employee to appear in the workplace over an extended period of time.

These are transport and communications, health care, education, household

activities (excluding construction and repair work), partly trade. First-time arrivals are more often seen at workplaces that do not present such requirements for an employee: utilities, agriculture.

The main occupations (professional and job groups) of most migrants, regardless of their qualification level, are occupations that require an average level of qualification - groups 4-8 according to ISCO-08. (Table 2).

The most represented on the Russian labor market are service and trade workers - 30.3% of working migrants.

It is paradoxical that every seventh highly skilled migrant and more than a third of middle-skilled workers are employed in jobs that do not require their qualifications, and half of low-skilled workers — for whom these jobs are intended — are employed where their qualifications are insufficient. And this despite the fact that the requirements for the qualification of an employee are most important for classes where managers, specialists of higher and secondary qualifica-

tions are in demand. The qualification of a foreign applicant for a managerial position is important for 15.8% of employers, for a candidate for a specialist position - for 20.1% of employers. (In the second and third places, with a wide margin - the level of knowledge of the Russian language and the availability of permits for work)¹².

Almost 2/3 of labor migrants are engaged in physical labor. Moreover, 76.0% of the labor migrants surveyed work in small enterprises.

Illegal and informal employment

A significant part of working migrants do not have legal grounds for engaging in labor activity. The share of those working without legal grounds in households is very high - 49.2%, agriculture - 39.2%, and few - in the education system, where there is especially tight control not only from the competent authorities, but also from the public (11, 7%). Despite the relatively small share of undocumented persons in trade (28.1%), almost every third migrant with an unregulated legal status in the labor market works in this area (32.9%), among other types of economic activity in which illegal migrants - construction (15.6% of illegal labor migrants), utilities (12.2%) and household activities (12.0%).

The most common illegal employment in micro and small enterprises. In micro-enterprises with up to 10 employees, 34.1% work without legal grounds. In large enterprises, where the problem is stricter and which are more strictly controlled, the share of illegal workers is minimal - 18.4%. But, taking into account that the majority of foreign workers are concentrated in small business, illegal employment is also concentrated here: 57.2% of the surveyed workers with un-

regulated legal status work in microenterprises, and 22.2% work in small enterprises.

Most often immigrants from Georgia, Moldova, Azerbaijan, and Uzbekistan work illegally. Only in exceptional cases are illegal migrants from Belarus working, and not so often migrants from the EAEU countries who enjoy preferences on the Russian labor market under the agreements of the EAEU member countries.

Along with illegal employment, informal employment is widespread when relations with the employer are not documented, or the employee is self-employed without registration of a legal entity. (Informal employment is not a phenomenon that affects only foreigners; informal employment is also widespread among Russian workers (Gimpelson and Zudina 2011; Radaev 1999). 2/5 of employed migrants work on the basis of verbal agreements with the employer, or are self-employed; even among 37.5% of those legally employed. In the most common activities, the practice of hiring on the basis of an oral agreement is more common (44.6% of migrants work in such agreements in construction, among workers 49.5% of those who trade, and 68% of those who render housekeeping services. At the same time, informal employment is practically excluded in the field of education and health care, where 9/10 foreigners work on the basis of contracts. Relatively low characteristics of informal employment in communal and social services, although many written contracts of labor migrants with employers are void.

The informal zone is small business. Among those working in microenterprises with up to 10 employees, 54.9% of migrants work on the basis of verbal agreements with the employer.

The use of social networks because of trust in them is characteristic of both migrants when looking for work, and also for the relations of a migrant worker and employer. The usual pattern of behavior based on social ties, rather than on the

¹² A CEPRI survey for the needs of the Higher School of Economics was conducted in 2017, representatives of 1,570 enterprises that differ in the legal form, types of economic activity and size of the enterprise were interviewed.

formal foundations of interaction, is characteristic of the post-Soviet space, which creates a kind of “community” of visitors and “locals” and, along with language, serves as a factor of Russia's attractiveness for migrants from the CIS countries.

Informal employment is most common among workers from Azerbaijan,

Georgia and Moldova. Most often, immigrants from Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan draw up their relations with the employer, using certain preferences in the Russian labor market - Figure 5

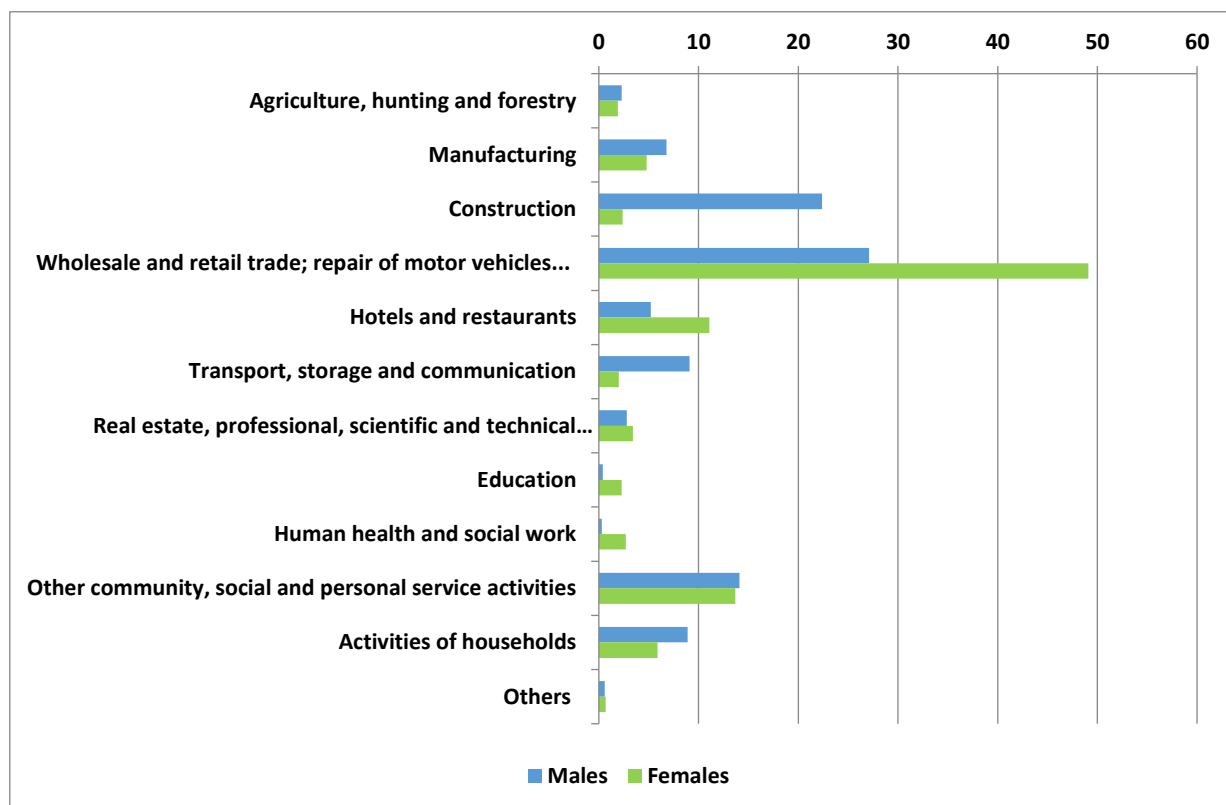


Figure 4. Distribution of labor migrants of different sexes by type of economic activity, % of respondents

Table 2. Occupations of migrants of different skill levels, %

Class groups, ISCO-08	Highly skilled migrants	Medium Skilled Migrants	Low skilled migrants	Total
1. Executives	2,1	0,5	-	0,8
2. Professionals	10,4	0,5	-	2,2
3. Специалисты	6,9	2,1	2,2	2,9
4. Specialists	6,4	1,4	...	2,3
5. Service and sales workers	38,0	28,8	25,9	30,3
7. Skilled workers	15,5	23,2	17,7	21,6
8. Machine and plant operators	6,3	7,7	3,4	7,3
9. Unskilled workers	14,4	35,8	50,0	32,4
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Note: without a small group of 6 - skilled agricultural workers

The formalization of labor relations is often not prerequisite even for highly skilled migrants, who believe that trust and personal ties are the best guarantees of higher earnings in informal employment. (Informal employment also has its advantages - more job opportunities and, sometimes, higher pay).

Informal employment and employment of foreigners without legal grounds, the result is not so much of their "profitability" for the employer and employee as the imperfection of the legislation and, especially, its enforcement. It is often unprofitable for an employee to legalize due to a dilemma: either to spend considerable money and time, buying a patent and related documents, or to save both money and time by working illegally. Lack of legal grounds for work, coupled with informal employment, contribute to the overuse of migrant labor.

Intensity and remuneration

Migrants are oriented to earnings regardless of the work schedule and working conditions, work intensively, with an irregular schedule. The average working week of working migrants is 59 hours, and legal workers work even more.

Most people work in trade, transport, catering and hotel business (over 60 hours), least (43 hours) in education. At the same time, the duration of the working week is inversely proportional to the size of the enterprise and maximum at enterprises with the number of employees up to 10 people - 61 hours. (A survey of migrants and Russian workers employed at the same jobs showed that the regime and duration of labor of migrants can significantly differ from the corresponding characteristics of Russian workers, both due to discrimination of the first and because of the different priorities of these two groups of workers: more important for migrants earnings for the sake of which they can sacrifice both conditions, character and duration of labor (TsSTP, 2013).

There is also forced labor. Moreover, the bulk of migrants consciously go to work hard for the sake of earning. The situation of

many migrants, in particular circular ones, who come to Russia after a break and research for a job, is characterized by uncertainty and legal insecurity. Only those who appeared on the Russian labor market are in an even more difficult situation.

Migrant forms of forced labor are more often encountered by migrants than Russians: 21.1% of migrants and 15.0% of Russians faced deception about working conditions, while 21.1% of migrants and 13, forced to work additionally under the threat of dismissal, 1% of Russians, under the threat of non-payment or incomplete payment of salaries - 20.5% of foreigners and 13.1% of Russian workers, forced to work off debts, travel, etc. - 9.3% of migrants and 4.6% of Russians. At the same time, internal migrants are just as often confronted with these types of forced labor as foreigners: 25.0% of "regionals" and 14.5% of pendulum migrants are familiar with deception about working conditions, with additional work under threat of dismissal - 17.3% "Regionals" and 12.2% of pendulum migrants, non-payment or incomplete payment of salaries - 17.9% of "regionals" and 24.4% of pendulum migrants, with compulsion to work out debts - 6.1% of regionals and 9.8% of pendulum migrants. Visitors are more likely to encounter forms of forced labor such as deception about working conditions and job duties when they are invited to work than even illegal migrants (TsSTP 2013; Grigoryeva, Mukomel, 2014).

Low earnings are typical for educators (23.9 thousand rubles per month), utilities, social and personal services - 26.0 thousand rubles. The labor of builders and those employed in households, which are characterized by uncomfortable working conditions and / or an uncomfortable work schedule, is relatively well paid. And the most earned are the few groups engaged in financial activities, mining, production and distribution of electricity, gas and water, public administration and mandatory social security - Table 3.

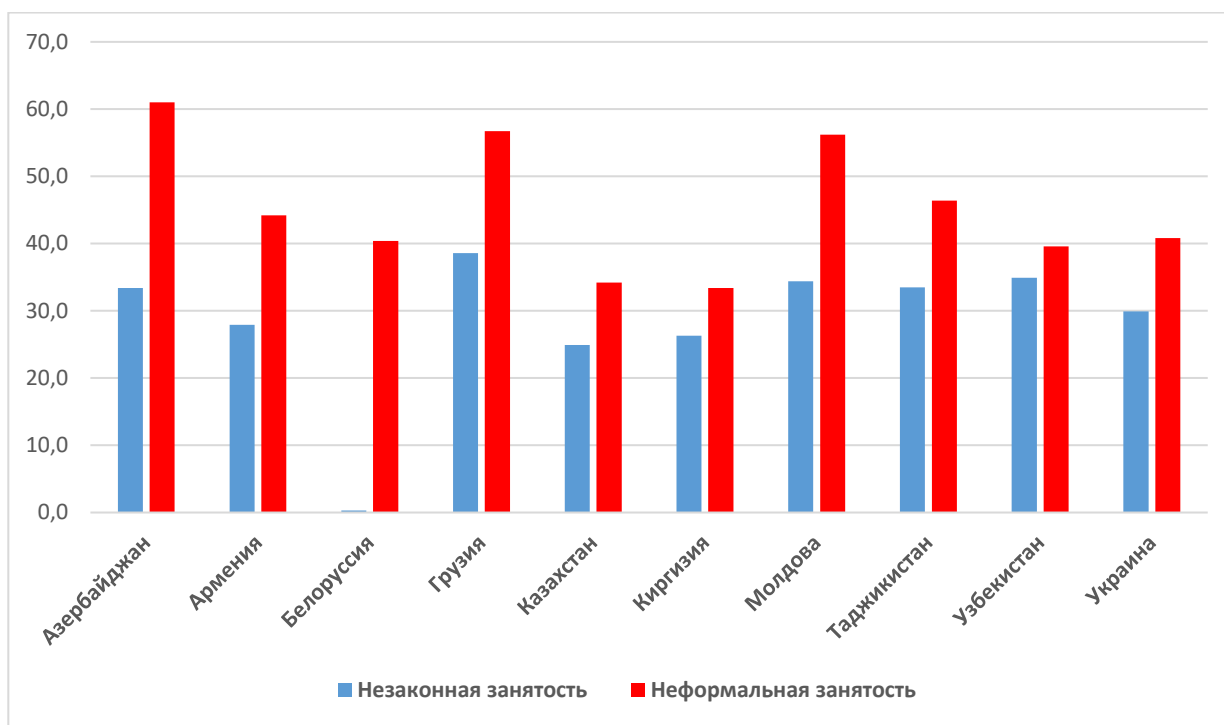


Figure 5. The share of workers illegally and informally employed in the Russian economy, by exit country, %

At the same time, labor intensity is paid for: although workers in education receive less than other migrants, they work less intensively. As a result, their hourly wages are above average - Table 4.

However, significant differences remain in the hourly wages of men and women - on average, by 13.4%. The difference is particularly great in the payment of women and men in health care (1.7 times), agriculture, manufacturing, and education (1.3 times). Although in a number of types of economic activity women receive even a little more than men: in construction; real estate operations, equipment rental, science, engineering, IT; the provision of communal, social and personal services; household activities.

Labor remuneration directly correlates with the size of the enterprise: if at microenterprises up to 10 employees it is 29.3 thousand rubles, then at large enterprises - 32.8 thousand rubles.

Moreover, legally working migrants receive an average of 10% more without permits - Figure 6.

There is a direct relationship between the remuneration of legally employed and illegally employed among

workers from all countries. (With the exception of Belorussian citizens who have the same rights on the labor market as Russian citizens; the percentage of Belorussian migrant workers working without legal grounds is scanty - as a rule, they did not register at the place of residence / residence).

After the latest innovations in migration legislation that came into force in 2015 and its enforcement, the legal nature of labor has become explicitly and fairly significantly paid, unlike the previous period. (The 2011 survey did not record a difference in the pay of legal and illegal labor migrants, and in certain types of economic activity illegal migrants were paid even better than those with work permits).

Both employers and respondents noted that the remuneration of Russians and foreigners is the same (this is mentioned by 48.6% of Russians and 45.7% of migrants), however, a significant part of respondents said that Russians have higher salaries (respectively, 34.7% of Russian workers and 37.2% of foreigners), only 3.6% of Russians and 3.2% of migrants believed that foreigners had higher sala-

ries. (13.1% of Russians and 13.9% of migrants found it difficult to answer).

There are objective circumstances: migrants have significantly less experience in working at a particular enterprise than Russians, lower educational attainment margins, as well as lower levels of education among migrants play an

important role in the fact that their wages are lower than local workers. However, the hourly rates of workers employed in similar jobs do not differ in favor of migrants (TsSTP 2013; Grigoryeva, Mukomel 2014).

Table 3. Remuneration and duration of the working week by type of economic activity, % of respondents

	Salary per month, thousand rubles	Hourly wages, rubles	The duration of the working week, hours
A Agriculture, hunting, forestry	27,4	140,1	53,6
C Manufacturing	29,6	140,4	51,7
F Building	34,7	153,5	58,2
G Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles	28,9	120,5	62,4
I Hotels and restaurants	30,2	137,7	60,0
I, J Transport, storage and communications	33,1	136,1	61,3
L, M Real estate operations, equipment rental, science, engineering, IT	30,0	138,3	56,6
P Education	23,9	140,0	43,0
Q Health and social services	27,9	135,5	54,3
S The provision of other utility, social and personal services	26,0	112,9	59,1
T Household activities	32,0	156,8	56,1
Total	30,1	133,1	59,1

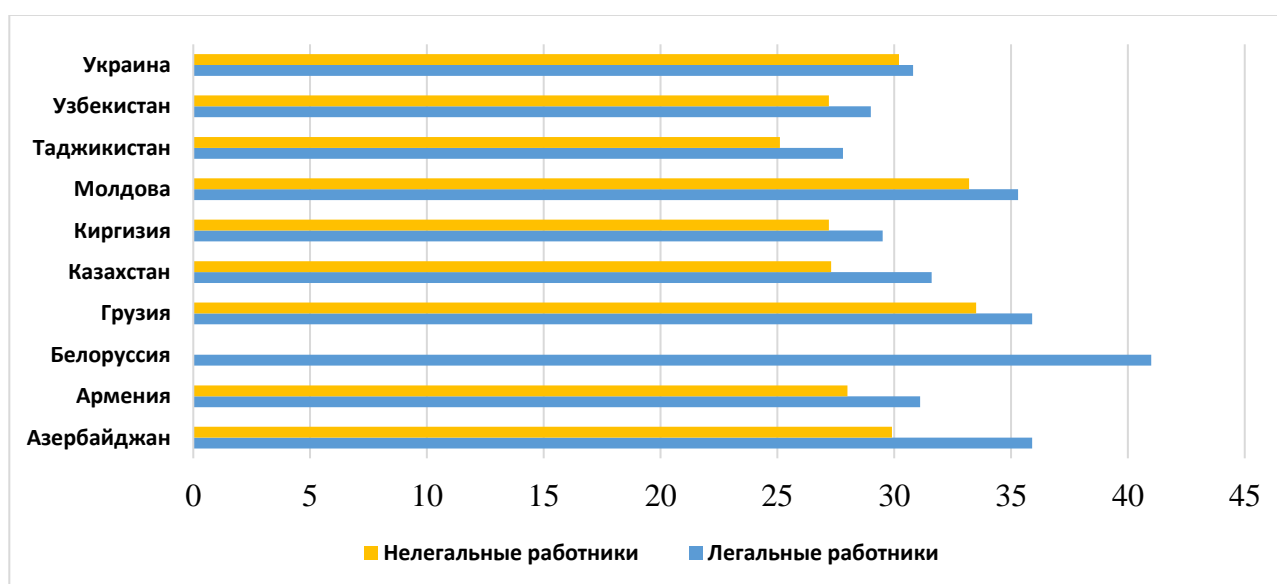


Figure 6. The average monthly salary of legal and illegal workers by country of exit, thousand rubles

There is a direct relationship between the remuneration of legally employed and illegally employed among workers from all countries. (With the exception of Belorussian citizens who have the same rights on the labor market as Russian citizens; the percentage of Belarussian migrant workers working without legal grounds is scanty - as a rule, they did not register at the place of residence / residence).

After the latest innovations in migration legislation that came into force in 2015 and its enforcement, the legal nature of labor has become explicitly and fairly significantly paid, unlike the previous period. (The 2011 survey did not record a difference in the pay of legal and illegal labor migrants, and in certain types of economic activity illegal migrants were paid even better than those with work permits).

Both employers and respondents noted that the remuneration of Russians and foreigners is the same (this is mentioned by 48.6% of Russians and 45.7% of migrants), however, a significant part of respondents said that Russians have higher salaries (respectively, 34.7% of Russian workers and 37.2% of foreigners), only 3.6% of Russians and 3.2% of migrants believed that foreigners had higher salaries. (13.1% of Russians and 13.9% of migrants found it difficult to answer).

There are objective circumstances: migrants have significantly less experience in working at a particular enterprise than Russians, lower educational attainment margins, as well as lower levels of education among migrants play an important role in the fact that their wages are lower than local workers. However, the hourly rates of workers employed in similar jobs do not differ in favor of migrants (TsSTP 2013; Grigoryeva, Mukomel 2014).

Labor mobility

Two-thirds of migrants with work experience in their homeland, upon arri-

val in Russia, change the type of economic activity. On the one hand, some types of economic activity, for example, agriculture, are not only not of interest to labor migrants, but they also have limited demand for labor. On the other hand, in some types of economic activity, there is a direct ban on hiring foreigners. It is very difficult to get a job in Russia in the specialty of migrants who worked in the homeland in healthcare or in education. Most often, this is associated with work that does not require their qualifications and / or lower wages than in other sectors. As a result, only 8.5% of those working in the field of education and 22.0% of former health workers continue to work in these areas in Russia. The rest are employed mainly in trade (35.0% of those who worked in healthcare, 39.3% of those who worked in the education system), public services and social services (12.0% of former health workers and 14.9% of education).

They were least inclined to change the type of activity that worked before arriving in Russia in attractive and competitive areas of employment: in trade, construction, hotel and restaurant business, and households. Relatively rarely do the sphere of employment change and those unskilled workers who worked in the public services in their homeland and continue to work in this field in Russia - 42.5%.

The specific skills and knowledge that migrants possessed in a particular type of activity before arriving in Russia are not always in demand. Similarly, the education and qualifications of an employee and 2/3 of migrants with work experience before arriving in Russia do not find adequate demand in the Russian labor market and change their occupations.

Although only 3.3% have low qualifications, unskilled workers began to work an order of magnitude more migrants - 40%.

The most difficult thing is for migrants who do not have work experience

before arriving in Russia. But the presence of such experience is not a guarantee of a good job. If in the homeland more than a quarter of migrants took the places of leaders, specialists of higher and secondary qualifications, in Russia - less than 8%. A typical trajectory of migrants who have just arrived in Russia is employment at a less prestigious job, compared to what they occupied in their homeland. However, as they adapt, some migrants manage to return to jobs that correspond to their level of qualification and professional training due to the fact that they leave jobs that have lowered requirements for their qualifications¹³.

Conclusion

Refusal to quote work permits, a transparent system of work patents for migrants from countries with a visa-free regime, expanding the rights of workers from the countries of the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) and other reasonable measures that simplify the procedure for foreign workers to access the labor market, for the most part implemented since January 1, 2015, contributed to the legalization of labor migrants. However, the simultaneous increase in the cost of patents, the introduction of additional legalization procedures for the employee, which followed in 2017-2018. the increased responsibility of legal entities and individuals for fictitious registration of foreigners and other similar measures

¹³ Most workers from the CIS countries are limited in their ability to change jobs in Russia. Citizens of Belarus, as well as all foreigners holding a residence permit, enjoy the rights of Russian citizens on the labor market, while a temporary residence permit limits the choice of place of work to the region where this document is issued. In the worst situation are those who are not citizens of the EAEU countries, who not only cannot work outside the borders of the subject of the Russian Federation in whose territory the patent is issued, but also by profession, which does not correspond to that indicated in the patent. In addition, regional authorities may impose additional restrictions on them by prohibiting the grant of patents for certain professions.

have complicated the further legalization of labor migrants.

Along with illegal employment, informal employment is widespread, especially in the field of household services, in trade and construction - types of economic activity with the worst working conditions and its payment. Migrant women are in a particularly difficult situation, whose labor in the Russian labor market is paid less than that of men.

The first job in Russia, as a rule, does not correspond to the professional training of migrants who are forced to agree to any job. A typical trajectory of migrants who have just arrived in Russia is employment at a less prestigious job, compared to what they occupied in their homeland. A change of workplace in Russia contributes to upward mobility: as it adapts, some migrants manage to return to jobs that correspond to their level of qualification and professional training. However, there is a minority group: downward vertical mobility is typical for all contingents of migrants.

Creating conditions for decent work of foreign workers, including the elimination of barriers to horizontal and vertical labor mobility of migrants, should be one of the priorities of migration policy.

Литература

1. Гимпельсон В.Е., Зудина А.А. (2011). Неформалы в российской экономике: сколько их и кто они? Нац. исслед. Ун-т «Высшая школа экономики». - М.: Изд. Дом Высшей школы. Препринт WP3/2011/06
2. ГУВМ (2019). Отдельные показатели миграционной ситуации в Российской Федерации за январь - декабрь 2018 года с распределением по странам мира. Главное управление по вопросам миграции МВД России. URL: <https://xn--b1aew.xn--p1ai/Deljatelnost/statistics/migracionnaya/item/15851053/>
3. Григорьева Ксения, Мукомель Владимир (2014). Мигранты и россияне на рынке труда: условия, режим труда, заработная плата // Мигранты, мигрантофобии и миграционная политика / Отв. ред. В.И. Мукомель - М.: Московское бюро по правам человека, "Academia".
4. Радаев Вадим (1999). Неформальная экономика и внеконтрактные отношения в российском бизнесе. Подходы к исследованию

неформальной экономики // Неформальная экономика. Россия и мир / Под ред. Теодора Шанина. М.: Логос.

5. RCEA (2014). Russian Classification of Economic Activities. ОК 029-2014 (КДЕС Ред. 2). URL: http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_163320/.

6. RCO (2014). Russian Classification of Occupations. ОК 010-2014 (ISCO-08). URL: http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_177953/.

7. ЦСТП (2013). Центр социально-трудовых прав. Краткий аналитический отчет о научно-исследовательской работе по теме: «Анализ практик трудовых отношений иностранных граждан (трудовых мигрантов) и их влияния на трансформацию трудовых отношений российских граждан». URL: http://trudprava.ru/images/events/КругСтол%20ммигранты%2016.09.2013/Отчет_мигранты-2.pdf.

8. OECD (2015). Indicators of Immigrant Integration 2015. *Settling In*. DOI:<https://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264234024-en>.

9. OECD (2018). International Migration Outlook 2018. OECD Publishing. Paris. URL: https://doi.org/10.1787/migr_outlook-2018-en.

10. OECD (2019), Foreign-born unemployment (indicator). doi: 10.1787/ba5d2ce0-en

References

1. Gimpelson V.E., Zudina A.A. (2011). Neformaly v rossiyskoy ekonomike: skol'ko ikh i kto oni? [Informals in the Russian economy: how many of them and who are they?] Nats. issled. Un-t «Vysshaya shkola ekonomiki». [Higher school of Economics] - M.: Izd. Dom Vyshe-y shkoly. Preprint WP3/2011/06, Moscow

2. GUVM (2019) Available at: <https://xn--b1aew.xn--p1ai/Deljatelnost/statistics/migracionnaya/item/15851053/>

3. Grigorieva K, Mukomel V (2014) Migranty i rossiyanе na rynke truda: usloviya, rezhim truda, zarabotnaya plata [Migrants and Russians in the labor market: conditions, labor regime, wages]. Moscow: Moskovskoye byuro po pravam cheloveka, "Academia".

4. Radayev V. (1999) Neformal'naya ekonomika i vnekontraktnyye otnosheniya v rossiyskom biznese. Podkhody k issledovaniyu neformal'noy ekonomiki [Informal economy and non-contractual relations in Russian business. Approaches to the study of the informal economy]. In T. Shanin. Moscow: Logos.

5. RCEA (2014). Russian Classification of Economic Activities. ОК 029-2014 (КДЕС Ред. 2). URL: http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_163320/.

6. RCO (2014). Russian Classification of Occupations. ОК 010-2014 (ISCO-08). URL: http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_177953/.

7. TSSTP (2013) Available at: http://trudprava.ru/images/events/КругСтол%20мигранты%2016.09.2013/Отчет_мигранты-2.pdf.

8. OECD (2015). Indicators of Immigrant Integration 2015. *Settling In*. DOI:<https://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264234024-en>

9. OECD (2018). International Migration Outlook 2018. OECD Publishing. Paris. URL: https://doi.org/10.1787/migr_outlook-2018-en.

10. OECD (2019), Foreign-born unemployment (indicator). doi: 10.1787/ba5d2ce0-en

Поступила в редакцию 5 марта 2019 г.

ИНФОРМАЦИЯ ОБ АВТОРЕ / INFORMATION ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Мукомель Владимир Изявич

Доктор социологических наук

Руководитель сектора изучения миграционных и интеграционных процессов Института социологии Российской академии наук

E-mail: mukomel@isras.ru

Vladimir I. Mukomel

Doctor of sociology

Head of the sector of migration and integration studies at The Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences

E-mail: mukomel@isras.ru