

# **LABOUR MIGRANTS FROM UZBEKISTAN IN THE SOUTHERN REGIONS OF KAZAKHSTAN**

ASSESSMENT REPORT



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IOM International Organization for Migration

The Report is based on research conducted by independent consultant, Valentina Chupik, Tashkent, under the supervision of professor Kadyr Alimov, Tashkent, and edited by IOM Almaty.

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## **ABSTRACT**

After the fall of the Soviet Union, migration emerged as a strong feature in the lifestyles of all newly independent states. Uzbekistan became an important source country for labour migrants in the region. This process of labour migration was a spontaneous response from the population to the changing political and economic environment in their state. The proportion of Uzbekistan's population seeking employment opportunities abroad has been increasing throughout the 1990s and particularly intensified since 1999. Today, labour migration contributes to the attenuation of popular discontent and social conflict by providing a partial solution to the problems of unemployment.

The main destination countries for labour migrants from Uzbekistan are Russia, South Korea, and since 1999, Kazakhstan. Kazakhstan attracts mostly unskilled labour for work in construction or seasonal employment in agriculture or commercial traders who sell at the markets. However, practically all labour migrants working in Kazakhstan are in an irregular or illegal situation. As a result, many are subjected to situations of exploitation and human rights abuse. Widespread unofficial employment of workers from Uzbekistan in Kazakhstan is mainly a result of inefficient legislative mechanisms that regulate labour migration questions in these states, poor awareness among migrants of their legal rights and responsibilities and lack of desire on the part of Uzbekistan's government to place labour migration high on the national priorities agenda of the state.

The present report provides an overview assessment of labour migration from Uzbekistan to Southern Kazakhstan, examines migrants' social and legal situation, their working conditions and relations with different agencies in the host society, and highlights current migration trends. The report also discusses causes and results of labour migration flows between the two states and provides recommendations for improvement of labour migration regulation to ensure that the process benefits all -- migrants, societies and the states.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Following the break up of the Soviet Union, many in the newly independent CIS states chose migration as a response to the changing geopolitical, economic, and social environment. In the transforming societies, spontaneous migration of the labour force contributed in important ways to the attenuation of popular discontent and prevention of social conflict by becoming a solution to unemployment and by helping restore consumer demand that was destroyed in the transition period.

Preliminary studies on effects of labour migration in CIS countries have shown that temporary labour migration improves the welfare level of households, facilitates formation of the middle class, enhances activity and empowerment of women, and is a way to gain or improve entrepreneurial skills and qualifications among the population. Therefore, labour migration positively influences socioeconomic development of both the countries sending and receiving labour migrants.

However, due to the relative inexperience of the CIS governments in managing and legalizing labour migration, gaps in existing legislation are often exploited by corrupt officials and criminal structures, which often results in severe violations of migrants' rights. The issue is sometimes compounded by popular perceptions of fluid borders and poor awareness among individual migrants and their employers about foreign labour legalization procedures. Unregulated or poorly organized labour migration results in flows of illegal labour migrants that are highly vulnerable to human rights abuses, including exploitation and human trafficking.

The phenomenon of labour migration from Uzbekistan has been increasing throughout 1990s and has particularly intensified since 1999. Today, persistence of economic hardships, high unemployment, and anticipation of better earnings abroad encourage more Uzbekistani workers to seek employment in neighboring countries including Russia, Kyrgyzstan and increasingly in Southern Kazakhstan. Estimated numbers of labour migrants from Uzbekistan in Southern Kazakhstan range from 200,000 by state officials to 1 000 000 by non-governmental organizations. Most of these migrants are unskilled or semi-skilled and many are commercial migrants.

However, due to the perpetuating state monopoly on labour migration in

Uzbekistan and legally flawed legalization procedures for the employment of foreigners in Kazakhstan, labour migrants from Uzbekistan are subjected to the unique condition of “double-illegality”. Due to various reasons, all of them leave Uzbekistan via unregulated channels, circumventing the established state mechanism and official procedures required to register their employment abroad. Thus, even when a labour migrant from Uzbekistan is legally employed and registered in the destination country, his or her employment is still viewed as illegal by the authorities at home. However, most migrants experience difficulties with registering and legalizing their stay and employment in Kazakhstan as well and therefore, even though most labour migrants cross the state borders legally, 100% of labour migrants from Uzbekistan working in Kazakhstan are in an irregular or illegal situation. Illegal status of a labour migrant in a receiving country dramatically increases that migrant’s vulnerability to human rights abuses and exploitation. The condition of “double-illegality” increases migrant’s vulnerability because he or she lacks the protection of both, the sending and receiving countries.

Previous research on labour migration from Uzbekistan indicated that the number of migrants subjected to exploitation in the Republic of Kazakhstan is higher than in other destination countries for Uzbekistani labour migrants. Yet, labour migration from Uzbekistan is currently not considered to be a state priority and Uzbekistan’s government is not awarding sufficient attention to the protection of its citizens engaged in labour migration by pointing out insufficient hard data of the realistic picture of the rights of Uzbekistani migrants in the receiving countries. Also, the phenomenon of labour migration from Uzbekistan to Southern Kazakhstan has so far been understudied. Considering that migration of the labour force to Southern Kazakhstan is the fastest growing migration trend that occurs via unregulated channels, it is important to illuminate the conditions in which labour migrants from Uzbekistan find themselves in Kazakhstan and to research the causes of perpetuation of such conditions. This research aims to accomplish this task.

The main objectives of the research were to study the following:

- social and legal situation of Uzbek labour migrants in Kazakhstan;
- socioeconomic impacts of labour migration in Uzbekistan;
- legal framework for labour migration in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan and its implementation;
- incidence of human trafficking of Uzbek migrants for labour exploitation and identify legal, administrative, social and market conditions that facilitate trafficking in persons;
- relying on the received data, develop recommendations for improvement of the migration regulation system between Uzbekistan and target regions of Kazakhstan.

## 1.1. Definition of terms

The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families that was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in resolution 45/158 on 18 December 1990 defines a “migrant worker” as any person that is “to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a State of which he or she is not a national” (art. 2). Thus, the main purpose pursued during labour migration is earning money abroad and returning to live back home; not permanent resettlement, although that is the result of some labour migration experiences.

Most labour migrants from Uzbekistan to Southern Kazakhstan belong to the following subcategories:

*Seasonal workers*, who are migrant workers “whose work by its character is dependent on seasonal conditions and is performed only during part of the year”;

*Project-tied workers*, who are “admitted to a State of employment for a defined period to work solely on a specific project being carried out in that State by his or her employer”;

*Commercial traders*, who are itinerant workers that have their “habitual residence in one State [and] travel to another State or States for short periods, owing to the nature of his or her occupation”;

*Commercial workers* are also self-employed workers who are “engaged in a remunerated activity otherwise than under a contract of employment and who earn [their] living through this activity normally working alone or together with members of his or her family”.

International legal documents also differentiate between “illegal” and “irregular” migrants. Illegal migrants violate the established border regime and enter a state circumventing legal entry procedures. Irregular migrants cross the borders of the state legally, but remain or work on the territory of the state illegally without proper registration, working permits, or other required documents. However, often the terms illegal and irregular are used interchangeably with respect to labour migrants. Since, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan enjoy a visa free regime, most labour migrants from Uzbekistan in Southern Kazakhstan enter the country legally, but often become irregular or illegal if they are employed and live unofficially without legalizing their status.

It should also be noted that regulation of labour relations is very weak in all CIS states, including Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, which sustains perpetuation of the unofficial or shadow economy in the context of which unofficial labour markets that offer illegal, undocumented employment to workers operate. These unofficial labour markets where unemployed persons



come to 'sell their hands' are called *mardikor bazaars*. *Mardikor* is a Farsi word that means "day labourer" and it has traditionally referred only to men. However, as the economic situation has deteriorated in Uzbekistan, jobless and destitute women joined the ranks of men at the *mardikor bazaars*. Both citizens and migrants find employment in the shadow economy. However, the number of illegal workers among migrants exceeds that among the citizens because employers pressure them to participate in the shadow economy by refusing to sign employment contracts, create obstacles to obtaining proper registration or getting work permits. This situation results in cases of severe rights violation of migrant workers and their exploitation.

## **1.2. Research methodology**

The research was carried out by means of a standardized survey questionnaires and interviews with the following target groups: labour migrants from Uzbekistan, their employers, government officials in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. Respondents in these groups were identified for the survey using targeted search selection procedure. Also, local residents in rural and urban areas of Southern Kazakhstan were interviewed using a structured questionnaire for the purposes of control and understanding of relations between host societies and labour migrants. These respondents were identified through a random sample selection procedure.

The survey was conducted in two phases to ensure that seasonal migrants are also represented in the sample. The first phase was implemented during January and February 2004. During this time target groups were surveyed in South Kazakhstan oblast (region), Almaty oblast, Kzyl-Orda oblast and Mangystau oblast. The second phase was executed in summer during the months of June and August 2004 when labour migrants, their employers and local residents were surveyed in the South Kazakhstan oblast.

In total, 533 interviews were conducted (250 with labour migrants from Uzbekistan, 200 with residents of target regions in Kazakhstan, 50 with employers of Uzbek labour migrants in Kazakhstan, 26 with Kazakhstani officials, 7 with Uzbekistani officials). However, 11 of these were disqualified due to improper execution of selection or interview procedures. Below is a summary table of the survey methodologies used in the process of the research:

Labour Migrants from Uzbekistan  
in the Southern Regions of Kazakhstan

Surveyed target group	Objective	Where and how many interviews were conducted
<p>Survey of migrants from Uzbekistan in urban and rural areas of South Kazakhstan oblasts using a standardized questionnaire.</p>	<p>Examination of social and legal situation of migrants from Uzbekistan at their destinations as well as their reasons, objectives and goals for migration.</p>	<p>Shymkent city (40 interviews) and settlement Sairam (10 interviews), city Almaty (45 interviews) and settlement Chkalovskii Mechet (12 interviews), city Aktau (36 interviews) and Zhanaozen (14 interviews), city Zhetysai (12 interviews) and settlements Inter (4 interviews), Slavyanka (6 interviews), Algas (7 interviews), Myrzakent (1 interview), Daldabekov (5 interviews), Mikoyan (14 interviews), Shavlán (7 interviews), Kirov (7 interviews)</p>
<p>Survey of general population using a standardized questionnaire in residential areas where high numbers of labour migrants from Uzbekistan are present</p>	<p>Examination of relations between migrants from Uzbekistan and the local communities, quantitative assessment of migrants from Uzbekistan in Southern Kazakhstan</p>	<p>Shymkent city (35 interviews) and settlement Sairam (5 interviews), city Almaty (36 interviews) and settlement Chkalovskii Mechet (11 interviews), city Aktau (32 interviews) and Zhanaozen (8 interviews), city Zhetysai (10 interviews) and settlements Inter (12 interviews), Slavyanka (6 interviews), Algas (8 interviews), Myrzakent (5 interviews), Daldabyekov (2 interviews), Mikoyan (2 interviews), Shavlán (1 interview)</p>
<p>Survey of local residents who employ labour migrants from Uzbekistan using a standardized questionnaire</p>	<p>Research on causes and goals of labour migration to Southern Kazakhstan, professional spheres occupied by the migrants, perspectives of migration, social and legal situation of the migrants, quantitative assessment of labour migration from Uzbekistan to Southern Kazakhstan</p>	<p>Shymkent city (8 interviews) and settlement Sairam (2 interviews), city Almaty (9 interviews) and settlement Chkalovskii Mechet (1 interview), city Aktau (6 interviews) and settlement Ak Mechet (4 interviews), city Aktau (7 interviews) and Zhanaozen (3 interviews), city Zhetysai (2 interviews) and settlements Slavyanka (4 interviews), Algas (1 interview), Myrzakent (2 interviews), Daldabyekov (5 interviews), Mikoyan (2 interviews)</p>
<p>Survey of state officials working in: Departments on Migration and Demography, Departments of Labour and Employment of Population, Departments of Interior, Migration Police, Border Guard and Customs services, non-governmental organizations using standardized questionnaire**</p>	<p>Research of state experience and used methods in migration management in Southern Kazakhstan, legal and illegal migration channels from Uzbekistan, results of migration from Uzbekistan for Southern Kazakhstan, assessment of social and legal situation of the migrants, perspectives of migration, quantitative assessment of labour migration.</p>	<p>City Shymkent (6 interview), city Almaty (7 interviews), city Kzyl-Orda (6 interviews), city Aktau (6 interviews), settlement Beiney (1 interview), city Zhetysai (1 interview)</p>

\*\* Among the surveyed officials in Kazakhstan: 24 percent were heads of oblast departments, 36 percent were deputy directors, 28 percent departmental division directors, the remainder were desk officers. 24 percent of them have worked in the sphere of migration for more than 10 years; 16 percent – 5-10 years, 40 percent – 2-5 years, the rest less than 2 years. 60 percent of respondents work on migration issues on a daily basis, 24 percent devotes a significant portion of their time to migration issues, 16 percent deal with migration questions only indirectly, and 8 percent (all customs officials) do not work with migration issues at all.

Among the surveyed state officials in Uzbekistan, 1 person was a deputy director of a republican department, 3 were departmental division directors, 3 desk officers that directly work with migrants from Uzbekistan in Kazakhstan. One of the respondents worked on questions of migration for 10 years, the rest – 5 years. Only one official stated that he worked with questions related to migration on a daily basis. Others relayed that they deal with migration issues only indirectly.

### 1.3 Economic and demographic context in Kazakhstan

#### Demographic Indicators<sup>1</sup>

Population in millions (2005)	Age structure (%)			Population growth rate (%)	Able population in millions (2003)
	0-14	15-64	65+		
15.2 (57% urban)	23.7	68.4	7.9	0.3	9.3

Kazakhstan is the largest country in Central Asia, covering 2,724,900 sq km that is home to just over 15 million people with a population density of 5.5 persons per sq km. Since gaining independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, more than 2 million people have emigrated from Kazakhstan and the country began to experience a positive migration balance only in 2004, thus finally reversing the overall decline in the country's population.

Economically, among the former Soviet Republics, Kazakhstan is the wealthiest country in Central Asia. It is rich in natural resources, has significant oil deposits and has experienced good economic growth since 1999. The latter trend was encouraged by economic reforms and privatization since the mid-1990s that emphasized diversification in the private sector. Good harvests and foreign investment contributed to a sustainable rise in peoples' incomes. Unemployment level has also been falling from 12.8 percent in the year 2000 to 8.8 in 2003.<sup>2</sup> As a country with the strongest economy and the highest

<sup>1</sup> CIA, World Fact Book (2005).

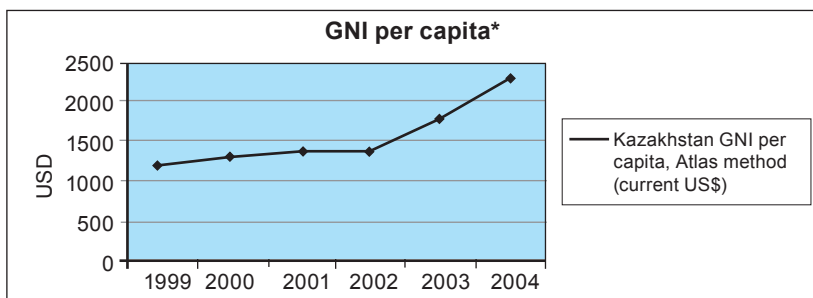
<sup>2</sup> UNDP, Human Development Report: Kazakhstan – (2004).

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in the Southern Regions of Kazakhstan

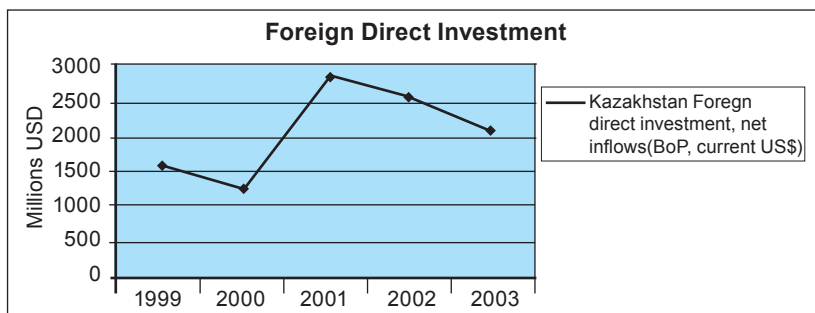
income earning potential in the region, Kazakhstan has become an attractive destination for labour migrants from neighbouring Uzbekistan.

**Economic Indicators**

GDP per capita USD (2003) <sup>3</sup>	% Population below poverty line (2004 est) <sup>4</sup>	Inflation rate % (2004 est) <sup>5</sup>	Income classification <sup>6</sup>	Indebtedness <sup>7</sup>
1995.4	19	6.9	Lower Middle	Moderate



\* GNI or Gross National Income = the sum of value added by all resident producers plus any product taxes (less subsidies) non included in the valuation of output plus net receipts of primary income from abroad (World Bank)



Source: World Bank Development Indicator Database, Kazakhstan 2004 Foreign Direct Investment figures are not available yet.

Although, migrants from Uzbekistan travel for employment to various regions of Kazakhstan, it is the southern regions of Kazakhstan that have the highest concentration of labour migrants from Uzbekistan. In the southern

<sup>3</sup> UNDP, Human Development Report: Kazakhstan (2004).

<sup>4</sup> CIA, World Fact Book (2005).

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> World Bank (July 2004): Income Classification Website.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

regions of Kazakhstan, labour migrants are mostly employed in construction and agriculture, particularly in the cotton and tobacco fields. The following table outlines demographic characteristics and economic activity of the surveyed oblasts in this research.

	Republic of Kazakhstan	Almaty oblast	Kyzyl Orda oblast	Mangystau oblast	South Kazakhstan oblast
Population, millions (2005) <sup>8</sup>	15.2	1.6	0.64	0.36	2.2
Income per capita, PPP, USD (2003) <sup>9</sup>	6527	2956	4635	13850	2697
Share in national industrial production % (2002) <sup>10</sup>	100	9.1	5.0	12.5	4.6
Share in national agricultural production % (2002) <sup>11</sup>	100	13.6	1.9	0.2	12.2
Share of construction sector activity, value added % (2003) <sup>12</sup>	100	11.8	5.3	5.0	2.4
Share of retail trade turnover % (2002) <sup>13</sup>	100	39.4	1.1	1.3	3.9

## 1.4. Economic and demographic context in Uzbekistan

### Demographic Indicators

Population in millions (2005)	Age structure (%)			Population growth rate (%)
	0-14	15-64	65+	
26.8	33.5	61.7	4.8	1.67

Although Uzbekistan is not the largest country in Central Asia territory wise, it has the highest population with a population density of 63 persons per square kilometer. The majority of the population is young and of working age, with the median age being 22.36 years. The official unemployment rate in Uzbekistan is less than one percent. However the proportion of the population that is underemployed is at least 20 percent and in some regions of Uzbekistan, as many as 50 percent are unemployed.

<sup>8</sup> Agency for Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan (2005).

<sup>9</sup> UNDP, Human Development Report: Kazakhstan (2004).

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

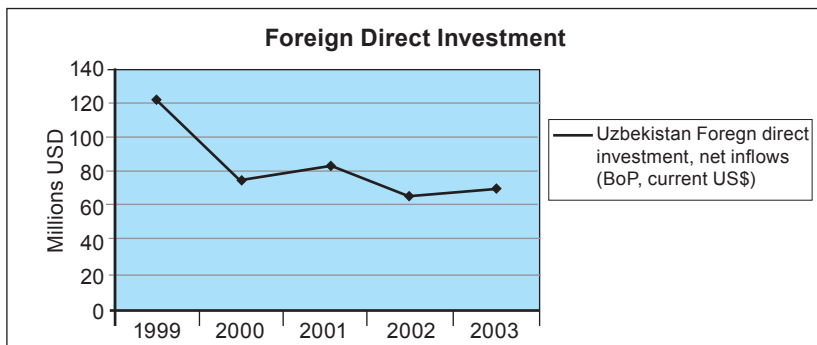
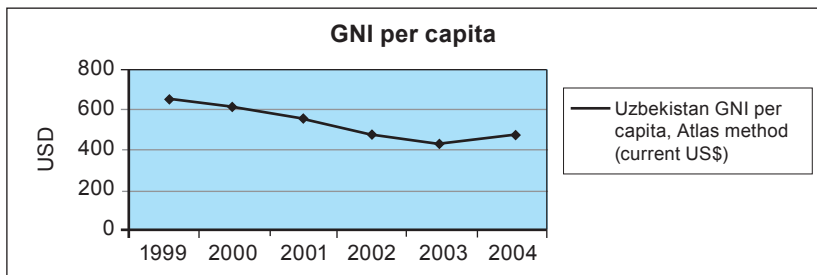
<sup>12</sup> UNDP Kazakhstan Info Base.

<sup>13</sup> CIA, World Fact Book (2005).

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**Economic Indicators**

GDP per capita USD (2003) <sup>14</sup>	% Population below poverty line (2000) <sup>15</sup>	Inflation rate % (2003) <sup>16</sup>	Income classification <sup>17</sup>	Indebtedness <sup>18</sup>
338	27.5	24.2	Low-income	Moderate



Source: World Bank Development Indicator Database, Uzbekistan 2004 Foreign Direct Investment figures are not available yet.

Since gaining independence in 1991, Uzbekistan continued to rely on a command style economy with government subsidies and tight controls on production and prices. Following the Asian and Russian financial crises in late 1990s, Uzbekistan reacted by increasing export and currency controls, thus further isolating the already largely closed economy. With insignificant steps taken towards liberalization in economic and political spheres, there has been insufficient private sector development and even though Uzbekistan is rich in natural resources, GNI per capita has been falling since 1999. Imposition of

<sup>14</sup> UNDP, Human Development Report: Kazakhstan (2004).

<sup>15</sup> CIA, World Fact Book (2005).

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> World Bank (July 2004): Income Classification Website.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

higher tariffs and market trade restrictions by the government in 2002 and 2003 respectively further constricted economic activity opportunities and added to popular discontent. Moreover, additional clampdown on trading activity in 2004 narrowed down capabilities of entrepreneurs to engage in importing/exporting and sale of goods in Uzbekistan.<sup>19</sup>

Increasingly restrictive economic policies pursued by the government, unreasonably high taxes and stalled banking reform facilitated expansion of the underground or shadow economy in Uzbekistan. Decreasing employment opportunities, constrained trading possibilities and poor social support system, which experienced deterioration after the fall of the Soviet Union forced many people to seek income sources to support their families abroad.

### 1.5 Causes of labour migration

*I am an unhappy woman – a widow, three daughters to marry, one son is in grade 9, and the other is in grade 8 right now. They all need money – for weddings, college, etc. And I cannot even feed them – it has been four years already since anyone in our shirkat<sup>20</sup> received any pay! I don't even know anymore how much they now owe me – what's the point...*

***From an interview with a migrant***

All migration processes on the local, national or international scale are usually stimulated by a combination of push and pull factors. Push factors are more associated with forced migration and are characterized by such things as conflict, natural disasters, and a poor economic situation. Pull factors, on the other hand are associated with voluntary migration and include things that a potential migrant deems attractive in terms of economic or other opportunities. Each potential migrant weighs these factors to determine whether to leave or not.

In Uzbekistan, the main factors motivating labour migration to Kazakhstan are lack of work opportunities at home, low pay, and the expectation of better earnings in Kazakhstan. About 55 percent of surveyed migrants identified lack of any employment prospects at home as the main cause for seeking work in Kazakhstan. About 35 percent of migrants stated that their main reason for engaging in labour migration was low-income levels in Uzbekistan. 90 percent of respondent migrants stated that the goal of their migration was to earn enough money to provide for their families. 2 percent stated that they needed to earn money for school or medical treatment for themselves or their relatives. 4 percent planned to use the income earned in migration to pay for weddings or large purchases. 3 percent needed a starting capital for his or her own business. 1 percent was interested in establishing a base for permanent

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<sup>19</sup> International Crisis Group, Asia Briefing #38, 25 May 2005, Bishkek/Brussels.

<sup>20</sup> Shirkat is an agricultural cooperative.

migration to Kazakhstan. 93.6 percent of respondents positively view labour migration and 70.7 percent of the respondents' family members would also like to participate in labour migration. Therefore, for hundreds of thousands of Uzbekistan's citizens, labour migration has become an important means of survival in times of extreme economic difficulties. Perceptions of causes and purpose of labour migration among other respondent groups almost entirely agree with the answers provided by the migrants themselves.

At the moment of the survey, 59.3 percent of migrants stated that they have been traveling to work in Kazakhstan for at least two years. 6.0 percent of migrants stated that they have been earning their incomes abroad for at least 3 years. 8.9 percent of migrants reported having traveled to work in Russia prior to 1999. Those who became labour migrants later usually have not worked anywhere but Kazakhstan. This trend may be explained by three interrelated factors: economic growth and improved living conditions in Kazakhstan during the last few years, the 1999 economic crisis in Uzbekistan, and increasing numbers of labour migrants traveling to Kazakhstan together with their relatives and friends.

## **1.6 Current migration trends in Uzbekistan**

Although, generally more women participate in labour migration processes in the context of transition economies,<sup>21</sup> the number of women engaging in labour migration in Uzbekistan has particularly increased over the last few years. In 2002, 14.1 percent of labour migrants were female. This proportion increased to 23.7 percent in 2004. Higher number of women participating in labour migration is explained by three interrelated factors. Growing demand in the labour market in Kazakhstan for traditionally female occupations, in the spheres of agriculture and services, encourages women to choose to work in the neighbouring state. Labour migration to Kazakhstan is also less intimidating than migration to Russia among women due to cultural and physical proximity between the countries. Also, intensification of the passport regime after the 1999 terrorist acts in Tashkent made it much more difficult for men to realize internal labour migration, while less so for women and thus, internal labour migration became predominantly a female activity. However, with greater access to *mardicor bazaars*<sup>22</sup> in search of employment in Uzbekistan, women also receive greater access to opportunities for recruitment abroad and a significant proportion of recruitment for external labour migration takes place at these *mardicor bazaars*.

The number of people with incomplete or secondary school education participating in labour migration is rising, from 36.1 percent in 2002 to

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<sup>21</sup> International Labour Organization (2004), "Global Employment Trends for Women", Geneva. The report indicates that in transition economies on average 91 women are working per 100 men.

<sup>22</sup> Unofficial labor markets where unemployed persons come to "sell their hands".



38.7 percent in 2004. This may be connected with an increasing demand for unskilled labour force in Kazakhstan. Overall, Kazakhstan attracts less qualified labour migrants than the Russian Federation. Whereas the median for migrants' level of education in Russia is trade school, for Kazakhstan it is secondary school.

The proportion of migrants from wealthier households that have sufficient income to make expensive purchases is increasing as well, from 2.1 percent in 2002 to 7.3 percent in 2004. This trend may be explained by the fact that labour migration positively affects migrants' household incomes and thus, migrants continue to rely on work, abroad to maintain their households' income levels. At the same time, the proportion of very poor persons, who do not always have enough money for food, also increased from 59.3 percent in 2002 to 75.8 percent in 2004. These figures suggest that more people in Uzbekistan view labour migration as a solution to alleviating their economic hardships and sustaining good quality livelihood.

Greater numbers of migrants are traveling abroad in groups, together with relatives or persons from their village or town. While in 1999 most labour migrants traveled individually to work abroad, 45.0 percent of surveyed migrants during this research stated that they traveled to Kazakhstan with a group of friends or relatives. This trend indicates that as unemployment in rural areas of Uzbekistan grows, more people begin to appreciate specific positive impacts of labour migration on household welfare levels and consider working abroad as a viable option. Moreover, 55.1 percent of surveyed migrants sought assistance from intermediaries in finding employment in Kazakhstan, indicating development of an infrastructure for organizing labour migration through unofficial channels.

### **1.7 Destinations**

The principal destination countries for labour migrants from Uzbekistan are Russia, Kazakhstan and South Korea. About 60 percent of labour migrants travel to Russia, 26 percent choose Kazakhstan and for about 5 percent South Korea is the final destination. However, since 1999 Kazakhstan has been gaining popularity among labour migrants as a destination country. This is explained by several factors: an overall increase in labour migration flows from Uzbekistan, improving economy in Kazakhstan and anticipation of better earnings in that state, and proximity of Kazakhstan geographically. In fact, labour migration to Kazakhstan is more profitable to citizens of Uzbekistan than migration to Russia. The average incomes earned by Uzbek labour migrants do not differ much between the two destination states and the southern regions of Kazakhstan are easier and cheaper to reach and require crossing of just one state border.

## **2. PROFILE OF AN UZBEK MIGRANT WORKER IN SOUTHERN KAZAKHSTAN**

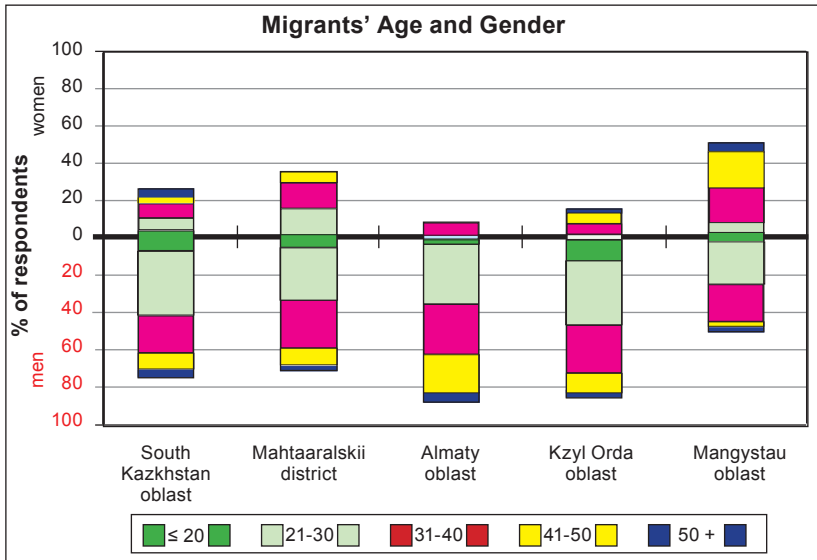
### **2.1 Gender**

Men comprise 72.2 percent of labour migrants from Uzbekistan in the Southern regions of Kazakhstan. 13.9 percent of women that engage in labour migration are commercial migrants who come to Southern Kazakhstan to sell at the markets. The gender composition in the destination regions of Southern Kazakhstan is the following: South-Kazakhstan oblast – 76.1 percent male, Mahtaaralskii district – 64.1 percent male, Almaty oblast – 90.7 percent male, Kzyl-Orda oblast – 84.0 percent male, and in Mangystau oblast – 48.9 percent male.

### **2.2 Age**

The average age among labour migrants is 33 years old. Male migrants tend to be younger and have a smaller number of dependents than women. On average, men are 31 years old and have 4.1 dependents (with a median at 7). Women labour migrants have on average 5.2 dependents and are 38 years old at the time of migration. The higher average age among women may be explained by the fact that women do not begin to participate in labour migration until they have bore and raised the children. Therefore, young single men who have to support their elderly parents and family heads of both genders, who have to support 4-7 dependents participate in labour migration.

The average age of labour migrants in the destination regions of Southern Kazakhstan is the following: South-Kazakhstan oblast – 33 years (32 for men, 34 for women), Mahtaaralskii district – 32 years (31.7 for men, 32.3 for women), Almaty oblast – 33 years (34 for men, 32 for women), Kzyl-Orda oblast – 32 years (31 for men, 41 for women), and in Mangystau oblast – 36 years (32 for men, 42 for women).



### 2.3 Education

On average, the education level among women participating in labour migration is higher than among men – 2.38 years and 2.51 years respectively. However, generally, in comparison with Russia, Kazakhstan attracts higher numbers of lower skilled migrant workers. In Russia, the median level of education among migrant workers from Uzbekistan is 3 years (college) and for Kazakhstan this number equals 2 (high school). This may be explained by a higher demand in Kazakhstan for agricultural workers. 85.7% of labour migrants from Uzbekistan employed in Kazakhstan in the sphere of agriculture do not possess any education past high school. In the regions of Southern Kazakhstan, the lowest level of education among migrants is observed in the Mahtaaralskii district (2.16 years, while the average between all surveyed oblasts is 2.42) where most labour migrants engage in agricultural activity, and the highest in the Almaty oblast (2.91) where the researcher did not encounter any labour migrants employed in agricultural spheres.

### 2.4 Language skills

Most of the labour migrants from Uzbekistan, can communicate in Uzbek and Russian. During the survey, 89.5 percent of migrants were able to answer interview questions in Russian, thus demonstrating sufficient knowledge of the language. 10.5 percent preferred to be interviewed in Uzbek. Of those who did not speak Russian, 5.8 percent resided in Mahtaaralskii district and 4.7 percent

in Kzyl-Orda oblast; 14.3 percent worked in construction, 32.1 percent were manual labourers, and the rest worked in the sphere of agriculture.

## 2.5 Geographic and ethnic origins

Participation of ethnic Uzbeks, Tajiks, and Karakalpaks in labour migration to Southern regions of Kazakhstan is proportional to their groups' representation in the population of Uzbekistan. 75.0 percent of interviewed labour migrants are Uzbek (71.0 percent of men and 87.0 percent of women), 10.9 percent are Kazakh (10.6 percent of men and 11.6 percent of women), 7.7 percent are Karakalpaks (10.6 percent of men and 1.5 percent of women), and 3.2 percent are Tajik (4.3 percent of men and 0.0 percent of women). The other ethnic groups that live in Uzbekistan such as Koreans and Tatars constitute less than 1.5 percent of the total number of labour migrants.

### Distribution of labour migrants according to the region of origin and destination is as follows:

Region of origin	% of surveyed migrants	% surveyed female migrants	% surveyed male migrants	Main region of destination in Southern Kazakhstan
Tashkent oblast	11.3	13.0	10.6	South Kazakhstan oblast Mahtaaralskii district
Andijan oblast	6.0	7.3	5.6	Mahtaaralskii district
Bukhara oblast	2.0	2.9	1.7	South Kazakhstan oblast
Djizzak oblast	2.8	1.4	3.4	South Kazakhstan oblast Mahtaaralskii district
Kashkadar'inskaya oblast	4.4	1.5	5.6	South Kazakhstan oblast
Navoi oblast	2.0	1.5	2.2	Mahtaaralskii district
Namangan oblast	9.3	17.5	6.1	Mahtaaralskii district
Samarkand oblast	11.7	0.0	16.2	Alamty oblast, Almaty city
Suhardar'yinskaya oblast	0.8	1.4	0.6	South Kazakhstan oblast Mahtaaralskii district
Syrdar'inskaya oblast	3.2	0.0	4.5	South Kazakhstan oblast Mahtaaralskii district
Ferghana oblast	13.7	15.9	12.9	Kzyl-Orda oblast Mahtaaralskii district
Khorezm oblast	11.7	15.8	10.1	Kzyl-Orda oblast Mangystau oblast
Karakalpakstan	21.0	21.7	20.7	Mangystau oblast

Thus, almost half of all surveyed migrants worked in the South Kazakhstan oblast and many were engaged in agriculture in Mahtaaralskii district of the oblast. About a quarter of interviewed migrants were engaged in Mangystau oblast and the remainder went to Almaty and Kzyl-Orda oblasts.

Karakalpakstan was identified as a region with highest mobility among the population for employment to southern regions of Kazakhstan. 21% of surveyed labour migrants come from Karakalpakstan. Such high number of labour migrants from this region may be explained by the underdevelopment of its construction industry and lower agricultural activity. Moreover, according to other research, labour migration from Karakalpakstan to countries other than Kazakhstan is almost insignificant. Hence, it is possible that for labour migration from this region, Kazakhstan is the main destination country.

Rural population was found more likely to engage in labour migration processes in all viloyats (oblasts), except Tashkent viloyat, where 72.0 percent of migrants were from urban areas and 44.4 percent of them from Tashkent city itself.

Also, in Tashkent and Djizzak viloyats labour migration is observed predominantly among young men with professional education (the average level of education among labour migrants from the Tashkent viloyat is 3.2 years and from Djizzak viloyat 2.6 years), thus these viloyats experience some 'brain drain', because there are not enough opportunities at the local labour market. In other viloyats, average age among migrants is 35-40 years and they generally lack any professional qualifications. It would therefore appear, they leave because they cannot compete at the local labor market.

## 2.6 Occupation in migration

Labour migrants from Uzbekistan find employment in various occupation spheres. Migrants surveyed for this research reported having been employed in 14 different professions:

Occupation	% of labour migrants employed
Construction	31.0
Market sellers	31.9
Agriculture	8.9
Bread makers	6.9
Cooks	8.5
Other*	5.2

The perceptions of the surveyed respondent groups about the occupation spheres of labour migrants from Uzbekistan are the following:

Labour Migrants from Uzbekistan  
in the Southern Regions of Kazakhstan

<b>Occupation</b>	<b>% of labour migrants employed</b>
Construction	50.0
Market sellers	23.0-25.0
Agriculture	17.0
Bread makers	2.0-3.0
Cooks	2.0-3.0
Other*	5.0

\* Other includes: unskilled odd jobs labourers, workers in the sphere of services, loaders and cart-pushers in the markets, carpenters, and domestic workers.

The difference between perceptions and the data reported by migrants may be explained by the fact that the main part of the survey was carried out during winter months, when construction and agricultural seasons are over.

However, all respondents noted that labour migrants from Uzbekistan play an important role in filling in the gaps at the labour market by finding employment in sectors where there are labour shortages, and thus do not compete for work places with the local population. In terms of finding employment, Uzbek migrants identified Mahtaaralskii district as the easiest for securing a job and Mangystau oblast as the most difficult. Cooks in Mahtaaralskii district and workers in the service industry in Almaty had the least difficulty in finding employment. Carpenters and furniture makers in Shymkent and cooks in Almaty were most satisfied with their occupations, whereas, unskilled odd job workers in Mangystau were the least satisfied.

53.8 percent of labour migrants from Uzbekistan found employment in Kazakhstan through personal networks – relatives or acquaintances. Out of them, 20.9 percent stated that finding a job this way was very easy, 15.4 percent stated it was pretty easy, 56.0 percent stated that it was difficult, but easier than to find a job in Uzbekistan, and 7.7 percent found it even more difficult than in Uzbekistan.

33.7 percent of migrants found employment independently. Out of them, 29.3 percent stated that finding a job this way was very easy, 19.0 percent stated it was pretty easy, 37.9 percent stated that it was difficult, but easier than finding a job in Uzbekistan, and 5.2 percent found it even more difficult than Uzbekistan.

4.1 percent of migrants found employment at a “black labour market” in Kazakhstan. Out of them, 14.3 percent stated that finding a job was pretty easy, 71.4 percent stated that it was difficult, but easier than finding a job in Uzbekistan, and 14.3 percent found it even more difficult than Uzbekistan.

3.0 percent of surveyed migrants secured a job through advertisements in Kazakhstani newspapers. More than half of them stated that they did not experience difficulties securing a job through a newspaper. Others reported that it was difficult, but easier than finding a job in Uzbekistan.

2.4 percent of migrants were recruited for work by private persons on the territory of Uzbekistan. 1.8 percent of migrants found employment through a recruitment agency in Uzbekistan and all of them work in the Almaty oblast.

## **2.7 Duration of stay abroad**

The average length of time spent working abroad by labour migrants is 4.7 months with the median of 3 months and the range between 2 and 8 months.

## **2.8 Incomes**

Kazakhstan is an attractive destination country for labour migrants from Uzbekistan, not only because of geographical and linguistic proximity, but also because the average wages in Kazakhstan do not differ much from those earned in Russia and they are higher than incomes earned in Uzbekistan, where the official minimum wage is 7 400 sum or 7 USD. Labour migrants' earnings in Kazakhstan range from 29.20 USD/mth to 1000.00 USD/mth, with an average of 151.91 USD a month. Construction workers receive the highest average incomes (201.65 USD/mth); cooks' incomes are second highest among those earned by labour migrants from Uzbekistan. Agricultural workers receive the lowest wages on average equaling 80.91 USD/mth. Labour migrants that are in a situation of exploitation in conditions similar to slavery, often earn nothing at all.

Income of commercial migrants that sell their goods at the markets ranges from 40.00 USD/mth to 875.91 USD/mth, while the average earnings for this group constitute 140.59 USD/mth.

On average, the highest wages are paid to the migrants in the South Kazakhstan oblast (excluding Mahtaaralskii district ) – 227.79 USD/mth; the lowest in the Mahtaaralskii district – 98.46 USD/mth.

75.8 percent of surveyed migrants stated that prior to migration their incomes were insufficient to acquire even basic necessities and food, whereas after working in Kazakhstan their families could afford proper nutrition, and 17.8% of them could afford to make expensive purchases and 4.9 percent were able to save money to buy a car or separate housing.

Perceptions about incomes earned by labour migrants from Uzbekistan among other respondent groups differ and diverge from reality. Migrants' employers believe that the average wages paid to the labour migrants are 132.44 USD/mth with workers in the service industry earning the most (185 USD/mth), followed by construction workers who are perceived to earn 172.89 USD/mth and cooks with 128.00 USD/mth. Government officials in Kazakhstan provided figures similar to those quoted by the migrants themselves with the average incomes for all migrants believed to be 158.22 USD/mth, for construction workers – 200.00 USD/mth, cooks – 135.00 USD/mth, and agricultural workers earning 75.00 USD/mth. Perceptions of migrant's earnings among the residents of Kazakhstan are very low, while among Uzbekistan's government officials are too high. The former believe average salaries to constitute 80-100 USD/mth and the latter – 250 USD/mth.



### **3. LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR LABOUR MIGRATION FROM UZBEKISTAN TO KAZAKHSTAN**

#### **3.1 Uzbekistan**

Although some legislative provisions supported by an established mechanism for regulation of labour migration exist in Uzbekistan, governments' monopoly on the issue and the lack of a clear, specific law on migration contribute to illegalization of labour migration and prevent creation of effective mechanisms for protection of labour migrants' rights when they are working abroad.

The right of citizens of Uzbekistan to work abroad is guaranteed by article 37 of the Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan, which states that every citizen of the republic has a right to work, choose his/her place of work and to have fair conditions of labour and have protection from unemployment. Also, according to article 13 of the "Law on Employment of Population" Uzbekistan's citizens have a right to conduct independent job search and employment outside of the territory of Uzbekistan. Therefore, citizens of Uzbekistan have a right to be employed on the territory and outside of the territory of Uzbekistan.

Article 10 of the same law secures the right of citizens to apply directly to the employer of their choice or to use free of charge services of a recruitment firm. However, the law also specifies a particular mechanism for realization of this right, which in effect transfers the control over the process of legal employment abroad to the government in a form of a strict monopoly. Thus, a citizen may either secure employment abroad on the basis of a bilateral agreement between the governments of two participating states or between the government and a non-governmental organization of a receiving state. Acceptance of applications and hiring of those wishing to find employment abroad in the framework of such an agreement is executed by a governmental Agency on External Labour Migration and the self-financing regional Bureaus on recruitment of Uzbekistan's citizens for work abroad. The Agency and the Bureaus charge a fee for their services, despite the specified provisions in Article 10.

Unlike some other states in CIS (Russian Federation, Republic of Kazakhstan), private persons or non-governmental entities are not legally entitled to facilitate employment of Uzbekistan's citizens abroad. According to the Decree issued by the Ministers' Cabinet of the Republic of Uzbekistan on November 12, 2003 № 505 the right to facilitate employment of Uzbekistan's citizens abroad is exclusively reserved for the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection of the population, for the Agency on External Labour Migration, and the regional self-financed Bureaus for recruitment of Uzbekistan's citizens for work abroad and the Pre-departure training Centre.

Theoretically citizens can find foreign employers and sign contracts with them independently. However to legalize their exit from Uzbekistan with the purpose of working abroad they must obtain a special permit from the Agency on External Labour Migration. The Agency, in its turn obtains permission to issue such a permit on the basis of a recommendation from the interdepartmental governmental committee on selection of candidates from Uzbekistan for employment abroad.

The list of documents that are supposed to be submitted for review to the Agency includes: a written request, copy of an employment contract provided by the foreign employer that has been notarized by the consulate of the Republic of Uzbekistan abroad, which has been translated into the state language, and which specifies all social guarantees and medical insurance as well as employers facilitation in receipt of a work visa, brief information about the employer supported by the required documents, health certificate from the Ministry of Health in the Republic of Uzbekistan. The application is reviewed by the Agency for 15 days and then submitted for the final decision to the Interdepartmental committee, which reviews it for another 7 days.

However, citizens of Uzbekistan are usually able to secure only low payed jobs in Kazakhstan and often the employers refuse to provide them with written contracts, making it impossible to submit the necessary documentation package for legalization of their employment abroad through the Agency. Moreover, often when Uzbek migrants secure a job in Kazakhstan, they are not able or cannot afford to travel back to Uzbekistan to submit their documents for review at the Agency. Therefore, it is very difficult for the labour migrants from Uzbekistan to legalize their employment abroad with the Uzbekistan's authorities to secure their protection. Also, migration flows that are realized via other than official channels make it difficult for the government to regulate these processes and create necessary conditions for protection of their citizens abroad.

Therefore, according to the law of Uzbekistan, citizens of the republic only

have a right to obtain legal employment abroad exclusively in the framework of intergovernmental or interagency agreements and only with assistance from the Agency on External Labour Migration and according to the procedures laid out by the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection of the population in the Republic of Uzbekistan. Yet, presently, this order is not well defined and therefore, the actual details are supposed to be determined in the contracts.

### **3.2 Kazakhstan**

In comparison to Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan has a more developed legal framework for the regulation of labour migration processes. However, the existing legal instruments are aimed at protection of the internal labour market in Kazakhstan and in a way that fails to capture and address the realities of the labour migration situation between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. Moreover, the legal framework contains gaps and contradictions that hamper enforcement of labour migrants' legalization and protection of their rights.

The legal framework that regulates labour migration processes in Kazakhstan is outlined in the following laws and decrees: the "Law on Population Migration" (arts. 5-8), passed in 1997 and last amended in 2002, the "Law on Legal Status of Foreign Citizens in the Republic of Kazakhstan", passed in 1995, the "Law on Licensing", passed in 1995 and Governmental Decrees of the Republic of Kazakhstan № 836, № 55, and №136, which indicate labour migration quotas and describe procedures for legalization of labour migrant's status in Kazakhstan.

The "Law on Population Migration" states that labour migration is permitted to and from Kazakhstan, however the regulation of this process aims first and foremost to protect the internal labour market and that migrants who work illegally in Kazakhstan are subject to deportation. Article 8 of the law specifies that labour migration between citizens of CIS states should be regulated by bilateral or multilateral governmental agreements between Kazakhstan and other CIS countries. However, the 1994 agreement on cooperation on labour migration among the CIS states is not enforced as many countries have since adopted national legislations or pursued policies that have negated the terms of that agreement and a 1998 agreement on the creation of a common economic space between the Republics of Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan has not been ratified by Uzbekistan. Neither did Uzbekistan ratify the agreement on legal status of citizens of the republics of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan on each other's territories. Also, no bilateral agreements on this issue have ever been signed between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. Therefore, the option of labour migration regulation through intergovernmental agreements as stated by the law, at the moment is not exploited and thus is impossible. Another peculiarity present in the "Law on

Population Migration” is found in article 5, which states that employment of foreigners in Kazakhstan is not considered as labour migration in cases specified in article 11 of the law. Article 11, which describes the categories of foreigners present in Kazakhstan that are not considered as immigrants, states that those who are temporarily working in Kazakhstan are not viewed as immigrants. However, according to article 5 of the same law they are not viewed as labour migrants either.

Overall, lack of political will in Uzbekistan to award national priority to labour migration processes and absence of bilateral initiatives on cooperation in labour migration issues between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan hinder the development of effective migrant protection mechanisms in the region and leave prospects for economic development associated with legalized labour migration overlooked. Moreover, legal shortcomings and contradictions present in both countries’ legislations create opportunities for corruption and circumvention of the law. In such conditions, illegal labour migration flourishes, remittances flows into the sending country occur through unofficial channels and human rights are abused.

## 4. LABOUR CONDITIONS

Only 13.0 percent of migrants have a written contract with their employers. 13.6 percent think that building relations on trust is better than contracts, 5.9 percent are afraid of causing harm to their employers by signing a work contract, 5.3 percent requested to sign a contract with the employer, but were denied that option, 1.2 percent paid fees to the employer to hire them and are now afraid of losing the money. The remaining 60.9 percent do not know why their work contract is not in a written form and the other 32.5 percent never think about this issue. The surveyed migrants reported that the majority of written job contracts are signed with only one construction company and 8 more reported signing contracts with the individual persons residing in Shymkent, who hired Uzbek construction workers with the help of a recruitment agency.

The real scourge of the illegal migrants is partial or non-payment of their wages – for which an employer, as stated in part 3 article 76 of the “Law on Labour in the Republic of Kazakhstan”, must not only pay fines to the worker, but also be criminally responsible. 52.4 percent of migrants did not receive their full wages for more than 30 days, 31.0 percent worked in Kazakhstan and did not receive pay for 30 or more days at least once in their lifetime, 5.2 percent did not receive pay for more than 90 days, and 3.6 percent of migrants at the time of the survey were waiting to get their pay for at least 90 days.

This form of migrants' rights violation was specified as most widespread by 5.2 percent of migrants, 28.3 percent of residents, 23.5 percent of employers, 23.1 percent of Kazakh officials and 71.4 percent of Uzbek officials. In addition 28.8 percent of employers sincerely told us that they pay wages upon the completion of all jobs (and this is considering that the average working period for a job is 4.2 months) specifically so that the employer could “deduct from the total sum all of the expenses and losses suffered in relation to their job”.

The average number of hours in a working week among the migrants surveyed by us is 62.5 hours a week, which exceeds the normal work week hours by 1.6 times according to article 45 of the “Law on Labour in the Republic of Kazakhstan” as of December 12, 1999; the longest week is observed among

the construction workers in Kzyl-Orda (112-120 hours a week) – and this figure perfectly corresponds with the testimonies of their employers. According to assessments by local residents, the work week of an Uzbek migrant is 71.4 hours, and according to the Kazakh officials – 72 hours, although the working week of flat bread breakers extends up to 140 hours a week.

Only one corporation among all surveyed pays their employees sick leave and 18 days of annual vacation leaves. All the rest of employers laughed in response to the question about the number of paid vacation days for migrants and allowed sick leaves. Nobody gets paid overtime, although, as we saw, at the very minimum, a third of a migrant's workweek constitutes overtime. There are no other compensation payments either. Work experience in Kazakhstan is not counted towards the seniority level of any migrant. All respondent groups are aware of this; however nobody considers this as a violation of workers' rights, as most of the surveyed local residents are in the same situation.

As a result, violation of labour rights of Uzbek migrants in Kazakhstan is widespread. Part of the problem may be resolved by legalizing of migration. However many issues will remain as the noted violations become so commonplace that violations became the norm.

Only 35.5 percent of migrants believe that their labour rights are violated and the rest of the respondent categories do not really consider this group of rights at all.

In fact, 78.6 percent of the migrants are partially or fully satisfied with their conditions of employment. Although, 65.5 percent of them are convinced that citizens of Kazakhstan would not under any circumstance agree to work in such conditions, and that they themselves would have never agreed to such treatment on the territory of Uzbekistan (68.1 percent). Such low levels of demand on the part of migrants is the principal "trump card" of Uzbekistan's workforce at the international labour market, and other groups of respondents, like migrants, believe that their relationships with employers are quite tolerable – although, exclusively for citizens of Uzbekistan.

## 5. LEGALIZATION OF MIGRANTS' STATUS

The greatest number of respondents in all groups identified migrants' illegality as the main cause for violation of their rights. Yet, illegality for migrants is a result of violation of their rights as well as their poor awareness of the legal procedures for legalizing their status. Many labour migrants from Uzbekistan are unaware of the fact that they should legalize their exit from the country with the purpose of employment abroad. Most labour migrants interpret the condition of a visa-free regime as a situation in which any need to inform the authorities of their leaving is nonexistent.

Only 7.3 percent of respondents tried to legalize their departure by obtaining some required documents and following some legal procedures. As such, 2.8 percent of migrants notified the housing registry of their departure<sup>23</sup> -- three quarters of these people unsuccessfully tried to obtain oralman status and thus, become temporary labour migrants. 1.2 percent obtained a leave permit from their collective farms with purpose of sale of their own produce abroad. 0.8 percent obtained their leave permits from their collective farms to engage in agricultural works abroad. The other 1.6 percent simply filled out the customs declaration form at an Uzbek border-crossing checkpoint. Another 4 percent of labour migrants tried to leave legally, but were not able to: 1.2 percent of them applied to the Agency on the questions of employment abroad with a request to register their contracts, but did not receive any reply (currently, they are legally employed in Almaty and Kzyl-Orda oblasts); 1.6% of them tried to obtain necessary leave permits from the chairmen of their collective farms, but were allowed to leave "without any papers" and at the moment of interview two of them were arrested and detained for violation of the migration regime. Only 1 person applied at his enterprise for internship abroad and was refused without provision of any justification for the negative decision.

In Kazakhstan, the legalization process for labour migrants is lengthy and convoluted. There are many steps to legalization including: filling out of

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<sup>23</sup> This is required in order to qualify for an oralman status. Oralman are ethnic Kazakh returning to Kazakhstan for permanent residence.

migration card during a border crossing, registration at the place of residence, search for an employer who is licensed to hire foreign workers, have the employer receive a permit to hire a specific migrant, obtain approval of migrant's candidacy, and receive other documents depending on the requirements of the profession. Moreover, each of these highly bureaucratic steps is executed independently from one another and by different departments.

Labour migrants encounter significant difficulties when crossing the border with regard to filling out migration cards. 4 percent of migrants preferred to cross the borders illegally. The rest crossed them legally. However, 57.3 percent of them did not receive migration cards when crossing the border and 28.2 percent of all migrants were not aware of such requirement.



## 6. VIOLATION OF MIGRANTS' RIGHTS

### 6.1 Right to freedom of movement within the territory

*My name is Gulya. I am Uzbek, but have been living in Kazakhstan, in Taraz city for a long time and my relatives live in Aktau. Prior to my marriage last year, I have never encountered any problems connected with traveling to see my relatives. I married an Uzbek man from Tashkent. After the wedding my husband moved in with me in Taraz city. I immediately completed registration for my husband at my place for a year – we could not obtain a registration for a longer period and even though we had all of our documents in order, we still had to pay a bribe of 7 000 tenge. Afterwards my husband found legal seasonal employment.*

*In November, after the agricultural season was over, we decided to travel to Aktau to visit my relatives. We purchased train tickets and left. As soon as we crossed the boundary of the Dzhambyl Oblast, 4 migration police officials entered our train car and immediately approached us. They asked for our documents and checked them thoroughly for about 20 minutes. At the end they declared that my husband was illegal in the South-Kazakhstan oblast for which he is going to be arrested. I protested saying that my husband has propiska in Kazakhstan and is married to the citizen of Kazakhstan. Yet, migration police handcuffed my husband anyways and said that they were detaining him for disobedience to the authorities. At the next train station migration police ordered my husband to descend with them. I did not know what to do – go with them and leave all of our things or stay on the train and leave my husband. I decided to travel to Shymkent and from there return to look for my husband.*

*However, when the train arrived in Shymkent, my husband was already waiting for me there. He told me that police searched him, confiscated all of his money, but because the amount was very small they threatened him with imprisonment for a year and a half. Then they presented my husband with an arrest protocol in which my husband was charged with violations of border-crossing regime and regulations of foreigner's stay in Kazakhstan. The police demanded that my husband sign the arrest protocol. My husband refused and ripped the protocol in half. In response the police ripped two pages from my husband's passport and told my husband to leave. My husband was able to get a ride to Shymkent with one other man, who was also detained by the migration police.*

*Now we are in a terrible situation. My husband's Uzbek passport is in shreds. He cannot go to Tashkent to renew it and we spent all of our money by the time we reached Aktau. Now we are working in a cafü owned by my relatives to earn enough money to go home.*

***From an interview with migrants***

The right to freedom of movement on the territory of the Republic of Kazakhstan is guaranteed by the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan and by the “Law on the legal status of foreign citizens in the Republic of Kazakhstan”. Foreigners are free to travel everywhere except to the restricted territories. In addition, international conventions that were signed by Kazakhstan also stipulate freedom of movement in the country. Despite these guarantees, this right is often violated at least to some extent with respect to labour migrants from Uzbekistan. Migrants' employers and government officials impose limitations of movement on labour migrants from Uzbekistan and encroach on their right to choose a place of residence. During interviews, some migration police officials wrongly claimed that foreign citizens are entitled to unconstrained movement only within a single administrative territorial unit where the migrant obtained his or her registration. This suggests improper enforcement of the law.

The greatest number of migrants reported experiencing constraints in their freedom of movement is in Kzyl-Orda oblast at 70.9 percent. The least dissatisfied migrants on the issue of movement limitations were in South Kazakhstan oblast, where 20.1 percent of labour migrants stated that they felt their right to move freely was violated. On average 69.4 percent of the migrants from Uzbekistan, 78.0 percent of local residents, 76.5 percent of employers of Uzbek migrants, 36.0 percent of Kazakh officials and 57.1 percent of Uzbek officials stated that they believe migrants from Uzbekistan experience severe limitations of freedom of movement and ability to choose their place of residence. Sometimes, migrants are prevented from leaving their workplace under the threat of arrest or a fine due to lack of required documents. Therefore, the illegal status of many labour migrants from Uzbekistan and the flawed and poorly enforced legal framework for protection of migrants' rights in Kazakhstan create favourable conditions for exploitation and perpetration of encroachment on human rights.

## **6.2 Right to freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention**

*I come from Namangan city in Uzbekistan. Our shirkat grows apples, grapes, apricots, and figs as well as prepares dried fruits. During the last 6 years, my brigade and me – 5 persons in total – come to Almaty to sell our dried fruits at the market. We always register, obtain retail permits, and prepay for our spot at the Green Bazaar. This year, my 18-year-old son came with me as well.*

*On January 6, 2004 at 11 am there was a migration police raid at the bazaar. At that time my son went downstairs to the warehouse to bring some more goods. I was manning our stand upstairs. I waited and waited but my son was not coming back. Later I heard from cart pushers that the migration police seized him. He tried to resist and protest, asked them to come upstairs to me, because I kept all of his documents, but they did not listen and just forced him into the back of the car.*

*I started looking for my son. I visited all of the detention centers, police departments, hospitals, and morgues – nothing! It seemed as if my son disappeared. He was absent for 21 days. During this time, I visited all of the law enforcement agencies – migration police, prosecution, and courts trying to get help.*

*Then, one day late at night he was dropped off at the doorstep of our apartment. He was beaten, skinny and sick. He said that first he was taken to some district police department, where he joined another 15-16 Uzbek guys. Together, they were placed in a truck and driven to private houses. At the third house, the owner took my boy. The house owner forced my son to clear his yard from the garbage, clean veranda floors, and work in a vegetable garden. My son tried to escape, but was caught and beaten. He lived in a shed and refused to eat when they brought food to him. He hoped that the owner would let him go if he did not eat.*

*Then, one day, a policeman who brought my son to the house owner came with four other men, argued with the owner and took my son away. The men beat him up, saying: “Tell your old man to keep his mouth shut! Or we’ll kill both of you!” Then they forced my son into the car and brought him to our apartment.*

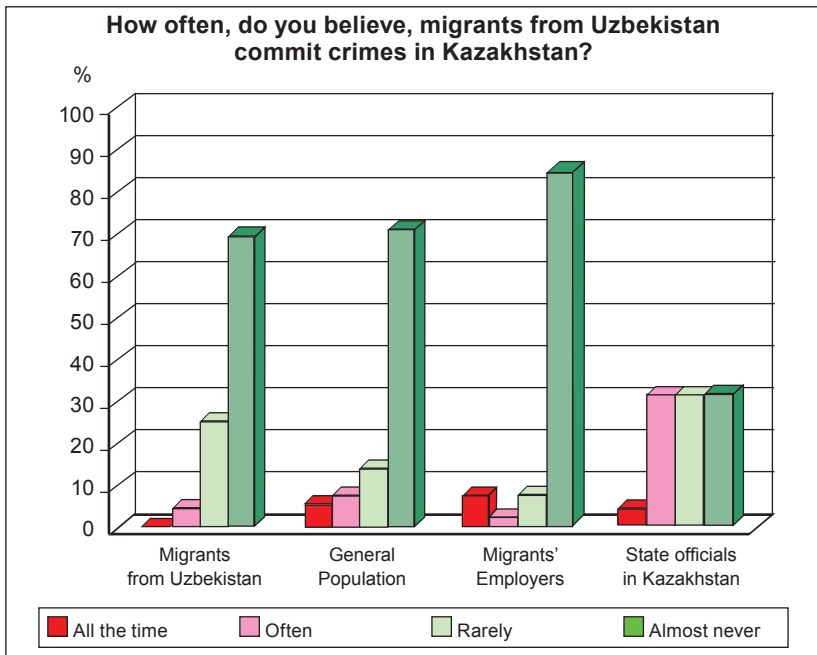
*Now I am afraid to let him stay here. As soon as we save enough money, I will buy him a ticket back to Namangan.*

***From an interview with migrants***

Subjection to arbitrary arrests and detentions is quoted as the second most widespread violation of migrants' rights in Southern Kazakhstan. 53.6 percent of surveyed labour migrants from Uzbekistan reported having been detained or arrested at least once during their migration experience and all migrants reported knowledge about such cases. 80.1 percent of local residents, 76.5 percent of migrants' employers and 52.0 percent of government officials in Kazakhstan confirmed that migrants from Uzbekistan are systematically subjected to arbitrary arrests and detention. The greatest number of complaints was recorded in Kzyl-Orda oblast at 83.3 percent with the least in Mangystau oblast at 62.5 percent.

Therefore, labour migrants from Uzbekistan suffer from two types of detentions by the law enforcement: absolute arbitrary arrests and detentions due to violations of migration regime. The latter are usually a result of forced illegal status of the migrant. Corrupt law enforcement officials abuse their authority and exercise arbitrary arrest and detention in order to extort money from the detained migrants or to exploit them in a situation of forced labour.

Moreover, the survey revealed that labour migrants from Uzbekistan are not inclined to engage in criminal activity and that reports of migrants' criminal tendencies occasionally conveyed by the media in Kazakhstan is a myth, which is not prevalent among the population in general.



### 6.3 Right to freedom from torture and degrading treatment

*I come from shikat Vatan in Gagarin district of Djizzak viloyat. It has already been four years since I came to Mahtaaraal'skii district to work in kolkhoz Algabas in cotton fields. Uzbeks are hired to plant the cottonseeds, take the weeds out, pinch the cotton and collect it. Last September, my fellow villagers and me came here to collect the cotton. We worked from dawn till dusk, lived under an awning in the field and did not really eat much. At the*

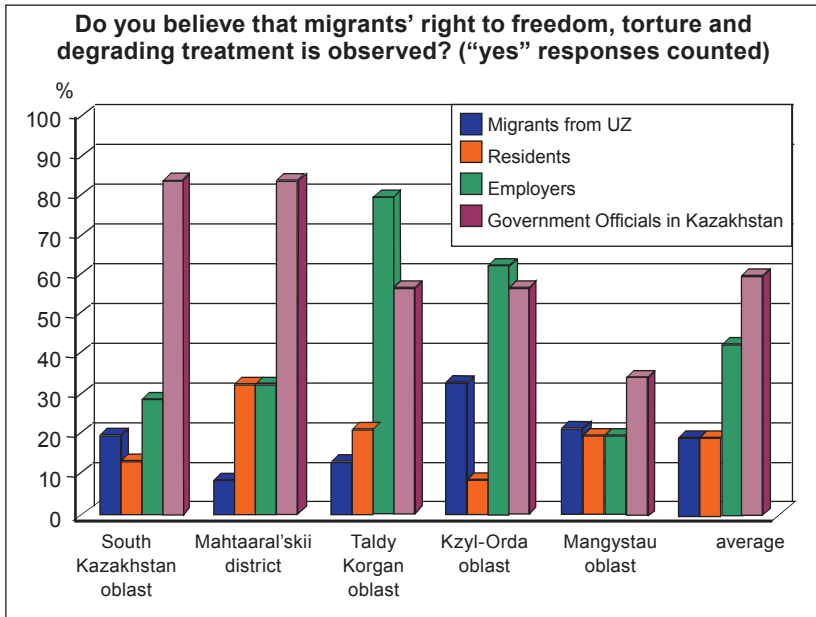
*end of the season, when we collected all of the cotton, our employer threw a celebration for his neighbours. We had to prepare all the food and serve the guests. There was lots of drinking and when people got drunk, they started insulting us, telling us that we were “working cattle”. We asked the owner to pay us our money and we would leave. However, he said that he won’t pay us until we sing the national anthem of Uzbekistan. We tried to protest, but then he threatened that he won’t pay us at all. So we had no choice and we started singing. Then they forced us to dance too, while they yelled insults at us and degraded us in every way. Finally, the owner threw us our pay and laughed as he watched us pick the money up...*

***From an interview with migrants***

Labour migrants from Uzbekistan are particularly vulnerable and are often subjected to degrading treatment and torture. Conditions for this type of human rights abuse are facilitated by a combination of factors including migrant’s illegality and insufficient efforts by authorities in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan in enforcing protection of their rights.

33.1 percent of surveyed migrants reported having been subjected to humiliation and/or torture. 53.3 percent of these migrants stated that maltreatment practices are most common in Mangystau oblast. During the course of the research incidents of torture towards cotton field workers in Mahtaaraskii district of South Kazakhstan were revealed. Migrants reported implementation of punishment practices such as whipping for failing to fulfill cotton collection quotas. Migrants are often forced to live in the stables with cattle or right in the field under awnings. Sometimes they are confined by chains by their employers during the nights to prevent them from escaping. Migrants do not receive proper nutrition. Six migrants also stated that at the end of the season their employers demanded that they sing the national anthem of Uzbekistan and dance in order to receive their earned wages.

All surveyed migrants talked about suffering repeated insults from their employers and encountering complete apathy and indifference on the part of the local police to maltreatment of labour migrants. All of the respondents also noted that citizens of Uzbekistan are especially vulnerable to exploitation and human rights abuses because of inexistence of a bilateral labour agreement at the governmental level. It was also stated that the status of labour migrants from Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan tends to be better in Kazakhstan because bilateral agreements have been signed between these states.



## 6.5 Right of access to legal help and protection

*Who can we appeal to? The shashlik<sup>24</sup> cook from our café worked day and night. One evening we had a big order and did not have enough shampoors<sup>25</sup>. So the owner sent the cook to go borrow some shampoors from another restaurant and gave him some money to give the owners of the other restaurant as a security deposit for the shampoors. On the way to the restaurant he was stopped by the police, they confiscated the security deposit money and took him to the district police department. The owner of our café looked for the cook for two days and finally when she found him she had to buy him out from the police.*

*At first the owner told him that she is going to deduct from his salary only the sum of the security deposit for shampoors that was confiscated from him. Then she said that she will also deduct the money for the "buy-out" she paid to the police for his release. Then for the taxi money she spent while looking for him. So he started working practically for free – one month, two months, three months, four months... and the owner continued saying that he still owed. Finally, he decided to complain to police. However, at the police department he was told:*

<sup>24</sup> Shashlik – barbequed marinated meat on sticks.

<sup>25</sup> Shampoors – sticks used for cooking of shashlik

*“Ah-ha, so you have been in Almaty for 5 months without registration or work permit? You owe a fine in the amount of 17 000 tenge (127 USD)”.*

***From an interview with the migrants***

Only six percent of the surveyed migrants have ever requested legal assistance from the state structures in Kazakhstan. 2.4 percent think that seeking legal assistance is useless, 3.2 percent perceive danger in applying to authorities, feeling that such action will result in worsening of their situation. The other 88.4 percent of the migrants do not even consider the possibility of resolving their problems via official legal state mechanisms in Kazakhstan. For conflict or dispute resolution, migrants seek help and advice from: employers – 44.0 percent, relatives and acquaintances in Kazakhstan – 26.1 percent, migrants from Uzbekistan, who are respected by all – 11.7 percent, no one – 10.4 percent.

43.1 percent of the surveyed migrants stated that they needed legal help, but could not get any. 36.6 percent of migrants perceive their illegal status as an obstacle to applying for legal assistance. 32.7 percent feel discrimination on ethnic and national basis and are discouraged from seeking legal help. Another 30.7 percent could not offer any explanations for having been denied legal assistance and court protection.

Survey of local residents, employers and government officials on suggestions of where migrants can seek protection of their rights and interests revealed the following: nowhere – 23.6 percent, official channels – 73.1 percent, employer – 1.0 percent, friends and relatives in Kazakhstan – 1.0 percent, *akimat* (municipality) – 1.0 percent, embassy of Uzbekistan – 1.0 percent.

## **7. CORRUPTION AND HUMAN TRAFFICKING FOR LABOUR EXPLOITATION IN KAZAKHSTAN**

### **7.1 Extortion**

Labour migrants from Uzbekistan become subject to extortion during crossing of the border, attempts to legalize their status and routine document checks. 95.2 percent of all surveyed migrants (100 percent of those surveyed in Almaty and Zhanaozen), 87.4 percent of local residents (94.0 percent in Almaty), 54.9 percent of employers (80.0 percent in Shymkent) and 44.0 percent of state officials in Kazakhstan (66.7 percent in Almaty) said that extortion is the most common crime committed against labour migrants.

At the border crossing checkpoints, migrants reported having been threatened with or subjected to unnecessary and reckless searches by the border guards, customs officials, and the police if they refused to pay a “fee”. Labour migrants and commercial traders are often subjected to paying arbitrary tariffs and unofficial charges when crossing the border on the way to or from Kazakhstan.

Subsequently, even if the migrant has all of the required documents for registration, he or she may still be forced to pay additional unofficial fees in the amount of 200 KZT (\$1.5 USD) - 500 (\$ 3.73 USD) to legalize his or her stay in Kazakhstan. To obtain registration for a year, which is required in order to receive a work or retail permit a fee in the amount of 20 000 – 70 000 KZT (\$ 149.25-522.39 USD) may be exacted. If a migrant misses one of the required documents for registration, then payment of additional bribes will allow the person to obtain necessary forms and permits.

However, often due to poor legal literacy and unawareness of their rights, migrants either do not know about proper legalization procedures and do not obtain necessary documents or surrender their passports to their employers trusting that they will legalize their stay and thus, unintentionally, become victims of extortion during routine, but often unfounded document checks by



migration police and various inspection bodies. During document checks migrants are forced to pay bribes if they fail to present on the spot to the demanding authority one of the following documents: passport, migration card, valid registration, work permit, employment contract, and copy of employer's license to attract foreign labour force or medical insurance. Yet, in 71.1 percent of cases migrants' passports are confiscated by their employers, 57.3 percent of migrants were not given required migration cards when crossing the border, often employers refuse to sign contracts with the migrants, do not obtain or are unable to obtain license for hiring foreign workers and migrants themselves usually are unaware that they need to receive a special work permit or have medical insurance coverage during their employment in Kazakhstan. Bribe amounts, that are exacted for failure to produce requested documents, range from 200 KZT (\$ 1.5 USD) to 3000 KZT (\$22.39 USD). Employers who hire illegal migrants also pay bribes to migration police and auditors that range from 1000 to 20 000 KZT (\$ 7.46 -149.25 USD).

## 7.2 Income for corruption

The approximate annual income earned by corrupt officials collecting bribes and unofficial fees from labour migrants only constitutes \$ 14,5 million USD. Using the model developed by the consultant based on her findings for calculation of corruption income, the following table outlines detailed description of bribe amounts for particular violations and supposed number of migrants that are subjected to each particular extortion case:

Type of extortion	Estimated average number of occurrences during a single labour migration period	Average amount		Estimated number of migrants subjected to this type of occurrence <sup>26</sup>	Sum (USD)
		KZT	USD		
Document check	10.5	200	1.46	134185	2 058 339.13
Absence of registration according to the place of residence	3.0	500	3.65	75200	823 357.66
Absence of work permit	1.0	2 000	14.60	13160	192 116.79
Absence of retail permit	3.1	2 500	18.25	36895	2 113 517.96

<sup>26</sup> Proportion of respondents who reported extortion during interviews x estimated number of all labour migrants.

Labour Migrants from Uzbekistan  
in the Southern Regions of Kazakhstan

Absence of a medical certificate	10.1	200	1.46	47000	690 296.20
Absence of a migration card	21.0	200	1.46	112800	3 460 605.20
Absence of a passport	3.0	500	3.65	43945	481 149.64
Process of obtaining registration according to the place of residence	1.2	1 200	8.76	113035	1 188 105.11
Process of obtaining registration according to the place of residence for 12 months	1.0	32 500	238.66	5640	1 346 066.28
Process of obtaining retail permit	1.0	2 000	14.60	56400	823 357.66
Process of obtaining medical certificate	1.0	500	3.65	30973	113 040.15
Search for weapons and narcotic substances	1.0	1 000	7.30	1880	13 722.63
Border crossing at a border crossing checkpoint carrying large bags	2.0	1 000	7.30	65800	960 583.94
Trade in passports	1.0	12 000	87.59	987	86 452.55
Destruction of an arrest protocol for stopping a migrant for identity check	1.8	5 000	36.50	2656	174 448.91
TOTAL:					14 525 159.80

### 7.3 Human trafficking for labour exploitation

A significant number of labour migrants including minors become victims of the crime of human trafficking for the purpose of labour exploitation. A third of surveyed migrants stated that in recent years they have been in a situation of forced exploitation without receiving the promised pay for at least a month. Most of the other respondents claimed to have received only partial pay. In some instances, return of migrant's passport by the employer constituted the only reward for migrant's labour.

To assess the incidence of human trafficking involving migrants from Uzbekistan, this report uses the United Nations definition of human trafficking

and exploitation from the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Person, Especially Women and Children (hereafter Protocol) adopted in 2000, supplementing the UN Convention against Transnational Organize Crime. This definition is sufficiently comprehensive and captures the complexity and dynamics of human trafficking. Hence, Article 3 of the Protocol states:

*(a) “Trafficking in persons” shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation.*

*Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs;*

*(c) The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered “trafficking in persons” even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) [see above] of this article;*

Therefore, according to the definition three elements constitute the crime of human trafficking – recruitment, means of forcing a person into submission and exploitation. However, point (b) of article 3 of the Protocol specifies that consent of the victim is irrelevant if “any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) have been used”. Therefore, a victim of trafficking is viewed as such regardless of his or her consent to a particular situation of exploitation. This perspective is consistent with the internationally upheld legal norms that state a person cannot legally consent when force, coercion, deception or abuse of power have been employed. Moreover, the Interpretive Notes to the Protocol clarify “position of vulnerability” to mean “any situation in which the person involved has no real and acceptable alternative but to submit to the abuse involved”. This specification prevents traffickers from shifting the burden of proof in the court of law onto the victim by arguing that the victim consented to trafficking and therefore was subjected to “fair” exploitation.

Human trafficking for labour exploitation in Kazakhstan occurs at the *mardikor bazaars* and is organized by “foremen”, who coordinate the process of buying and selling migrants for labour exploitation. The foremen can act as recruiters or intermediaries between the recruiters, transporters and exploiters. Traffickers at *mardikor bazaars* are usually citizens or former citizens of Uzbekistan that reside temporarily or permanently in Kazakhstan. They operate either in small rural and large urban centers in Kazakhstan,

often at the train stations or bus stops where migrants from Uzbekistan arrive or at the train stations in Uzbekistan.

For example, such black labour market exists in Kungrad, a small town on the territory of Uzbekistan where night trains with foremen operating in Kazakhstan arrive in order to buy Uzbek workers for resale in the black labour markets in Kazakhstan to the clients interested in hiring Uzbek labour migrants. At the station, foremen along with the potential labour migrants make deals with the foremen from Kazakhstan and once the conditions of the transaction are agreed upon, the Uzbekistani foreman hands over to the counterpart from Kazakhstan passports of the purchased workers, who then leave with the former to Kazakhstan to be resold into exploitation. Depending on the qualifications and skills of the worker, traffickers in Uzbekistan receive 4 000 to 7 000 KZT (\$30-52 USD) per male victim. For females, regardless of age or qualifications, traffickers pay 2 500 KZT (\$19 USD) per person.

Apart from the foremen another group that operates in the capacity of traffickers at this market are parents selling their underage children into exploitation for 1 500 to 2 000 KZT (\$ 11- 15 USD) per child. Foremen purchase minors willingly because they are usually as fit for exploitation as adult workers are, but are easier to control and hide from the authorities because minors do not have passports and thus do not carry the same legal responsibility as adults.

At the black labour markets in Kazakhstan, the foremen make deals with employers that wish to hire labour migrants from Uzbekistan. According to the terms of the deal, the foreman receives the entire pay intended for the migrant workers from the employer and then determines on what conditions and what percentage, if any, the workers will be paid. Labour migrants who arrive in search of work in Kazakhstan independently and try to find employers at the black labour markets by themselves, trying to avoid dependence on the foremen are noted by the latter, beaten severely and kept isolated from the employers until the migrant agrees to become a part of the trafficker's 'brigade'. 10.9 percent of the surveyed migrants reported having been coerced by the "foremen" to become victims of trafficking.

*At a black labour market in Almaty, the researcher posed as an Almaty resident wishing to hire labour migrants for renovation of her house. With the foremen, they discussed a deal of hiring 5 workers for 2 weeks for 45 000 KZT (\$ 333 USD) plus food. As the foremen requested that the entire sum be handed to him, the researcher tried to find out how much of that money would be paid to each hired worker. The foremen laughed and said: "Don't worry about it! We'll figure it out." To the inquiry of whether the workers will have registration in Almaty, the foreman stated: "Do not worry. They will not escape anywhere. I have their passports and if they should run away they will quickly be detained by*

*migration police, as they play for our side.” The researcher was not able to see any of the migrants that she potentially could have hired, as they are only present in the mornings at these markets when they are referred to their perspective jobs.*

In addition to the foremen, corrupt officials working for Kazakhstan's police also participate in the trafficking process of labour migrants from Uzbekistan. In Mangystau oblast the black labour market in a rural settlement of Zhana Ozen is entirely controlled by the local police without any presence of the foremen. At that market, policemen daily collect 100 KZT (0.75 USD) from the labour migrants that arrive there in the mornings. In Shymkent, interviews with a local resident confirmed the existence of a labour camp where construction workers from Uzbekistan are exploited. People kept in that camp are trafficked there by police, who in their turn receive the migrants from Kazakhstan's corrupt customs officials that arrest commercial migrants when they refuse to share their earnings with the former.

Police also participate in a practice of passport trafficking. Passport trafficking occurs when an employer or a law enforcement official confiscates a migrant's passport and then demands ransom for its return. The amount ranges from at least 5 000 KZT (\$37 USD) and in Almaty can be up to 20 000 KZT (\$149 USD). The average ransom quote is 100 USD. Corrupt officials prefer to confiscate passports rather than detain migrants, because the former situation is more lucrative as higher ransoms can be exacted for an identity document from a migrant, than for a migrant himself or herself and there is less of a hassle. Among the surveyed migrants, 3 of them have been forced to buy out their passports from the police and everybody else stated that they were aware of the risks associated with document checks. As such, some labour migrants prefer to travel without their passport, crossing the border illegally and taking with them just a copy of the passport or military service identification document. Then they buy stamped migration cards for 200-300 KZT (\$1.50-2 USD) and in case of a document check by police, present the copy of their passport along with the fake migration card and claim that their employers keep their passports.

## **8. MIGRANTS' RELATIONS WITH THE HOST SOCIETY**

Let's review the opinion towards the labour migrants from Uzbekistan among the local population in general: 53.9 percent of the respondents approve of migrants' presence in their regions and use their services (most are in South Kazakhstan oblast – 74.1percent), 20.4 percent approve of migrants' presence, but do not use their services, 25.1 percent do not approve of migrants presence (45.0 percent in Mangystau oblast).

25.2 percent of the local population claim they do not feel any difference between the citizens of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan; 20.9 percent are happy that Uzbekistan provides them with cheap labour force; 12.5 percent categorize them as good workers who complete their jobs effectively and with quality (7.3 percent), willing to take on any job (2.1 percent), supplement shortage of labour in important sectors (2.1 percent), not demanding and compliant (1.0 percent). 2.1 percent of regular Kazakh citizens value in Uzbeks such personal characteristics as kindness and sobriety; 14.1 percent feel sorry for migrants and believe that Kazakhstan should help them feed their families in Uzbekistan. 1 percent of respondents treat Uzbeks negatively in revenge of their attitude towards Kazakhstan. Another 1 percent confuse labour migrants with oralmans and complain about the fact that those who betrayed the homeland twice receive more assistance than the natives of Kazakhstan. 20.4 percent of Kazakhstan's surveyed citizens view labour migrants from Uzbekistan as competition for jobs at the labour market – most of these respondents were located in Almaty, the least in Mahtaarakii district.

On the other hand, migrants themselves hold a positive attitude towards the average residents of Kazakhstan, noting conflicting relations with only two particular groups: the foremen, who control them and severely violate their rights and migration police, who are viewed as corrupt and potential slave owners. 90.5% of migrants identified foremen and migration police officials as their main enemies.

## **9. EVALUATION OF LABOUR MIGRATION FROM UZBEKISTAN BY STATE OFFICIALS**

Overall, state officials in both countries recognize the inevitability of labour migration flows between Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan and view the process as important for economic, political and social development. 68.0 percent of officials in Kazakhstan and 57.1 percent in Uzbekistan consider labour migration as beneficial for their country and 52.0 percent in Kazakhstan and 42.9 percent in Uzbekistan perceive labour migration as mutually beneficial to both states, however the latter believe that Kazakhstan is not interested in legalization of labour migration flows. Overall, more than two thirds of officials in both countries consider that the benefits derived by Kazakhstan from labour migration from Uzbekistan are greater.

52.0 percent of officials in Kazakhstan and all of the surveyed officials in Uzbekistan believe that labour migration from Uzbekistan diminishes labour shortages on the labour market in Kazakhstan. However 28.6 percent of officials in Uzbekistan view this process with disapproval claiming that Uzbekistan loses its most qualified cadres and 32.0 percent of officials in Kazakhstan believe that labour migrants from the neighbouring states create unhealthy competition at the country's labour market by driving wages down and taking away jobs from the local population.

48.0 percent of officials in Kazakhstan associate migrants from Uzbekistan with various social problems in their state – 28.0 percent believe that labour migration from Uzbekistan encourages criminal activity, although two thirds of these respondents specified that crimes are committed not by the migrants, but against them; 8.0 percent believe migrants from Uzbekistan violate sanitary norms and 12.0 percent think that migrants place additional strain on the social security programs in Kazakhstan as they do not pay any taxes. 1 official from migration police also expressed suspicions of connections between labour migrants and fundamental Islamic movements. On the other hand, state officials in Uzbekistan believe that illegal crossing of Kazakhstan's border is the only violation committed by labour migrants from Uzbekistan.

88.0 percent of Kazakhstan's officials advocate for the simplification of

legalization procedures for labour migrants and 8.0 percent of them work on development of proposals for improvement of the existing legislation on the issue. Recognizing that often migrants' illegality is a result of factors that are out of his or her control, 28.0 percent of officials identify a need for legislative improvements, 20.0 percent would like to see better management of the state's border, 8.0 percent call for facilitation of dialogue at the highest level, 16.0 percent blame excessive bureaucracy and corruption and another 4.0 percent highlight the existence of unnecessary administrative limitations and prohibitions.

Another 4.0 percent of Kazakhstan's officials point to Uzbekistan, stating that the main obstacle to legalization of migrants from Uzbekistan working in other countries is rooted in Uzbekistan itself. 28.6 percent of officials in Uzbekistan share this view. They believe that the lack of political will in the country to initiate reforms in this sphere and to place labour migration high on the agenda of national priorities sustains unregulated flows of labour migrants who are unprotected legally or socially. The higher echelons of authorities in Uzbekistan do not recognize the need for reform in the area and so far have not granted the accreditation request to IOM thus limiting the extent to which IOM can participate in facilitation of migration management processes in and from Uzbekistan.

However, the majority of state officials in both countries view the process of labour migration from Uzbekistan to Kazakhstan as a natural and inevitable consequence of the changing economic environment and demographic context in these countries and recognize the necessity to ensure that migrants' rights are protected and at least minimal labour standards are enforced.



## **10. SOCIOECONOMIC IMPACTS AND ASPECTS OF LABOUR MIGRATION IN UZBEKISTAN**

Greater reliance among the country's population on earnings abroad cause changes in the demographic composition of labour migration flows, affect communities and household structures, influence career planning among the country's youth, and generate remittance flows that result in a need for further development of a banking system to accommodate such transactions and a greater recognition on the part of authorities in significance of this process for Uzbekistan.

The changing gender balance among labour migrants influences woman's position and role in the society, particularly in the rural areas. Whereas in 1999 less than 2 percent of women labour migrants considered themselves heads of households, currently 57.6 percent of female respondents indicated that they are the breadwinners of the family and thus view themselves as heads of household. In fact, in Tashkent, Djizzak, Syrdarynskii, and Ferghana viloyats, there are entire villages where almost all women migrate to Kazakhstan for work, leaving their unemployed husbands for up to 3-4 months during the agricultural season to take care of the children and the elderly.

Overall, 11.6 percent of migrants and more than 1 percent of Uzbekistan's total labour force work exclusively abroad, on average supporting on their earnings 1.3 adults and 3.6 dependent children. Thus, about 2.2 percent of adult population and 4.4 percent of children are in full economic dependence on income earned by their relatives abroad and for 18.9 percent of adult population a significant portion of their income comes from working abroad. All respondents indicated that participation in labour migration at least once significantly increased income and welfare of their household and households of labour migrants fare better than average households in their community.

Positive impacts of labour migration on household welfare levels began to influence career choices made by youth as significant increases in enrollment numbers in construction colleges and cooking courses indicate. At the same time, enrollment in medical, teacher, and mechanics colleges is decreasing.

Labour migration significantly alleviates the problem of unemployment in Uzbekistan with the highest migration from viloyats with greatest strains at the local labour markets – the Djizzak, Ferghana, and Syrdarynskii viloyats. Even though, officially unemployment levels registered in these regions range from 0.2 percent - 0.4 percent of economically active population, only about 52.0 percent of working age population is employed.

Labour migration also exacts positive impacts on employment activity levels in the population as well as generates capital for the establishment of private business in Uzbekistan. Prior researches showed that 6.5 of entrepreneurs earned starting capital for their business during labour migration abroad and on average their enterprises tended to create more jobs (37) than small local businessmen (7) and their businesses remained active for longer periods of time.<sup>27</sup> This is illustrative of the benefits derived by migrants working abroad in terms of experience sharing, exposure to new business practices and establishment of useful contacts.

Labour migration also supplements gross national income of the country through flows of remittances, albeit in the case of Uzbekistan due to underdeveloped banking system, unofficially. Experts at the Agency on External Labour Migration in Uzbekistan estimate that labour migrants from Uzbekistan working in South Korea transfer to their families at least 300 USD a month. Researchers in Russia estimate that citizens of Uzbekistan working there remit 52 USD each month.<sup>28</sup> Although specific remittances figures are not available for labour migrants working in Kazakhstan, estimates suggest that the full amount of remittances sent by labour migrants to Uzbekistan exceeds 500 million USD.<sup>29</sup> Evidence also shows that countries where labour migration is awarded national priority and is realized through liberalized labour migration policies the remittances are much higher and labour migrants enjoy better protection of their rights while working abroad. In general, it has been shown that on average a 10 percent increase in the share of migrants' remittances in a country's GDP will effect a 1.6 percent decline in the share of people living in poverty.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Maksakova, L. "Trudovaya migratsiya nasyeleniya Uzbekistana: Tendentsii i regionalniye osobyenosti", Centre for effective economic policy, Ministry of Economics in the Republic of Uzbekistan, Tashkent, 2005.

<sup>28</sup> Turukanova, E. (2004) "Trudovaya migratsiya iz stran CNG I novye praktiki ekspluatatsii truda", paper presented at an international conference *International Migration: Cairo +10*.

<sup>29</sup> Maksakova, L. "Trudovaya migratsiya nasyeleniya Uzbekistana: Tendentsii i regionalniye osobyenosti", Centre for effective economic policy, Ministry of Economics in the Republic of Uzbekistan, Tashkent, 2005.

<sup>30</sup> World Bank (2003) "International Migration, Remittances and Poverty Reduction".

## **11. CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS**

Even though state officials surveyed in the course of this research recognize the element of inevitability as well as benefits of labour migration between Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, neither state has expressed the political will to place labour migration high on the national priorities agenda. Regulation of the process remains poor in both the sending and the receiving state. Shortcomings in the legal framework on labour migration and state control of the process in Uzbekistan facilitate conditions in which the majority of labour migrants cannot follow the required rules and thus undertake migration unofficially. Legal contradictions and complicated legalization procedures stipulated by Kazakhstan also leave labour migrants from Uzbekistan with poor legalization options, particularly in the context of corruption among the law enforcement authorities and lack of desire to follow the rules among the employers. Therefore, as the research showed, labour migrants from Uzbekistan in Southern Kazakhstan are subject to conditions of exploitation and often, severe human rights violations, such as human trafficking. The majority of migrants work without contracts, long weeks without holidays or sick leave days, receiving only partial or in some cases no pay at all for their labour. Their working and living conditions are difficult and often unsafe, while opportunities for possible recourse to protect their rights are scarce. Despite, this many people still opt to travel abroad in search of an income due to the economic difficulties in Uzbekistan.

As economic opportunities in the country are shrinking due to poor economic policies pursued by the government, importance of labour migration in general for Uzbekistan grows and labour migration to Kazakhstan in particular is increasing as well. Kazakhstan attracts male and female labour migrants from Uzbekistan. Many of them come to work in Kazakhstan together with their friends or relatives. It is likely that Kazakhstan will continue to gain importance as a destination country for labour migration absorbing greater numbers of migrants from Uzbekistan. Subsequently, the regulation of labour migration needs to be addressed at the highest levels in Uzbekistan to ensure the protection of the countries' citizens working abroad. The government of Kazakhstan should also consider elaborating and enforcing monitoring of minimum national employment norms.

Therefore, the governments of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan should consider signing a bilateral agreement on labour migration regulation. In the

framework of the agreement questions of licensing, contracting, conditions of labour force exchange and legalization of different workers (seasonal or long term), monitoring and mechanisms for protection of labour migrant's rights should be discussed. In the effort to legalize more labour migrants, Kazakhstan should possibly consider extending an amnesty to illegal or irregular migrants that are currently working in Kazakhstan. Such action would encourage those working illegally in Kazakhstan at the moment to register with the authorities without fear of reprehension thus allowing the government better regulation of the process, and to minimize risks and human rights abuses associated with illegal labour migration. Provisions should also include an enforcement mechanism for reprimanding and fining employers who commit violations of migrants' rights.

Moreover, Uzbekistan should allow licensing of private recruitment firms and foreign companies to recruit labour force from Uzbekistan. Such policy would be more efficient in protecting migrant's rights and ensuring shorter consideration timelines than review of individual applications currently required by the law when a foreign company wishes to contract a worker from Uzbekistan. To facilitate monitoring of the labour market needs and treatment of migrants from Uzbekistan working in Kazakhstan's enterprises, Uzbekistan should establish an agency in Kazakhstan that can be responsible for labour migration issues on behalf of Uzbekistan in Kazakhstan. For this purpose, the government of Uzbekistan could create the post of a labour attaché to Kazakhstan or begin cooperation with cultural centers of Uzbek Diaspora present in Kazakhstan.

Both countries, should also consider reforming their legislative frameworks regulating migration issues. Kazakhstan should introduce amendments to the "Law on Population Migration" that will clarify vague provisions and remove contradictions. Uzbekistan should work to introduce a law on migration that would address all issues of people movement in, through and out of Uzbekistan on temporary and permanent basis.

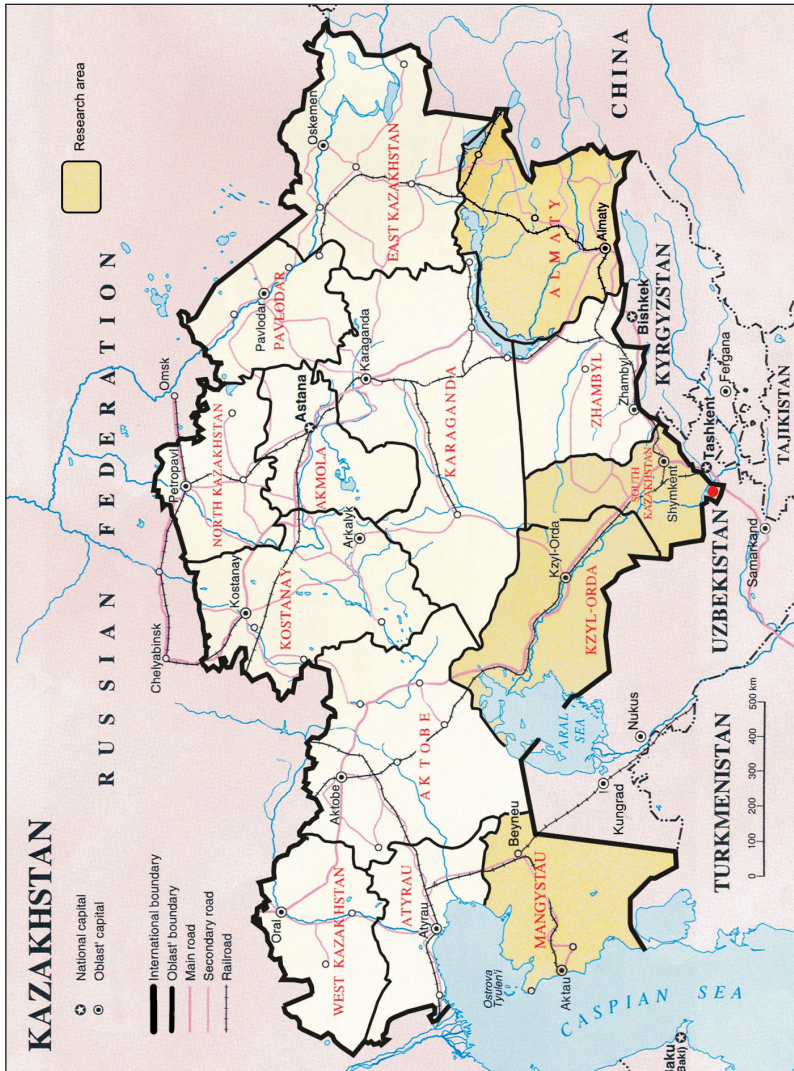
Furthermore, to raise awareness among migrants and employers about legal labour relations between foreign parties, information campaigns should be conducted to illuminate migrant workers and their employers' rights and responsibilities.

Investments in the human capital managing labour migration issues should be accomplished through capacity building and improvement of communications channels for and between all authorities working on issues of labour migration.

Last, but not least issues of corruption among migration police, border guards and customs services should be addressed to ensure proper implementation of the law and to maximize potential benefits of labour migration for both states.

## 12. ANNEXES

Annex 1 Map



## Annex 2 Survey questionnaires

### Questionnaire #1: MIGRANTS FROM UZBEKISTAN AND THE STATE

Dear Sir/Madam,

We are conducting research on labour migrants from Uzbekistan working in Kazakhstan with the aim of reduction of illegal migration and betterment of labour migrants' situation. We request that you answer the following questions anonymously. We guarantee that any information that you provide will be used only for the purposes of objective statistical analysis and no information pertaining to you directly will be disseminated.

Interview code: \_\_\_\_\_

Interview date: \_\_\_\_\_

1. Location of the survey:
2. Gender:
3. Age
4. Ethnicity (1. Uzbek 2. Tajik 3. Kazakh 4. Russian 5. Tatar 6. Ukrainian 7. Korean 99 other)
5. Education (1. incomplete high school 2. high school 3. college 4. incomplete university 5. university 6. graduate)
6. Position (1. director 2. deputy director 3. manager 4. assistant)
7. How long have you been aware of migration problems? (year and month)  
Do your professional responsibilities include consideration of migration related questions? (0. I only heard of migration, but have never directly worked on the migration related questions 1. migration is indirectly relevant to my professional responsibilities, however I do not specialize in migration 2. I am often dealing with migrants and migration related questions 3. migration is my everyday job)
8. When did you start noticing migrants from Uzbekistan working in Kazakhstan? (year and month)
9. How many migrants from Uzbekistan would you estimate are currently working in Kazakhstan?
10. Since when did migrants from Uzbekistan start working in your area? (year and month) and in your oblast?
11. In which economic spheres migrants from Uzbekistan find employment? (1. construction 2. agriculture 3. food preparation 4. market sales 5. services 6. flat break baking 7. odd jobs labour 8. domestic work 99. other)

12. Do you think that labour migrants from Uzbekistan compete with Kazakhstan's citizens for jobs at the labour market? (0. no 1. not really 2. probably yes 4. yes)
13. Which other problems emerge in your area as a result of migrants' presence? In your oblast? In Kazakhstan?
14. Do you think that Kazakhstan's population generally approves of the presence of migrants from Uzbekistan? (1. approve and hire migrants 2. approve, but do not hire migrants themselves 3. do not approve) why?
15. Do you personally approve of labour migration from Uzbekistan? Why?
16. As a representative of the government which option do you think is preferable: Kazakhstan's citizens working at the jobs that are currently filled by labour migrants from Uzbekistan or should migrants from other countries fill this jobs or keep the status quo? Why?
17. Do you think that the majority of labour migrants from Uzbekistan have legal employment in Uzbekistan – have all the required documentation? Why?
18. Could you please list the documents that according to Kazakhstan's law a foreign worker and his or her employer must have in order to legalize their labour contract?
19. Would you agree that procedures for legalization of migrants' status should be simplified? Why?
20. Have you ever hired labour migrants from Uzbekistan for any job? Did you do so legally obtaining all of the required documents? Why?
21. How and with whose help can one hire a labour migrant from Uzbekistan? (1. with the help from relatives/friends 2. using services of a recruitment agency or a private contact in Uzbekistan 3. using services of a recruitment agency or a private contact in Kazakhstan 4. independently 99. other)
22. Do you think that if procedures for hiring labour migrants from Uzbekistan were legalized, both the migrant and the employer would be more protected? (0. no 1. not really 2. probably yes 3. yes)
23. Could you please specify the legislative mechanisms that currently regulate employment of foreign workers in Kazakhstan? (law title, number and date)  
What is your assessment of the effectiveness levels of these legal instruments according to a five point scale where 1 indicates low effectiveness and 5 – very high effectiveness? Why?
24. Which mechanisms regulate registration of migrants according to their place of residence?  
What is your assessment of the effectiveness levels of this legal instrument according to a five point scale where 1 indicates low effectiveness and 5 – very high effectiveness? Why?
25. Which legal mechanisms specify sanctions for violations of migration regime?

26. How often do you think labour migrants from Uzbekistan encounter documentation problems in Kazakhstan? Which and why?
27. Do you think that Kazakhstani employers that hire labour migrants from Uzbekistan keep the migrants documents or let the migrant keep his or her own documents? Do migrants encounter passport problems? Which?
28. Do you know of any arrests/fines/other penalties to which labour migrants from Uzbekistan are subjected? Please specify.
29. Are you aware of any cases of extortion by Kazakhstan's police against labour migrants from Uzbekistan? Please specify.
30. Which authorities could labour migrants from Uzbekistan and their employer report to in case of problems? What kind of result can be expected?
31. Do you know of any cases when labour migrants resorted to the help of authorities in Kazakhstan? Please describe.
32. Do you know of any instances of violation committed against labour migrants from Uzbekistan in Kazakhstan? Please describe.
33. How would you assess the welfare level of labour migrants from Uzbekistan? (1. they do not have enough money for food 2. have enough money to purchase food and basic necessities, but not a refrigerator or a television set 3. have enough money to purchase expensive things, but not a flat or a car 4. have enough money to buy anything they like)
34. In your opinion, how does the welfare situation of labour migrants change as a result of migration? (2. worsens by a lot 1. worsens a little bit 0. does not change 1. improves a little bit 2. improves by a lot)
35. Why do you think so many people from Uzbekistan come to Kazakhstan to work? (1. unemployment in Uzbekistan 2. poor pay in Uzbekistan 3. discrimination in Uzbekistan based on linguistic/ethnic grounds 4. high taxes 5. poor business environment 99. other)
36. What motivates labour migrants from Uzbekistan to come to Kazakhstan? (1. need to feed the family 2. earn money to pay for education/health treatment 3. earn starting capital for a business 4. earn money for large purchases 5. to lay foundation for permanent resettlement 99. other)
37. Do you think that migrants attain the objectives of their labour migration? (0. no 1. probably not 2. probably yes 3. yes 99. other)
38. How difficult is it for migrants from Uzbekistan to secure good employment in Kazakhstan? (0. impossible 1. more difficult than in Uzbekistan 2. difficult, but easier than in Kazakhstan 3. pretty easy 4. easy)
39. Do you think labour migrants from Uzbekistan are well paid in Kazakhstan? (0. yes, they earn the same wages as the citizens of Kazakhstan 1. their wages are slightly lower than those of the citizens of Kazakhstan 2. their wages are very low) Could you please estimate monthly earnings of labour migrants from Uzbekistan?
40. Do you think that citizens of Kazakhstan would perform the same labour



- for the same pay that is offered to the labour migrants from Uzbekistan?  
(0. no 1. probably not 2. probably yes 3. yes, they would)
41. Would migrants from other countries work at the same jobs for the same pay that is offered to the labour migrants from Uzbekistan?
  42. How would you assess the working conditions in which labour migrants from Uzbekistan work? Please specify.
  43. Do you think citizens of Kazakhstan would work in the same conditions of labour? (0. no 1. probably not 2. probably yes 3. yes, they would)
  44. Would the labour migrants from other countries work in such labour conditions?
  45. Do you think that employers in Kazakhstan abuse labour migrants from Uzbekistan or violate their rights? (0. no, never 1. rarely 2. often 3. quite often) Please specify.
  46. Are migrants' wages paid on time by the employers?
  47. How many hours on average do migrants work in a week?
  48. Are labour migrants from Uzbekistan entitled to paid vacation leave?
  49. Are migrants entitled to paid sick leave?
  50. Do labour migrants from Uzbekistan in Kazakhstan receive overtime pay?
  51. What do you like and dislike about labour migrants from Uzbekistan?
  52. In your opinion, what are the living conditions of labour migrants from Uzbekistan in Kazakhstan? (housing, furnishings, etc.)
  53. Do you think that citizens of Kazakhstan would agree to live in such conditions?
  54. Do you think that labour migrants from Uzbekistan enjoy equal rights with the citizens of Kazakhstan?
  55. Do you think that labour migrants from Uzbekistan enjoy equal rights with labour migrants to Kazakhstan from other states? Why?
  56. Do you think that labour migrants from Uzbekistan enjoy freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention? Why?
  57. Do you think that labour migrants from Uzbekistan enjoy freedom from torture and degrading treatment? Why?
  58. Do you think that labour migrants from Uzbekistan enjoy their right for legal assistance and protection of the law?
  59. Do you think that labour migrants from Uzbekistan have their labour rights observed?
  60. Do you think that labour migrants from Uzbekistan have access to medical assistance?
  61. In your opinion, what other rights violations do labour migrants from Uzbekistan suffer from?
  62. Are you aware of accepted international norms and standards regarding migrants' rights outlined in the international law documents?
  63. Which rights are labour migrants from Uzbekistan entitled to in Kazakhstan?

64. Are you aware of accepted international norms and standards regarding migrants' responsibilities outlined in the international law documents?
65. Would you like to see legalization of labour migration between Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan?
66. In your opinion, what prevents labour migrants from Uzbekistan from coming and working in Kazakhstan legally?
67. How often do you think labour migrants from Uzbekistan violate the law? (0. very rarely 1. rarely 2. often 3. quite often)
68. What violations do labour migrants from Uzbekistan commit the most? Why?
69. Sometimes media reports state that migrants are a security threat to the state, do you think such claim is substantiated?
70. In your opinion, which country benefits from labour migration, Uzbekistan or Kazakhstan?
71. Is it profitable for citizens of Uzbekistan to work in Kazakhstan? Why?
72. Is it more profitable for employers in Kazakhstan to hire labour migrants from Uzbekistan instead of citizens of Kazakhstan or labour migrants from other states?
73. If you were the President of Kazakhstan, which measures would you introduce to improve the situation of migrants from Uzbekistan?
74. If you were the President of Uzbekistan, which measures would you introduce to improve the situation of Uzbek labour migrants in Kazakhstan?

**Questionnaire #2: MIGRANTS FROM UZBEKISTAN  
IN KAZAKHSTAN**

Dear Sir/Madam,

We are conducting research on labour migrants from Uzbekistan working in Kazakhstan with the aim of reduction of illegal migration and betterment of labour migrants' situation. We request that you answer the following questions anonymously. We guarantee that any information that you provide will be used only for the purposes of objective statistical analysis and no information pertaining to you directly will be disseminated.

Interview code: \_\_\_\_\_ Interview date: \_\_\_\_\_

1. Location of the survey:
2. Gender:
3. Age
4. Ethnicity (1. Uzbek 2. Tajik 3. Kazakh 4. Russian 5. Tatar 6. Ukrainian 7. Korean 99 other)
5. Education (1. incomplete high school 2. high school 3. college 4. incomplete university 5. university 6. graduate)
6. Place of residence in Uzbekistan (oblast, city/village)
7. Main occupation in Uzbekistan (0. unemployed 1. agricultural worker 2. government official 3. private sector worker 4. self-employed 5. retail sales 6. student 99. other)
8. Main occupation in Kazakhstan (1. agricultural worker 2. construction 3. cook 4. market seller 5. services 6. flat bread baker 7. odd jobs worker 8. domestic worker 99 other)
9. Current occupation in Kazakhstan
10. Did you have to change your qualifications in order to secure a job in Kazakhstan? (0. no 1. not really 2. probably yes 3. yes)
11. When was the first time you have traveled abroad to work? (year, month)
12. When was the first time you traveled to Kazakhstan to work? (year, month)
13. How long do you usually spend in Kazakhstan each visit?
14. When did you arrive in Kazakhstan this time?
15. When are you planning to return to Uzbekistan?

16. How do your relatives/family regard your participation in labour migration? (1. they approve and would also like to engage in labour migration 2. approve, but do not want to take part in labour migration themselves 3. disapprove)
17. Are you planning to permanently emigrate from Uzbekistan? (1. yes, I have begun the preparations 2. yes, but I have not yet started undertaking any steps towards realization of that goal 3. undecided 0. no)
18. If you were planning to emigrate permanently, where would you like to go? (1. Russia 2. Kazakhstan 3. nother CIS country 4. elsewhere)
19. When are you planning to emigrate? (1. within 6 months 2. within 18 months 3. within 5 years 4. undecided 0. never)
20. Prior to your arrival in Kazakhstan do you obtain any specific documentation pertaining to the trip in Uzbekistan? Which, where, how?
21. Have you ever tried to leave Uzbekistan for work abroad through official channels? If yes, when and what was the result of your efforts?
22. When you entered Kazakhstan, did you specify employment as the purpose of your visit? Why?
23. Who assists you in your travels to Kazakhstan? (1. friends/relatives 2. firm/private contact in Uzbekistan 3. independently 99.other)
24. Do you sign an agreement with the person/s who assisted with your departure to Kazakhstan? Why?
25. Did you sign an employment contract with your employer in Kazakhstan? Why?
26. Did anyone fill out/obtain any official documents on your behalf in Kazakhstan? Which, why, when, by whom?
27. Did you encounter any problems with documentation in Kazakhstan? Which, why?
28. Did you have any problems with your migration card?
29. Did you encounter any problems with your registration?
30. Did you encounter any problems with obtaining a work permit?
31. Did you encounter any problems with other documents?
32. Do you know of any document problems that migrants from Uzbekistan encounter in Kazakhstan?
33. Do you have your Uzbekistani passport with you at the moment? Could you please show it? Who has your passport and why?
34. Were you ever subjected to arrest, fines or other penalties associated with document problems in Kazakhstan? (0. no 1. yes, once 2. yes, many times) please specify
35. Were you ever subjected to extortion on the part of law enforcement in Kazakhstan? (0.no 1. yes, once 2. yes, many times) please specify.
36. Do you know of any instances where migrants from Uzbekistan were subjected to arrests/fines/other penalties? Please specify.
37. Do you know of any instances where migrants from Uzbekistan are

- subjected to extortion on the part of law enforcement in Kazakhstan? Please specify.
38. Have you ever sought assistance from law enforcement or other state authorities in Kazakhstan? When, why and with what result?
  39. Do you know of any instances when migrants from Uzbekistan sought assistance from authorities in Kazakhstan? Please specify.
  40. Have you ever been a victim of other abuses in Kazakhstan? (0. no 1. yes, once 2. yes, many times) Please specify.
  41. Do you know of any instances of migrants from Uzbekistan being subjected to abuse in Kazakhstan? Please specify.
  42. What was your family's welfare level prior to your labour migration to Kazakhstan? (1. did not have enough money for food 2. had enough money to purchase food and basic necessities, but not a refrigerator or a television set 3. had enough money to purchase expensive things, but not a flat or a car 4. had enough money to buy anything they like)
  43. What is the welfare level of your family now?
  44. In your opinion, did the welfare situation of your family change as a result of your labour migration? (2. worsened by a lot 1. worsened a little bit 0. did not change 1. improved a little bit 2. improved by a lot)
  45. Why did you come from Uzbekistan to Kazakhstan to work? (1. unemployment in Uzbekistan 2. poor pay in Uzbekistan 3. discrimination in Uzbekistan based on linguistic/ethnic grounds 4. high taxes 5. poor business environment 99. other)
  46. What motivates you to come to Kazakhstan? (1. need to feed the family 2. earn money to pay for education/health treatment 3. earn starting capital for a business 4. earn money for large purchases 5. to lay foundation for permanent resettlement 99. other)
  47. Do you think that you will attain the objectives of your labour migration? (0. no 1. probably not 2. probably yes 3. yes 99. other)
  48. How difficult is it to secure good employment in Kazakhstan? (0. impossible 1. more difficult than in Uzbekistan 2. difficult, but easier than in Kazakhstan 3. pretty easy 4. easy)
  49. How did you find your present employment? (0. independently 1. "black labour market" 2. recruitment agency 3. advertisement 4. friend 99. other)
  50. Are you satisfied with your wages? (0. no 1. probably not 2. probably yes 3. yes). Please specify.
  51. Do you think that citizens of Kazakhstan would perform the same labour for the same pay that is offered to the labour migrants from Uzbekistan? (0. no 1. probably not 2. probably yes 3. yes, they would)
  52. Do you think other citizens of Uzbekistan would work at the same jobs for the same pay that is offered to the labour migrants in Kazakhstan but in Uzbekistan?
  53. Are you satisfied with your present working conditions? Please specify.

54. Do you think citizens of Kazakhstan would work in the same conditions of labour? (0. no 1. probably not 2. probably yes 3. yes, they would)
55. Would citizens of Uzbekistan agree to work in such labour conditions in Uzbekistan?
56. Have employers in Kazakhstan ever violated your rights? (0. no, never 1. rarely 2. often 3. quite often) Please specify.
57. Do the employers pay your wages on time?
58. How many hours on average do you work in a week?
59. How many days of paid vacation leave are you entitled to?
60. Are you entitled to paid sick leave? # of days.
61. Does your work here count towards your work experience?
62. Do labour migrants from Uzbekistan in Kazakhstan receive overtime pay?
63. What do you like and dislike about employers in Kazakhstan?
64. Are you satisfied with your living conditions in Kazakhstan? (0. no 1. not really 2. probably yes 3. yes) please specify.
65. Do you think that citizens of Kazakhstan would agree to live in such conditions?
66. Do you think that you enjoy equal rights with the citizens of Kazakhstan?
67. Do you think that you enjoy equal rights with labour migrants to Kazakhstan from other states? Why?
68. Do you feel your freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention is violated? Why?
69. Do you feel your freedom from torture and degrading treatment is violated? Why?
70. Do you feel your right for legal assistance and protection of the law is violated?
71. Do you feel your labour rights are violated?
72. Do have access to medical assistance?
73. In your opinion, which of your other rights are violated?
74. Are you aware of accepted international norms and standards regarding migrants' rights outlined in the international law documents?
75. Which rights are you entitled to in Kazakhstan?
76. Are you aware of accepted international norms and standards regarding migrants' responsibilities outlined in the international law documents?
77. Would you like to come for work in Kazakhstan as a legal labour migrant without violating the laws of either state? (0. no 1. yes, I would like, but I am not sure how 2. I tried, but was unable to legalize my status 3. I am legal)
78. What prevents you from coming and working legally in Kazakhstan?
79. How often do you think labour migrants from Uzbekistan violate the law? (0. very rarely 1. rarely 2. often 3. quite often)
80. What violations do labour migrants from Uzbekistan commit the most? Why?

81. Sometimes media reports state that migrants are a security threat to the state, do you think such claim is substantiated?
82. In your opinion, which country benefits from labour migration, Uzbekistan or Kazakhstan?
83. Is it profitable for you and other citizens of Uzbekistan to work in Kazakhstan? Why?
84. Is it more profitable for employers in Kazakhstan to hire labour migrants from Uzbekistan instead of citizens of Kazakhstan or labour migrants from other states?
85. Would you be willing to pay taxes to Uzbekistan from your wages earned in Kazakhstan if the Uzbek government will guarantee social protection and assistance for you in Kazakhstan? Please specify.
86. What percentage of your earnings would you be willing to pay as tax deduction?
87. Could you estimate the number of migrants from Uzbekistan that annually come to work in this area?
88. Could you estimate the total number of labour migrants from Uzbekistan in Kazakhstan per year?
89. If you were the President of Kazakhstan, which measures would you introduce to improve the situation of migrants from Uzbekistan?
90. If you were the President of Uzbekistan, which measures would you introduce to improve the situation of Uzbek labour migrants in Kazakhstan?

**Questionnaire #3: MIGRANTS FROM UZBEKISTAN AND  
THE HOST SOCIETY**

Dear Sir/Madam,

We are conducting research on labour migrants from Uzbekistan working in Kazakhstan with the aim of reduction of illegal migration and betterment of labour migrants' situation. We request that you answer the following questions anonymously. We guarantee that any information that you provide will be used only for the purposes of objective statistical analysis and no information pertaining to you directly will be disseminated.

Interview code: \_\_\_\_\_ Interview date: \_\_\_\_\_

1. Location of the survey:
2. Gender:
3. Age
4. Ethnicity (1. Uzbek 2. Tajik 3. Kazakh 4. Russian 5. Tatar 6. Ukrainian 7. Korean 99 other)
5. Education (1. incomplete high school 2. high school 3. college 4. incomplete university 5. university 6. graduate)
6. Place of residence (oblast, city/village)
7. What is your sphere of occupation? (1. agriculture 2. construction 3. food and services 4. retail 5. services 6. industry 99. other)
8. Are there many labour migrants from Uzbekistan working in your sphere of occupation? (0. practically none 1. some 2. many 3. a lot)
9. How long have you been aware of migration problems? (year and month)
10. When did you start noticing migrants from Uzbekistan working in Kazakhstan? (year and month)
11. How many migrants from Uzbekistan would you estimate are currently working in Kazakhstan?
12. Since when did migrants from Uzbekistan start working in your area? (year and month) and in your oblast?
13. In which economic spheres migrants from Uzbekistan find employment? (1. construction 2. agriculture 3. food preparation 4. market sales 5. services 6. flat break baking 7. odd jobs labour 8. domestic work 99. other)
14. Do you think that labour migrants from Uzbekistan compete with



- Kazakhstan's citizens for jobs at the labour market? (0. no 1. not really 2. probably yes 4. yes)
15. Do you think that Kazakhstan's population – your colleagues, friends, relatives, generally approve of the presence of migrants from Uzbekistan and how do they view the fact that jobs are filled by Uzbek citizens and not Kazakhstani citizens? (1. approve and hire migrants 2. approve, but do not hire migrants themselves 3. do not approve) why?
  16. Have you ever participated in labour migration yourself? (0. no and I am not interested at all 1. no, but would like to 2. yes, more than 5 years ago 3. yes, less than 2 years ago)
  17. Do you think that the majority of labour migrants from Uzbekistan have legal employment in Kazakhstan – have all the required documentation? Why?
  18. Could you please list the documents that according to Kazakhstan's law a foreign worker and his or her employer must have in order to legalize their labour contract?
  19. Have you ever hired labour migrants from Uzbekistan for any job? Did you do so legally obtaining all of the required documents? Why?
  20. How and with whose help can one hire a labour migrant from Uzbekistan? (1. with the help from relatives/friends 2. using services of a recruitment agency or a private contact in Uzbekistan 3. using services of a recruitment agency or a private contact in Kazakhstan 4. independently 99. other)
  21. How often do you think labour migrants from Uzbekistan encounter documentation problems in Kazakhstan? Which and why?
  22. Do you think that Kazakhstani employers that hire labour migrants from Uzbekistan keep the migrants documents or let the migrant keep his or her own documents? Do migrants encounter passport problems? Which?
  23. Do you know of any arrests/fines/other penalties to which labour migrants from Uzbekistan are subjected? Please specify.
  24. Are you aware of any cases of extortion by Kazakhstan's police against labour migrants from Uzbekistan? Please specify.
  25. Which authorities could labour migrants from Uzbekistan and their employer report to in case of problems? What kind of result can be expected?
  26. Do you know of any cases when labour migrants resorted to the help of authorities in Kazakhstan? Please describe.
  27. Do you know of any instances of violation committed against labour migrants from Uzbekistan in Kazakhstan? Please describe.
  28. How would you assess the welfare level of labour migrants from Uzbekistan? (1. they do not have enough money for food 2. have enough money to purchase food and basic necessities, but not a refrigerator or a television set 3. have enough money to purchase expensive things, but not a flat or a car 4. have enough money to buy anything they like)
  29. In your opinion, how does the welfare situation of labour migrants change as a result of migration? (2. worsens by a lot 1. worsens a little bit 0. does not change 1. improves a little bit 2. improves by a lot)

30. Why do you think so many people from Uzbekistan come to Kazakhstan to work? (1. unemployment in Uzbekistan 2. poor pay in Uzbekistan 3. discrimination in Uzbekistan based on linguistic/ethnic grounds 4. high taxes 5. poor business environment 99. other)
31. What motivates labour migrants from Uzbekistan to come to Kazakhstan? (1. need to feed the family 2. earn money to pay for education/health treatment 3. earn starting capital for a business 4. earn money for large purchases 5. to lay foundation for permanent resettlement 99. other)
32. Do you think that migrants attain the objectives of their labour migration? (0. no 1. probably not 2. probably yes 3. yes 99. other)
33. How difficult is it for migrants from Uzbekistan to secure good employment in Kazakhstan? (0. impossible 1. more difficult than in Uzbekistan 2. difficult, but easier than in Kazakhstan 3. pretty easy 4. easy)
34. Do you think labour migrants from Uzbekistan are well paid in Kazakhstan? (0. yes, they earn the same wages as the citizens of Kazakhstan 1. their wages are slightly lower than those of the citizens of Kazakhstan 2. their wages are very low). Could you please estimate monthly earnings of labour migrants from Uzbekistan?
35. Do you think that citizens of Kazakhstan would perform the same labour for the same pay that is offered to the labour migrants from Uzbekistan? (0. no 1. probably not 2. probably yes 3. yes, they would)
36. Would migrants from other countries work at the same jobs for the same pay that is offered to the labour migrants from Uzbekistan?
37. How would you assess the working conditions in which labour migrants from Uzbekistan work? Please specify.
38. Do you think citizens of Kazakhstan would work in the same conditions of labour? (0. no 1. probably not 2. probably yes 3. yes, they would)
39. Would the labour migrants from other countries work in such labour conditions?
40. Do you think that employers in Kazakhstan abuse labour migrants from Uzbekistan or violate their rights? (0. no, never 1. rarely 2. often 3. quite often) Please specify.
41. Are migrants' wages paid on time by the employers?
42. How many hours on average do migrants work in a week?
43. Are labour migrants from Uzbekistan entitled to paid vacation leave?
44. Are migrants entitled to paid sick leave?
45. Do labour migrants from Uzbekistan in Kazakhstan receive overtime pay?
46. What do you like and dislike about labour migrants from Uzbekistan?
47. In your opinion, what are the living conditions of labour migrants from Uzbekistan in Kazakhstan? (housing, furnishings, etc.)
48. Do you think that citizens of Kazakhstan would agree to live in such conditions?
49. Do you think that labour migrants from Uzbekistan enjoy equal rights with the citizens of Kazakhstan?

50. Do you think that labour migrants from Uzbekistan enjoy equal rights with labour migrants to Kazakhstan from other states? Why?
51. Do you think that labour migrants from Uzbekistan enjoy freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention? Why?
52. Do you think that labour migrants from Uzbekistan enjoy freedom from torture and degrading treatment? Why?
53. Do you think that labour migrants from Uzbekistan enjoy their right for legal assistance and protection of the law?
54. Do you think that labour migrants from Uzbekistan have their labour rights observed?
55. Do you think that labour migrants from Uzbekistan have access to medical assistance?
56. In your opinion, what other rights violations do labour migrants from Uzbekistan suffer from?
57. Are you aware of accepted international norms and standards regarding migrants' rights outlined in the international law documents?
58. Which rights are labour migrants from Uzbekistan entitled to in Kazakhstan?
59. Are you aware of accepted international norms and standards regarding migrants' responsibilities outlined in the international law documents?
60. Would you like to see legalization of labour migration between Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan?
61. In your opinion, what prevents labour migrants from Uzbekistan from coming and working in Kazakhstan legally?
62. How often do you think labour migrants from Uzbekistan violate the law? (0. very rarely 1. rarely 2. often 3. quite often)
63. What violations do labour migrants from Uzbekistan commit the most? Why?
64. Sometimes media reports state that migrants are a security threat to the state, do you think such claim is substantiated?
65. In your opinion, which country benefits from labour migration, Uzbekistan or Kazakhstan?
66. Is it profitable for citizens of Uzbekistan to work in Kazakhstan? Why?
67. Is it more profitable for employers in Kazakhstan to hire labour migrants from Uzbekistan instead of citizens of Kazakhstan or labour migrants from other states?
68. If you were the President of Kazakhstan, which measures would you introduce to improve the situation of migrants from Uzbekistan?
69. If you were the President of Uzbekistan, which measures would you introduce to improve the situation of Uzbek labour migrants in Kazakhstan?

**Questionnaire #4: EMPLOYERS OF MIGRANTS FROM  
UZBEKISTAN**

Dear Sir/Madam,

We are conducting research on labour migrants from Uzbekistan working in Kazakhstan with the aim of reduction of illegal migration and betterment of labour migrants' situation. We request that you answer the following questions anonymously. We guarantee that any information that you provide will be used only for the purposes of objective statistical analysis and no information pertaining to you directly will be disseminated.

Interview code: \_\_\_\_\_

Interview date: \_\_\_\_\_

1. Location of the survey:
2. Gender:
3. Age
4. Ethnicity (1. Uzbek 2. Tajik 3. Kazakh 4. Russian 5. Tatar 6. Ukrainian 7. Korean 99 other)
5. Education (1. incomplete high school 2. high school 3. college 4. incomplete university 5. university 6. graduate)
6. Place of residence (oblast, city/village)
7. What is your sphere of occupation? (1. agriculture 2. construction 3. food and services 4. retail 5. services 6. industry 99. other)
8. For what type of jobs do you hire labour migrants from Uzbekistan? (1. agriculture 2. construction 3. cooking 4. market sales 5. services 6. flat bread baker 7. odd jobs 8. domestic service 99 other)
9. Are you satisfied with the quality of work delivered by labour migrants from Uzbekistan? (0. no 1. not really 2. probably yes 3. yes)
10. For what period do you usually hire Uzbek labour migrants?
11. When did you start hiring labour migrants? When did you start hiring labour migrants from Uzbekistan?
12. When was the last time that you hired a labour migrant from Uzbekistan?
13. When are your workers from Uzbekistan planning to return back to their country?
14. Do you think that Kazakhstan's population – your colleagues, friends, relatives, generally approve of the presence of migrants from Uzbekistan and how do they view the fact that jobs are filled by Uzbek citizens and not

- Kazakhstani citizens? (1. approve and hire migrants 2. approve, but do not hire migrants themselves 3. do not approve) why?
15. Have you ever participated in labour migration yourself? (0. no and I am not interested at all 1. no, but would like to 2. yes, more than 5 years ago 3. yes, less than 2 years ago)
  16. Do you request any documents from labour migrants when you hire them? Please specify.
  17. Do you obtain any particular documents yourself when hiring labour migrants from Uzbekistan?
  18. Do you have a special permit to hire foreign labour force from the authorities? Please specify.
  19. How and with whose help do you hire a labour migrant from Uzbekistan? (1. with the help from relatives/friends 2. using services of a recruitment agency or a private contact in Uzbekistan 3. using services of a recruitment agency or a private contact in Kazakhstan 4. independently 99. other)
  20. Do you have a written employment contract between you and your employee?
  21. Have labour migrants from Uzbekistan working for you ever encountered any problems with their documents in Kazakhstan?
  22. Have labour migrants from Uzbekistan working for you ever encountered any problems with their migration card in Kazakhstan?
  23. Have labour migrants from Uzbekistan working for you ever encountered any problems with your registration?
  24. Have labour migrants from Uzbekistan working for you ever encountered any problems with obtaining a work permit?
  25. Have labour migrants from Uzbekistan working for you ever encountered any problems with other documents?
  26. Do you know of any document problems that migrants from Uzbekistan encounter in Kazakhstan?
  27. Where do migrants from Uzbekistan working for you keep their passports?
  28. Do you think that other Kazakhstani employers that hire labour migrants from Uzbekistan keep the migrants documents or let the migrant keep his or her own documents? Do migrants encounter passport problems? Which?
  29. Do you know of any arrests/fines/other penalties to which labour migrants from Uzbekistan working for you have been subjected? Please specify.
  30. Are you aware of any cases of extortion by Kazakhstan's police against labour migrants from Uzbekistan? Please specify.
  31. Are you aware of any instances when other migrants from Uzbekistan were subjected to arrest/fines/other penalties?
  32. Are you aware of any instances when other migrants from Uzbekistan were subjected to extortion on the part of law enforcement authorities in Kazakhstan?

33. Have you ever reported any problems you had with labour migrants from Uzbekistan to the law enforcement authorities in Kazakhstan?
34. Do you know of any cases when labour migrants resorted to the help of authorities in Kazakhstan? Please describe.
35. Have you or your employees ever been victims of offenses committed by labour migrants from Uzbekistan? (0. no 1. yes, once 2. yes, several times) please specify.
36. Do you know of any instances of violation committed against labour migrants from Uzbekistan in Kazakhstan? Please describe.
37. How would you assess the welfare level of labour migrants from Uzbekistan prior to their migration? (1. they do not have enough money for food 2. have enough money to purchase food and basic necessities, but not a refrigerator or a television set 3. have enough money to purchase expensive things, but not a flat or a car 4. have enough money to buy anything they like)
38. What is the current welfare level of labour migrants from Uzbekistan you employ?
39. In your opinion, how does the welfare situation of labour migrants change as a result of migration? (2. worsens by a lot 1. worsens a little bit 0. does not change 1. improves a little bit 2. improves by a lot)
40. Why do you think so many people from Uzbekistan come to Kazakhstan to work? (1. unemployment in Uzbekistan 2. poor pay in Uzbekistan 3. discrimination in Uzbekistan based on linguistic/ethnic grounds 4. high taxes 5. poor business environment 99. other)
41. What motivates labour migrants from Uzbekistan to come to Kazakhstan? (1. need to feed the family 2. earn money to pay for education/health treatment 3. earn starting capital for a business 4. earn money for large purchases 5. to lay foundation for permanent resettlement 99. other)
42. Do you think that migrants attain the objectives of their labour migration? (0. no 1. probably not 2. probably yes 3. yes 99. other)
43. How difficult is it for migrants from Uzbekistan to secure good employment in Kazakhstan? (0. impossible 1. more difficult than in Uzbekistan 2. difficult, but easier than in Kazakhstan 3. pretty easy 4. easy)
44. Do you think labour migrants from Uzbekistan are well paid in Kazakhstan? (0. yes, they earn the same wages as the citizens of Kazakhstan 1. their wages are slightly lower than those of the citizens of Kazakhstan 2. their wages are very low)
45. How many labour migrants from Uzbekistan do you currently employ?
46. Are you satisfied with the wages you pay to labour migrants from Uzbekistan? (0. no, the wages I pay are too high 1. not really 2. yes 3. yes, I could even pay more) How much do you pay in wages at the moment?
47. Would migrants from other countries work at the same jobs for the same pay that is offered to the labour migrants from Uzbekistan?

48. Do you think citizens of Kazakhstan would work in the same conditions of labour? (0. no 1. probably not 2. probably yes 3. yes, they would)
49. How often do you pay labour migrants from Uzbekistan employed by you? (0. more than once a month 1. once a month 2. once in 2-3 months 3. at the end of the work term)
50. How many hours on average do migrants work in a week?
51. How many days of paid vacation leave are labour migrants working for you entitled to?
52. Are migrants entitled to paid sick leave?
53. Do you pay labour migrants from Uzbekistan in overtime pay?
54. What do you like and dislike about labour migrants from Uzbekistan?
55. Do you provide labour migrants working for you with housing and accommodations?
56. Could you describe the living conditions of labour migrants working for you?
57. Do you think that citizens of Kazakhstan would agree to live in such conditions?
58. Do you think that labour migrants from Uzbekistan enjoy equal rights with the citizens of Kazakhstan?
59. Do you think that labour migrants from Uzbekistan enjoy equal rights with labour migrants to Kazakhstan from other states? Why?
60. Do you think that labour migrants from Uzbekistan enjoy freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention? Why?
61. Do you think that labour migrants from Uzbekistan enjoy freedom from torture and degrading treatment? Why?
62. Do you think that labour migrants from Uzbekistan enjoy their right for legal assistance and protection of the law?
63. Do you think that labour migrants from Uzbekistan have their labour rights observed?
64. Do you think that labour migrants from Uzbekistan have access to medical assistance?
65. In your opinion, what other rights violations do labour migrants from Uzbekistan suffer from?
66. Are you aware of accepted international norms and standards regarding migrants' rights outlined in the international law documents?
67. Which rights are labour migrants from Uzbekistan entitled to in Kazakhstan?
68. Are you aware of accepted international norms and standards regarding migrants' responsibilities outlined in the international law documents?
69. Would you like to see legalization of labour migration between Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan?
70. In your opinion, what prevents labour migrants from Uzbekistan from coming and working in Kazakhstan legally?

71. How often do you think labour migrants from Uzbekistan violate the law?  
(0. very rarely 1. rarely 2. often 3. quite often)
72. What violations do labour migrants from Uzbekistan commit the most?  
Why?
73. Sometimes media reports state that migrants are a security threat to the  
state, do you think such claim is substantiated?
74. In your opinion, which country benefits from labour migration, Uzbekistan  
or Kazakhstan?
75. Is it profitable for citizens of Uzbekistan to work in Kazakhstan? Why?
76. Is it more profitable for employers in Kazakhstan to hire labour migrants  
from Uzbekistan instead of citizens of Kazakhstan or labour migrants from  
other states?
77. How many labour migrants from Uzbekistan settle in the area where you  
live annually?
78. How many labour migrants from Uzbekistan come to your oblast  
annually?
79. How many labour migrants from Uzbekistan annually come to  
Kazakhstan?
80. If you were the President of Kazakhstan, which measures would you  
introduce to improve the situation of migrants from Uzbekistan?
81. If you were the President of Uzbekistan, which measures would  
you introduce to improve the situation of Uzbek labour migrants in  
Kazakhstan?



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