MIGRATION POLICY NETWORKS

AND

MIGRANT-SENDING STATES' 3R-POLICY PRIORITIZATION

by

GULBAHOR SARAEVA

A dissertation submitted to the

Graduate School – New Brunswick

Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

In partial fulfillment of the requirements

For the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Graduate Program in Political Science

Written under the direction of

Jan Kubik

And approved by

_____

_____

_____

_____

New Brunswick, New Jersey

May 2016

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Migration Policy Networks and Migrant Sending States' 3R-policy Prioritization

By GULBAHOR SARAEVA

Dissertation Director:

Jan Kubik

3R-migration issues are the crucial part of the national poverty reduction strategies of the migrant sending states in the post-Soviet region. Migrant sending states prioritize one R migration issue over others. 3Rs - organized **recruitment** of labor migrants abroad, the transfer and utilization of **remittances**, and **return** of migrants - are the most important migration management issues. Some states prioritize transfer and utilization of remittances more than any other R policies, others focus on return of their emigrants, and still others prioritize organized recruitment to increase the number of their labor migrants abroad. This dissertation looks at the possible factors that explain states' prioritization of one R over others and demonstrates the operational process of prioritization utilizing policy network institutionalism, organizational state and advocacy coalition models. Various types of the advocacy coalitions that transfer specific R-policy to a state based on their understanding of 'best practices' for the migration management are discovered

through systematic comparison of three post-Soviet migrant sending states' policy networks. Centrality and cohesion measures of the migration policy networks (calculated via the UCINET) are used to identify the dominant and influential advocacy coalitions within the networks, while controlling for the variation of the number of organizations and degree of dominance of the advocates across cases. The dissertation concludes that the dominance of other migrant sending states, international organizations, and the EU are the explanatory factors behind the diversion in R- prioritization. In absence of these factors in their migration policy networks, migrant sending states are more prone to only manage transfer of migrants' remittances. They do not prioritize organized recruitment of labor abroad if not advised and supported by other migrant-sending states, as well as ignore remittance investment if the support of the World Bank is not observed. They also do not prioritize return of migrants back home if not advised and supported by the European Union to do so. Antecedents of networks, including geopolitical location, foreign policy value and migration salience determine the type of the advocacy coalition that migrant sending state will have.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

holes in my knowledge making me a better thinker and researcher throughout the process. Professor Fine's shared insights on the changing nature of the field of migration management have been crucial in understanding and contributing to the field. Without their support this dissertation would not possible.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my Mom, Dad, my sisters and my brother Abdullo.

Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations

AA	Association Agreement
AP	Action Plan
APR	Annual Progress Report
AVRR	Assisted Voluntary Return and Reintegration Program
COM	European Commission
CSTO	Collective Security Treaty Organization
CRMI	Czech Ministry of Interior
CIM	GIZ Center for International Migration and Development
CRAG	Consolidating Reintegration Activities in Georgia
DRC	Danish Refugee Council
DG	Directorate General
DLM TEM	Department of Labor Migration under the Tajik Embassy in Moscow
DFiD	Department for International Development of the UK
EACU	European Customs Union
EaP	Eastern Partnership
EaPIC	Eastern Partnership Integration and Cooperation Program
EC	European Commission
EEU	Eurasian Union
EEAS	European External Action Service
ETF	European Training Foundation
ENP	European Neighborhood Policy
EUTP	European Union's Thematic Program
EU	European Union
FRONTEX	The European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union
FMS RF	Federal Migration Service
GEA	Georgian Employers' Association
G-PAM	Personalized Assistance for Georgian Migrants
GMG	Global Migration Group
GAMM	Global Approach to Migration and Mobility
GCRA	Georgian Civil Registry Agency
GMFA	Georgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs
GMIA	Georgian Ministry of Internal Affairs
GLA	Georgian Local Authorities
GCIM	Global Cooperation on International Migration
JMDI	Joint Migration and Development Initiative
ILO	International Labor Organization
ICCMI	Interagency Coordination Council for Migration Issues
ICMPD	International Center for Migration Policy and Development
IAID	Irish Aid

IOM	International Organization for Migration
PCA	Partnership and Cooperation Agreement
CARIM	Consortium for Applied Research in Migration
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
MC	Mobility Center
MS	Migration Service
MRS	Migrant-Receiving State
MSS	Migrant- Sending State
MIR	Tajik domestic NGO Migraziya i Razvitie
MISMES	Migrant Support Measures from an Employment and Skills Perspective
MP	Mobility Partnership Agreement
MRA	Ministry of Internally Displaced Persons from the Occupied Territories, Refugees and Accommodation of Georgia
MRC	Migration Resource Center
NEA	National Employment Agency of Moldova
NATCT	National Adult Training Center of Tajikistan
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PARE	Moldovan Program for Remittances Attraction in the Economy
PNAFT	National Economic Empowerment Program for Youth
RCP	Regional Consultative Process on Migration
SCMI	State Commission on Migration Issues
SCRM	State Chancellery of the Republic of Moldova
SFR	Soros Foundation Romania
SIMP	EU-funded project "Supporting the implementation of the migration and development component of the EU-Moldova Mobility Partnership"
TIG	Targeted Initiative for Georgia
TIM	Targeted Initiative for Moldova
TRQN	Temporary Return of Qualified Nationals
TJMI	Tajikistan Ministry of Interior
TJME	Tajikistan Ministry of Education
TJBG	Tajikistan Border Guards
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNFPA	United Nations Fund for Population
VET	Vocational Education and Training
WHO	World Health Organization
UNGC IM	United Nations Global Commission on International Migration
TLSS	Tajik Living Standard Survey

Table of Figures

INTRODUCTION

The Global Migration Group (GMG), which includes the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and sixteen other agencies, have recently assessed international migration programs carried out by the member-agencies. *Migration Policy and Practice* (2013) published some of the results of this assessment, focusing in particular on migration's impact on the development of the migrant-sending states.[1] Against the previously dominant view that migration has a negative impact, a new consensus has emerged[2] that "migration is an integral feature of global development and if properly managed it can contribute to poverty reduction and well-being of both the migrant-sending and receiving states" (Mishra 2014:34). The importance of migration management has been thus

---

[1] The agencies of the Global Migration Group's Working Group on Data and Research – the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (Population Division), the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) designed a short questionnaire sent to all GMG agencies at headquarters, regional and country levels (Pawliczko 2013: 25. Migration Policy Practice, Vol 3, Number 5)

[2] Mishra and Ferre: Government views & policy priorities for international migration, Migration Policy Practice, Vol. IV, Number I, February-March 2014.

confirmed and this increased the urgency of analyzing national migration strategies of, particularly, migrant sending states in order to identify what states do to increase contribution of labor migration to their socio-economic development. For that purpose, I began scrutinizing migration profiles of different migrant-sending countries, specifically focusing on ones in the Eurasian migration system that connects countries of the post-Soviet region. The study of post-Soviet national migration strategies is very illuminating, as they were put in place in the recent past, after the 1990s, with detailed information available on the migration strategy formation process.

A preliminary perusal of migration profiles of post-Soviet migrant sending states immediately reveals a divergence in their institutional and policy arrangements regarding migration management. The struggle of the post-Soviet states in developing comprehensive macroeconomic policies and in moving towards a free market economy also includes difficulties of migration management. Each of the states has a different set of basic migration managing institutions and has developed specific relationships with migrant-receiving states, as well as with migration related organizations on national/regional/global levels. In this complex policy web the policies on migrant recruitment, return, and remittances (3R) constitute the most important policy subfields in the region, yet each of post-Soviet state has a different approach to moderating the movement of people across borders. For example, Moldova prioritizes the *return/readmission* issue (Rt), rather than other two Rs, while Tajikistan prioritizes labor *recruitment* abroad (Rc) as the

core of its national migration strategy, and Georgia has more programs and policies in place that address utilization of the labor migrants' *remittances* (Rm), but in general keeps the liberal stance on migration management. The *Regional Migration Report: Southern Caucasus,* prepared by the Consortium for Applied Research of International Migration (CARIM), opines that "being a relatively newly migrant sending country, Georgia does not have an elaborated migration policy and following its liberal politics, until recently, migration regulations were either extremely open or non-existent" (Zurabishvili 2013:93).[3] International Center for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD) Report, *Tajikistan-Extended Migration Profile*, highlights that "all previous reform efforts were driven by the policy of exporting the domestic workforce" (2010:59) and analysis of the GIZ Center for International Migration (GIZ-CIM) conclude that the key goal of the Tajikistan National Strategy on Migration is exploring new markets for employment of its nationals abroad (2012:4). Based on the analysis of the International Organization for Migration and CARIM's *Regional Migration Report/Eastern Europe* (2012), Moldova is one of the most advanced countries in terms of migration policy development with special focus on mechanisms developed for return and readmission of its emigrants.

---

[3] The same is true for the migrants' return policy – there is no state-operated program or strategy aimed at reintegration of returnees. Only recently with the signature of readmission and visa facilitation agreements with the EU, Georgia started working in this direction, but so far no visible results are observed.

All three countries (Tajikistan, Moldova, and Georgia) were Soviet republics and had similar institutional arrangements prior to their 1991 independence. Hence, the question arises, if they all are en masse migrant-sending small states, ***what accounts for variation in post-Soviet states' national migration strategies?*** What strategy is considered to be the best practice in migration policy domain: pro-migration or pro-return? This dissertation is an attempt to explain this variation. It focuses on analyzing divergences in three dimensions of labor migration policy: (a) recruitment, (b) return and (c) remittances (the 3Rs), and on explaining different prioritization of these "3Rs" in each nation's migration policy. In fact, the prioritization of these dimensions (3Rs) constitutes my operational definition of national migration policy of a given migrant-sending state. Considering the fact that the various types of national migration strategies are based on the prioritization of one of the 3Rs over the others, this dissertation attempts to determine reasons behind R-migration policy prioritization.

As migrant-sending state's labor force competes in international and domestic labor markets, migration has a significant impact on its economic development. And as it strives to boost up its economic development, it should devise necessary migration related (recruitment, return, remittances) policies and practices that contribute to the domestic economic growth through management of the process of emigration. This is especially true for countries that have about 10-20% of their nationals emigrating looking for better economic opportunities. My argument emphasizes the political point of view and takes a position that exit or

emigration is similarly important for the migrant-sending states (MSS), as entry or immigration is for the migrant-receiving states (MRS). According to Weinar, migration policies are "all policies that facilitate or curb mobility across international borders," such as return policies, agreements on seasonal work or permanent recruitment, portability of rights and exit restrictions, and retention schemes (2014:5).[4] I define the *recruitment prioritized migration policy* as national policy regulations adopted by a migrant-sending state directed at facilitating labor outmigration of its citizens, using labor as a resource and comparative advantage. It includes the large number of bilateral/multilateral employment treaties, exchange of labor and labor migration agreements (in the form of intergovernmental agreements, protocols of agreements, and memoranda of understanding); regulation of private employment agencies, and pre-departure trainings. The *return prioritized migration policy* is defined as a government's active course of action attempting to manage outmigration by returning and reintegrating its citizens back to their home country and improving domestic labor market. Such migrant-sending state signs large number of readmission agreements and implements a range of programs with migrant-receiving state(s) to facilitate the removal of "persons who do not or no longer fulfill the conditions of entry to, presence or residence in the requesting state" (European Commission Report 2002:26). The prioritization of the return/readmission issue is explicit in the national migration strategies of the migrant-sending state. Lastly, *remittance prioritized migration policy* is the state

---

[4]. Rey Koslowski: Global Mobility Regimes: A Conceptual Reframing 2011:36-37

policy aiming to attract remittances by lowering costs, offering a range of incentives, and fostering remittance investment to direct remittances to the domestic economy (Lindley 2011:252). Remittance management is the management of remittance flows in ways that are intended to accomplish particular socio-economic development goals in migrant-sending states. The national migration policies of MSS vary if they prioritize different Rs. In other words, prioritization of one of the 3Rs means that a given country places more weight and importance on one specific R, over the other two, in its national migration policy.

Conceptualization and systematic explanation of the variation in R-migration policy prioritization requires synthesis of different strands of the existing literature on international migration and public policy. The existing literature discusses wage differentials, risk diversification and social ties as key factors affecting the initiation of migrants flow across borders. The states' management of people's movements across borders is discussed to some extent in some of these theoretical approaches. Some scholars support the idea that the state has monopoly over movement of population (Torpey 2006), while others emphasize the role of networks and non-state actors in migration flows (Portes 1996; Sassen 1996; Massey 1987). This research draws mainly on the works of recent migration politics scholars, who argue that the field of "politics of international migration today is primarily an attempt in 'bringing the state back in' the analysis of migration"

(Cornelius, Martin and Hollifield 1994, Hollifield 2001)[5], rather than ignoring it. When it comes to theorizing the role of the state, it is noteworthy that political scientists have arrived late to the study of international migration, which is one of the reasons why we observe a domination of sociological (transnationalism and networks) and economic (pull-push and cost-benefit analysis) explanations in this area. Although the role of the state in establishing rules of entry and exit and the limits to states' ability and capacity to control migration is the major theme in the field, many consider entry rather than exit more problematic, and therefore focus only on migration management from the perspective of the receiving states (Boswell 2007).

Study of international migration in the field of political science mainly touches on *procedural/distributional* (who gets what, when and how), *legal/statist* (sovereignty and legitimacy issues), and *normative* (citizenship, justice, participation) dimensions of politics of migration (Hollifield 2001:142). Researchers involved in the analysis of *procedural* and *legal* dimensions of international

---

[5] As Hollifield puts it: "simply asserting that politics and the state matter in the analysis of international migration does not help us in constructing a theory of the politics of international migration" (2000:173) Political scientists face a challenge of demonstrating how politics and the state matter by including political variables in developing theories of international migration. Clarifying units of analysis and the models will contribute to the political theory of international migration on policy outputs. Further scholarship can work on linking these outputs and their explanatory factors to the migration policy outcomes. Hollifield contends that in addition to the confusions on models and units of analysis, most of the scholarship studies immigration, rather than international migration. This dissertation attempts to address these issues as well, by focusing not on immigration, but on international migration in post-Soviet region in general (Caroline B. Brettel and James F. Hollifield, *Migration Theory: Talking across disciplines.* Routledge 2000)

migration management focus on the politics of migration policies. This dissertation belongs to this type in its attempt to explain the politics of migration policies from the perspective of the migrant-sending states. The study conducted by the International Center for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD 2013) concludes that along with long-term factors, the changing policies of the Eurasian Economic Community and Customs Union on the one hand, and the Eastern Partnership[6] and the European Neighborhood Policy[7], on the other, have significant impact on international labor migration in the post-Soviet region. Therefore, acceptance of the fact that migrant-sending states belong to different regional partnerships and unions (or so-called webs or networks) lead us to ask: *How do power relations within the regional migration policy networks affect which R-policy a given migrant-sending state prioritizes? When and how does it prioritize specific R-migration policy?*

Policy network analysis is a useful tool in identifying and determining the relative impact of causal factors based on policy actors' exchange and network's

---

[6] The Eastern Partnership is an institutionalized forum. EU member-states discuss visa agreement, free trade deals and other strategic partnership agreements with the eastern neighbors, but avoid the issue of the EU accession in this forum. It was initiated by Poland and controlled by the European Commission. It is an initiative that helps the EU in its relationship with Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine. It was formed in 2009.

See for more information on the European Union External Action:
http://eeas.europa.eu/eastern/index_en.htm

[7] The Mobility Partnerships is implemented under the section 5 of the European Neighborhood Policy on Cooperation on justice, freedom and security, which include visa facilitation and readmission agreements.

power structure to explain variations in R-migration policy prioritization. The organizational state model (OSM, Knoke 1996) and advocacy coalition framework (ACF, Sabatier 1993) are theoretical models that scrutinize the power structure within a given migrant-sending state's policy network. A migration policy network of a given migrant-sending state comprises of migration policy actors, their interests, as well as migration policy issues that shape power structure within the networks. Considering migration related state and non-state organizations, as migration policy actors[8] this study asks whether patterns of interaction among these policy actors explain R-policy prioritization. Particularly, this study seeks to analyze patterns of information and resource exchanges between different migration policymaking organizations in the region. The focus for a given migrant-sending state's (MSS) policy network, to use policy network analysis language, is directed on measuring: i) *concentration/fragmentation* of migration policy *networks;* ii) *distribution* and *intensity of interests* on migration issues among the organizations; iii) *composition of* different *inter-organizational coalitions* and their success; and iv) the relative *centrality* of different organizations in communication and resource exchanges (domination and influence). The centrality of the inter-organizational coalitions helps to identify the advocates of the specific R-policy that transfer this policy through coercion or method of learning to a given migrant-sending state. Policy transfer analysis helps to identify the process of R-policy

---

[8] Organizations not individual policymakers are considered to be unit of analysis within the networks.

transfer by emerged dominant advocacy organization (s). This approach requires collection of data from most of the migration network actors and content analysis of the documents that reveal patterns of exchanges, power structures and degree of influence within migration policy networks leading to emergence of the advocacy coalition preferring specific R-policy. The content for analysis of the migration policy related documents are compiled from mapping instruments, impact assessments, migration profiles, migrant-sending state reports, and etc.

This dissertation aims to achieve certain objectives and is organized as follows: Part One consists of four chapters that cover theoretical, conceptual and methodological approaches used for 3R-migration policy analysis. Chapter one focuses on the Eurasian migration system within the general discussion of migration management. It explains international migration within the post-Soviet region through the theoretical lenses looking at migration management focusing on 'migration and security', 'migration and development' and 'migration and mobility', and the role of the state in this management. It also looks at the approaches that explain migration as a result of wage differentials and as a social process of innovation and risk diversification. Section 1.1.1 highlights the role of the state in migration management as a powerful unitary actor based on political realist theory. From this perspective, migration management is considered to be a state security issue. Section 1.1.2 points on the diminishing role of the state in migration control from the perspective of transnationalism and globalization approach, analyzing mobility. Section 1.1.3 focuses on the migration-development

nexus, disaggregating the concept of the 'national interest' and explains migration management involving both state and non-state actors using analytic approach of the liberal institutionalism. This section leads to the discussion of the theories in the lower level of abstraction within the liberal institutionalism, such as network institutionalism, policy network analysis approach, and more specific models of Organizational State (OSM) and Advocacy Coalition (ACF) to explain migration management through R-policy prioritization.

Chapter two focuses on the 3R-migration policy issues. It conceptualizes three different types and subtypes of national migration policy of migrant-sending states.[9] Chapter three places migration policymaking analysis within the OSM, the ACF and the policy transfer frameworks. Three sections of this chapter describe the component parts of the OSM: migration policy *actors*, policy actors' *interests*, migration policy network's *power structure/dependency* and *collective action* within the networks. These elements will be used in later chapters to identify the powerful actor, the advocates and their role in R-migration policy prioritization. The fourth component - collective action - of the OSM leads to the incorporation of the analysis provided by the advocacy coalition framework (ACF) into the organizational state model (OSM). It lays out the ACF framework's explanation of the R-migration policy *issue prioritization* by migrant-sending state through the

---

[9] The chapters on within case analysis discuss the issue linkages between 3Rs in the signing of bilateral and multilateral agreements. For example, how receiving states use raise in the quota or legalized recruitment as bargaining chip for getting MSS to sign and commit on emigrant readmission and return policies.

policy transfer mechanism. The mechanism is a result of the migration policy network actors' strategic interactions in the form of analytic debate. The organizational state perspective is a framework not only for the study of the relationships within the individual migration policy network, but also for cross case comparison of the networks.[10] It is particularly useful for the comparison of the post-Soviet states with similar institutional legacies but varied R-policy prioritizations that are influenced by regional supra-governmental, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations.

Chapter four discusses the case selection process and identifies available sources of data for the content analysis of migration policies and component parts of 3R migration policy networks. It explains the rationale for the choice of the policy network analysis as the method of analysis for the research question at hand. That means, in order to answer the question of why a given migrant sending state prioritizes a specific R-policy over the other two, one must analyze the policy network in which policy actors are involved and the process of strategic interaction within the network, i.e. participation/communication and exchange/negotiation in different policy events etc. The UCINET and the NetDraw have been used to map the communication/resource networks and to calculate cohesion and centrality measures.

---

[10] Organizational state perspective is inductively synthesized from the analysis of the US energy and health policy-making (Laumann and Knoke 1986, 87, 89). See David Knoke et al. *Comparing Policy Networks*, Chapter 1, Cambridge University Press 1996

Part Two consists of four empirical chapters with three within case and one cross-case analytic chapter. Chapter five describes the 3R-migration policy network in Tajikistan, focusing on policy network's actors, their interests, the types of communication/resource exchanges, power relations between them, and collective actions on R-migration policy prioritization. It provides background information on the reasons that the country turned into an en masse migrant-sending state. It also identifies the potential for change in R-policy prioritization based on policy network fragmentation. The chapter explains the process of shift from remittance policy to recruitment policy prioritization over time as a result of the increasing influence of other migrant sending states and the IOM in its policy network. Chapters six and seven provide similar systematic analysis of the elements of the 3R-migration policy networks of Georgia and Moldova accordingly and mechanisms of R-policy transfers.

As was mentioned, Chapters 5-8 trace the process of interaction within migration policy networks of each state individually and in comparison back to 1995, when migrant-sending states gained independence. These migration policy networks have emerged starting from the early 1990s from ongoing interactions and information transactions between organizations of migrant receiving states (MRS) and migrant sending states (MSS), and other regional and international organizations (IO) that are active in 3R migration policy domain. Chapter eight is a cross-case comparison, which summarizes the application of the models applied to all three cases. It is based on the structured focused comparison of R-

prioritization through analytical lenses of the organizational state model, advocacy coalition framework, and policy transfer to all cases. This chapter compares density and fragmentation measures of the migration policy networks across three cases to demonstrate the possible success of the dominant advocates.

The power structure within the network, in all the cases, is calculated through the function in network analysis called 'centrality of power', which captures organizational reputation/best practices, information and resource exchanges, and type of coalitions. It explains the causal mechanism leading from policy network dynamics (power relations, emergence and influence of advocacy circles) to R-migration policy prioritization. It looks at the similarities and differences across cases through structured comparative analysis. The organizational reputation is observed looking at the peak organizations' best practices in linking migration with development, security or mobility. Then migration policy network analysis sheds light on to what extent these 'best practices' are inserted in different national migration strategies of the migrant-sending states through information dissemination and/or provision of tangible resources. The types of coalitions are differentiated based on the preferences of each advocacy circles and action sets that emerge out of those advocacy circles. The action sets organize collective action of the leading organizations of each advocacy circle within a given migrant-sending state's migration policy network.

The conclusion of the dissertation will summarize the theoretical model, the conceptual analysis of the 3R-migration policy network, and the findings of

migration policy network analyses from within case, as well as the structured focused cross case comparison of Tajikistan, Moldova and Georgia's migration policy networks. It shows that the post-Soviet migrant sending states vary in their preference of R-policy prioritization in national migration strategy due to complexity/density of their migration policy networks, capacity building level directed by the peak organizations to migration decision-makers, as well as their EU geographic proximity and foreign policy values. It argues that the emergence and dominance of the EU in the migration policy network of a given migrant-sending state leads to prioritization of the return and readmission policy as a national strategy. It is conditional upon foreign policy values of a migrant sending state to the EU, mainly its strong will for the EU acceptance. The dominant presence of the International Organization for Migration and International Labor Organization leads to prioritization of the recruitment and increasing number of the labor migrants abroad. There are also experts from other experienced migrant-sending states, such as the Philippines and Bangladesh, hired by the IOM to advocate for recruitment prioritized migration strategy. The remittance transfer and investment strategy is a general national strategy of many migrant-sending states that is supported by the World Bank research and technical assistance.

The conclusion highlights various avenues for exploration in the field of migration policymaking. This study contributes to the work of institutes, researchers and practitioners focusing on politics of migration policies in general and migrant-sending states' national migration strategies in particular. It improves

our understanding of the migration related problems, situations, and successes/failures of measures and priorities designed to benefit migrants. It emphasizes the role of the regional policy networks and epistemic communities in public policy formation. It is specifically relevant to migration policy as international migration is inherently transnational phenomenon in nature.

PART 1

Western democratic countries have developed immigration policies[11] since the end of the WWII, focusing on regulation of the entry of people crossing their borders. However, the long-standing historical tradition focuses on regulation of exit that is "practiced over centuries in all the states that were developed enough to assure administrative control of their subjects" (Torpey 2003, Mau et al. 2012). The basis of today's international law assuming the right of everybody to leave his or her country is a new concept. Especially during war and industrialization periods emigration was considered to be a loss when a state needed more human capital (Zolberg 1989). More sophisticated regulation of peoples' outward mobility was developed in Europe in the late period of colonialism and transatlantic migrations, though restrictions were relaxed during the population boom of 1800s.

---

[11] For more information see summary of works on the evolution of research on migration policies in Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration - EAST Working Paper 2014/01 titled Emigration policies in contemporary Europe, by Agnieszka Weinar.

The right to leave one's own country was recognized by the international law as a fundamental human right with the appearance of communist states that restricted the outflow of citizens. Moreover, it became a politicized measure used to indicate the level of democracy and liberalism in a given state. Although, it is not a fundamental human rights issue to freely enter another country, and this discrepancy distorts the mobility rights around the globe (Weinar 2014:3).

The neglect of the emigration policies is not acceptable as many states abolished the exit control after the Cold War. The diversity of the emigration policies should be analyzed to achieve comprehensive picture of the determinant factors of migration flows in post-Soviet and other regions in general. In post-Cold war world most of the migrant sending states are indifferent (except Turkmenistan) to the departure of their citizens, this is true particularly for the post-Soviet states with the surplus low-skilled labor and poor labor markets to absorb them. Nevertheless, there are indirect strategies to control migration and this indifference does not mean provision of the hundred percent of freedom of movement across borders.

Hence, the idea of migration systems is compelling for migration scholars as it requires understanding of its constituent parts focusing on both migrant receiving and sending states, as well as dynamic links between them affecting migration decisions and flows. It is not satisfied with the push-pull models of migration and looks for the intervening variables, such as migration policies and institutions. The following chapters address post-Cold war emergence of the new

regional migration system and available 3R-policy options for its management. The migration-development, migration-security and migration-mobility are some of the important nexus issues that are addressed by the states at different times in the former Soviet region.

CHAPTER 1   Eurasian migration system and its management

A migration system is a group of states that are linked by relatively large-scale and sustainable migration flows. The flows are outcomes of historic, cultural, demographic and political factors and lead to structural transformations in receiving, sending and transit states. In turn, these transformations reproduce the direction of migration flows and sustain them. The system that encompasses migration flows between Russia and other post-Soviet states is called the Eurasian Migration System (Ivakhnyuk 2014)[12].

The Eurasian migration system is divided into different subsystems: i) Central Asian-uniting Russia and Central Asia; ii) Russia-Belarus - freedom of movement between two countries and uniform employment rights regulated by the Treaty on the Creation of a Union State; iii) Ukraine-Moldova-Russia, where Ukraine and Moldova have special status due to their geopolitical position and political course, making them closer to the EU and shaping the western migration vector, while centuries of history, socio-economic and psychological-emotional ties with Russia contribute to the eastern vector of migration (both remain part of both

---

[12] Ivakhnyuk (2014) adds Eurasian migration system as the sixth system to the Kritz et al 1992 typology of migration systems as North-American, European, Asia Pacific, Persian Gulf and South African migration systems.

European and Eurasian migration systems); iv) Turkmenistan and Georgia - migration from them to other countries of the Eurasian system is limited due to political factors; and v) Baltic states were part of the Eurasian system before 2004, whereas after joining the EU they became part of the European migration system (Ivakhnyuk 2014:4). As there are multiple sub-systems within a system and migration management within a single system varies. Ivakhnyuk lists indicators of this system as follows:

> Presence of sustainable migration flows between former USSR countries; common historic past and long-term relationship within the single state, emergence of the migration system center (Russia) and the new migration system center (Kazakhstan), Russian language as a migration opportunity, mutual interest in maintaining the interregional migration between Russia and Kazakhstan on the one hand and countries of origin, on the other hand (Ivakhnyuk 2014:1).

The complex nature of migration management within the Eurasian system requires systematic explanation of the causes and consequences of international border crossings by people. There is no single theory of migration to account for the emergence, perpetuation and consequences of international migration, and benefits from migration for the states within a specific migration system. Migration theories are divided into structural and equilibrium-based approaches functioning within the individual, household and state levels of analyses (Massey 1999).[13] From the ontological perspective, there is at times confusion about the differences between migration and mobility, as well as the distinction between internal and external migration and temporary and permanent migration. The causes of

---

[13] Massey 1999, Guilmotto, Sandron 2001; McCenzi, Rappoport 2003

migration within the Eurasian migration system can be associated with any one or combination of the abovementioned factors.

1.1 The role of the state policies within Eurasian migration system

The migration flows within the Eurasian system are social processes facilitated by migration networks. The concept of migrant networks is defined as the "sets of interpersonal ties connecting former migrants, non-migrants, and migrants in home and host countries through ties of kinship, friendship and shared community origin" (Fawcett 1989). Migrants' networks make international migration extremely attractive as a strategy for risk diversification and utility maximization and to a certain degree, determine who migrates from communities and households. Migration networks shape migration that affects socio-economic processes and inequality. Migrants' networks mainly serve as a channel of information, resources that influence the selection of migrants' destination and origin countries, making migration a self-perpetuating process.

Migration is a transaction, i.e. set of contracts between persons and organizations involved in the exchange process (Massey 1999) and it has a cost, which is the cost of acquiring information about employment opportunities, accommodation, legal rules, negotiating contracts, sending money home, etc. Migrant networks, compensate for the lack of efficient markets. Migrant networks are a kind of infrastructure that helps to control the level of risk and reduces the transaction costs associated with mobility. The institutionalization of migration

becomes a mass process, which then further limits choices of potential migrants (for example the choice of destination country).[14] Applying social network theory to the Eurasian migration system we focus on, at least, four elements: i) structural forces that attract immigrants into Russia, Kazakhstan or the EU; ii) structural forces that promote emigration from the migrant-sending states; iii) motivations, goals, and aspirations of the people who respond to these structural forces by becoming international migrants; and iv) social and economic structures that arise to connect areas of out and in-migration (Massey 1999:50). [15] From this perspective the role of the state is more explicit than in structural and equilibrium based theories. State policies determine the size and composition of migration flows, even if the state is unable to control the other forces behind international migration (Massey 1999:50).

The dual-labor market theory, and the neo-classical approach to migration mainly focus on why immigrant-receiving states are generally *attractive to migrants*. The social capital theory and world systems theory look at the ways in which the *links between states* engaged in international migration are created. The neo-classical and the new economics of labor migration models focus on migration

---

[14] The controversies and criticisms around network and institutional approaches to the causes of migration perpetuation are mainly around such questions as: what is the structure and dynamics of migrant networks and the role of networks in the mature phase of migration process?

[15] 'It is entirely possible for individuals to engage in cost-benefits calculations; for households to minimize risks or overcome barriers to capital and credit; for both individuals and households to draw on social capital to facilitate international movement; and for the socio-economic context within which migration decisions are made to be determined by structural factors operating at the national and international levels, often influenced by migration itself' (Massey 1999:51).

incentives and migration *propensity*. Theory of cumulative causation looks at the relationship between migration and *socio-economic conditions* in migrant-sending states. Hence, most of the theorizing of the state's role in international migration has focused primarily on migrant-receiving states (MRS), which does not do justice to the efforts of emigrants and migrant-sending states in the migration process. It's true that capitalist penetration, wage and income differentials, and market failures led to initial phases of outmigration in the former Soviet states and migration networks and other cumulative causes have kept migration going. But these theories are not explicit about that state and non-state organizations may manipulate the risks and costs for migrants through some strategies that sometimes complement and other times conflict with the actions and goals of the migrants and migrants' networks. In Eurasian migration system we observe not only the establishment of the migrants' networks, but also emergence of the networks of migration policymakers. Migration policy networks exist in regional and bilateral levels; for example, the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) Process and the Budapest Process are Regional Consultation Processes on migration that brings together various state and non-state actors to enhance states' migration management capacities.

On that note, I begin my analysis drawing on Hollifield's (2001)[16] assertion that 'politics of international migration' today is, first of all, an attempt to 'bring the

---

[16] Caroline B. Brettel & J. Hollifield ed*., Migration Theory: Talking across disciplines*. Routledge 2000

state back in' to the analysis of migration. Political explanations of international migration are based on the links between control, security and incorporation. The international migration analysis in political science is based on the i) *procedural/distributional* (who gets what, when, how); ii) *legal/statist* (issues of sovereignty and legitimacy); and iii) *normative* (citizenship, justice, participation) dimensions of politics (Hollifield 2001:142). Issues of control, the role of the state in establishing rules of entry and exit, as well as state capacity and limitations to manage migration, and *sovereignty* and *security* of the states lead to different approaches that explain migration management (Carens 1989, Shuck 1998, Walser 1983).

Three approaches, *political realism*, *transnationalism,* [17] and *liberal institutionalism,* explain migration management in the international relations subfield of political science.[18] Much of the empirical work on international migration management has been done from the trans-nationalist or globalization perspective, primarily in the context of the sociological theories of IR, building on the works of such pioneers as Mary Douglass (1986) and John Meyer (1979), and their students Heisler (1992, 1998), Yasemin Soysal (1994), and David Jacobson (1996). In political science Rey Koslowski (constructivist), Alan Kessler (interest), Christopher Rudolph, Mark Rosenblum and Hollifield (ideas and institutions) draw upon insights of international political economy to explain why states risk migration.

---

[17] J. Hollifield (2001) calls it a 'globalization thesis'
[18] Associated with international political economy and theories of complex interdependence

Though, as mentioned above, many political scientists study 'control over entry' more than 'control over exit' as they consider entry of labor migrants to the receiving states as the more problematic issue from a political standpoint. Nevertheless, for immigrant-receiving states it is not easy to recruit labor abroad and return them unilaterally, and migrant-sending states also play significant role in international migration governance.

Some progress has been achieved in this area that is noteworthy. For example, following James Wilson's work '*The Politics of Regulation*' (1980), Gary Freeman (1995, 1998b) argued that demand for migration policy depends on organized interests, and in order to separate winners from losers in the policy making process one must analyze the distribution of costs and benefits. Depending on the scarcity/abundance of productive factors and substitutability of migrants for native labor, the costs and benefits of migration will be concentrated or diffused.[19] The supply of immigration policy does not always match the demand, and policy

---

[19] We can deduce what position this or that policymaking organization can take drawing from this factor-cost logic (Hollifield 2000:145). Different cost-benefit distributions produce different "modes of politics", such as, interest group mode, clientelist mode, entrepreneurial mode, and the majoritarian mode (others classified these as so-called clientelist-captured, triadic-corporatist, pluralist-issue modes) (Freeman 1995, Wilson 1980). When benefits are concentrated and costs are diffused, then a clientelist politics will emerge within the network. The case of Russia-Tajikistan mode of migration policy making is clientelistic, where Russia is captured by Tajikistan (as well as Moldova, Armenia, Kyrgyzstan) to have expansive immigration policy. Russia's foreign policy interests in Central Asia, Eastern Europe and the Caucuses cause the state to pursue expansive immigration policies, even when Russia has many unemployed within its own territory. Expansive recruitment of post-Soviet citizens by the Russian Federation is based on relative rates of return to factors (land, labor, capital) and substitutability or complementarity of the post-Soviet emigrants and Russian labor.

outputs are heavily contingent on ideational and institutional factors—often distorting market interests.[20] This econometrics approach to migration control generalizes labor, landowners and capitalists as explanations for migration management, which is not comprehensive and satisfactory (Freeman 1998b: 17 as cited in Hollifield 2000:146).

In response to this challenge, the liberal state thesis was introduced that sums up international migration as a function of economic forces, networks, and rights (Cornelius, Martin, Hollifield 1994; Hollifield 1992a; Hollifield and Zuk 1998). It argues that economic and sociological factors are *necessary* conditions, but only political and legal factors are sufficient for continued migration (Hollifield 2000). Some scholars suggest the focus to be directed not just on the politics of control, but also to the politics of national security to explain the capacity of states to control migration. In addition to these factor-cost logic and rights-liberal state approaches, transnationalism suggests an explanation that globalization leads to a structural demand for foreign labor and loss of control of borders to the point that sovereignty and citizenship becomes redundant (Cornelius 1998; Koslowski 1999, Sassen 1996, Baubock 1994, Castles and Davidson 1998; Soysal 1994). Migration is then just part of the process of globalization over which states have little control. Whereas in the long run trade can substitute for migration, in the short run free

---

[20]   For example, does Russia have the same immigration control approach towards Chinese migrant flows in its southeast borders as towards post-Soviet states? Do Europeans have the same approach to control of African migrants, same as of Eastern Europeans?

trade can lead to increased emigration, especially when disparities in income are high. As migrant sending poor economies are exposed to free trade they face strong competitive pressures, as a result their agricultural sector collapses leading to rural exodus, overpopulation of cities, and increased pressures to emigrate (Hollifield 2010:151). On the other hand, Stephen Krasner (1999) asserts that the world is divided into territorial units over which governments still exercise considerable authority.

Krasner and other liberal institutionalists challenge globalization scholars' assumption that states have lost control over their borders and contend that rather than imposing such strong assumptions, one should ask questions about why states open themselves up to trade and migration, and why this openness varies over time. According to liberal institutionalists, both the structure of the international system and concern about foreign policy dictates migration policies that states adopt and reform over time. Although, international relations and political science literature does not have much focus on migration, researchers should not ignore politics as simply a residual variable even though it affects social and economic phenomena at the margins. Often it is what happens at the margins that is of greatest importance and the most difficult to incorporate into our analysis of any social processes (Hollifield 2010). From the works of Freeman (1998), Zolberg (1999), Hollifield (2001), de Haas (2003) and others a clearer picture of the ways, in which politics matters in channeling international migration, emerges. This leads us to the understanding of the degree of state involvement in migration

management based on state's security and development concerns.

1.1.1. Managing 'Migration and security'

The oldest theory of international relations -political realism- has the least to say about migration management even though it securitizes migration. Political scientist Myron Weiner's[21] argument, for example, considers the increase in international migration in recent decades to pose a significant threat to international security and stability (1995). Weiner warns about this threat especially in the Balkans, Transcaucasia and the Middle East. He argues that every society has limited capacity to absorb foreigners (1993; 1995).[22] From political realist perspective migration policy is a matter of national security and states close or open their borders when it will enhance their position/power in international system. Migration policy is a function of international systemic factors, namely, "the distribution of power in international system and the relative positions of states" (Hollifield 2000:154). What migration policy a state pursues depends on its relative position within the international system and in a purely structural realist approach, migration policy strategies are derived from the structure of the international system (i.e. the distribution of power).

The consolidation of the security paradigm, according to which mass

---

[21]   Myron Weiner, *The Global Migration Crisis* cited in Hollifield 2000:140
[22]   Weiner's 'limited capacity' logic is similar to what the former French President Francois Mitter and calls a 'threshold of tolerance'. Weiner also points on xenophobic backlashes in Western societies as response to security threats posed by irregular and uncontrolled migration.

arrivals of unauthorized migrants has been interpreted as a threat to the integrity of the EU migration and asylum system, has contributed to favoring the adoption of measures prioritizing repatriation and return and superior need to respond to perceived threat. George Borjas (1990) and Samuel Huntington (1996) assert that migration has been redefined in the West as a security and economic threat. It depletes human capital stock of the migrant-receiving states transforming them "from diamond-shaped to hourglass-shaped societies with lots of haves at the top and more have-nots at the bottom" (1990:134). Mass migration is not healthy for capitalist democracies because the middle class is squeezed in the middle. In addition, the polemicist Peter Brimelow (*Alien Nation,* 1995) adds racial and cultural overtones in his security argument of migration management, asserting that the flow of nonwhite immigrants into Western societies is a cultural threat that leads to political destabilization. The security concerns leads migration scholars to identify four categories of theories that explain the political impact of migration: Neo-Malthusian, Marxist, Durkhemian, and Smithian views.

The *Neo-Malthusian view* holds that every society has limited resources and a limited number of jobs, and because of this reason immigration would be harmful to one or all segments of the society (Hollifield 2010:165). Immigration should be kept under strict control, as only some level of it may be safe. Some scholars, like demographers and economists as well as political scientists, (Teitelbaum and Weiner 1995) agree with this view. The political impact of international migration is a stricter migration regulatory regime. Neo-Malthusian scholars argue that the

social geography of migrants triggers those people, who stayed, to be suspicious, as they fear being overwhelmed by 'the other' due to limits on resources and space (Money 1999; Hollifield 2010:171). The *Marxist* argument contends that capitalist economies need an industrial reserve army, which is usually composed of foreigners and immigrants, in order to overcome temporary crises. Migration intensifies class conflict and contributes to the politicization and ethnicization of the working class (Castles and Kosack 1973; Faist 1995, Miles 1982; Rath 1988; Rex and Moore 1967). The third— *Durkheimian*— view holds that migration, like the process of modernization, may contribute to a sense of alienation leading to fragmentation or dissolution of society (Clark 1997, Money 1999 in Hollifield 2000: 166). In contrast to the above three, the *Smithian or liberal view* asserts that market-oriented societies are very dynamic, which enables them to absorb large number of migrants who, because they are self-selected, will contribute to the overall wealth of the society and human capital stock (Chiswick 1982; Simon 1990). [23]

Migration is considered to be a complex social phenomenon where families, communities and households are involved in the decision making process. Theories of social capital, migration networks, and new economics of labor migration draw on the equilibrium based and structural models, but argue that

---

[23] Scholars of this tradition believe in assimilation within one or two generations (Fuchs 1990) as ethnic identity will fade away quickly in the receiving country, and there is no need for positive discrimination. In case if there are problems with assimilation, scholars advice, then naturalization like "Americanization" would be a long-term remedy (Pickus 1993 and Skerry 1993).

instead of individuals acting in isolation, social context plays an important role in decisions on whether to migrate or not. These theories focus on diversification of risks rather than wage differentials as the main cause of international migration.

The new economics of labor migration (NELM) assumes that labor is a specific factor of production and individuals act in a social context. The central argument of NELM is that larger units of related people (families, households, communities) make migration decisions, i.e. "migration can be looked upon as a process of innovation, adoption and diffusion" and migration does not have to be permanent (Stark and Bloom 1985:176). In explaining the role of family/household in migration decisions, NELM focuses on structural features of society such as, social structure and cognitive structure (Mincer 1958, Boyd and Harbison 1989). People act collectively not only to maximize their expected outcomes but also to minimize risk and to loosen constraints associated with various kinds of market failures, especially in agrarian societies. Households are able to control risks to their economic wellbeing through diversification of the allocation of labor resources to different labor markets. Households have strong incentives to diversify risk through migration even in the absence of wage differentials. There is no trade-off between mobility and activities in the country/region of origin, but rather there are strong incentives for households to engage in both migration and local activities (Straubhaar 1988). This subtle view of international migration was prominent throughout the 1990s, which led to persistent skepticism of the migrant-receiving states and tightening of their immigration policies, as migrant-receiving states think

minimizing risks and constraints associated with various kinds of market failures should be taken care of by the migrant-sending states themselves for their citizens.

The process of economic development in migrant sending states needs not reduce pressures for international migration rather it may actually intensify pressures through changes in modes of behavior and changes in income structure. People act in social context and "a person migrates from one location to another to change his relative position in the same reference group, or to change his reference group" (Stark and Bloom 1985:173). Relative deprivation is analyzed within migrant communities and explains temporary migration as the most common type of migration. [24] Policymakers design national migration strategy which consider risk diversification and relative deprivation as the causes of emigration pay more attention to the utilization of the remittances of labor migrants, rather than their constant training and preparation for recruitment and their necessary return. Remittances could be channeled into the economy to improve overall living standard and eliminating some of the causes of inequality. Therefore, targeting remittances is the initial policy response of many migrant-sending states.

Studies focusing on migration-security nexus for both migrant-receiving and sending states due to their concerns over limited resources/jobs, possibility of the class/ethnic conflicts within the society as new people arrive, and fragmentation of

---

[24] NELM infers that the same expected gain in income might not have the same effects on the probability of migration; rather income distribution can be crucial factor in determining the scale of migration. People very rarely base their decisions on an evaluation of absolute income alone; rather they also take into consideration their relative income.

society due to alienation, are considered to be politically over determined. They do not account, for instance, for the increasing flows in post-Cold War era within and beyond the Eurasian migration system. Whereas, the trans-nationalist approach offers alternative explanation to migration-security explanation, focusing more on migration and mobility. It considers international migration to be the result of deterritorialization of the state and emergence of the 'individualized' world. Transnationalism stands in opposition to the political realist argument, asserting that nation-states are no longer primary decision-making units in international relations and that migration/mobility of people should be analyzed the same way as mobility of goods and services across borders.

1.1.2. Managing 'Migration and mobility'

Post-Soviet migrants got skills of using the 'transnational space' as a way of getting around national regulatory obstacles to their social mobility (Portes 1996). Transnationalism discusses the creation of transnational communities as a result of the rise of transnational economies, e.g. in the search for employment workers are forced to move from one state to another. Alejandro Portes (1996) Saskia Sassen (1996) and Douglass Massey (1987) point out the importance of transnational migration networks in linking communities in the migrant-receiving (MRS) and migrant-sending states (MSS). The globalization [25] processes of

---

[25] Most globalization arguments are grounded in world systems theory (Wallerstein 1976) and

business and migration have shaken the entire regulatory framework of the state with respect to labor. Following its emphasis on transnational communities and its apolitical logic, transnationalism factors politics and the state out of international migration relations. As the state has a very minor role, while transnational corporations and communities are the prime agents of the people's mobility, then any analysis of national security, sovereignty and national interest is beside the point (Hollifield 2001: 156). Migration is largely a function of changes in the international division of labor, while states play only a marginal role in determining social and economic outcomes of migration. "States can act to distort or delay the development of international markets (labor, goods, capital), but cannot stop it" (Hollifield 2000:158). The national migration related regulatory regimes simply must accommodate the development of international markets for skilled and unskilled labor (Brubaker 1992).[26] Migration regulatory and citizenship regimes seem to explain very little in the variation of migration flows or openness of societies.

The wage differential as a factor affecting international migration when there

---

inspired by works in economic sociology. The main point that globalization theses agree on is that "the sovereignty and regulatory power of the nation state has been weakened by transnationalism, in the form of movement of goods, capital and people … and actors in international relations are not limited to states" (Sassen 1996; Rosenau 1990; Ruggie 1998 cited in Hollifield 2001).

[26] According to Hollifield, it's a nonstarter in a 'global village' to talk about rules of entry and exit, and citizenship and rights cannot be understood in their national context anymore. The best example of the proponents of globalization thesis is West Germany, where despite the fact that nationality and citizenship laws date back to 1913s (where kinship and blood (jus sanguinis) were retained as principal criterion for naturalization) as very restrictionist citizenship regime (until reforms of 1999) 'did not prevent Germany from becoming the largest immigration country' (Brubaker 1992). Globalization theorists, like Castles, Portes, Soysal explain it due to reference to the structural demand for foreign labor in advanced industrial countries.

is a need in migrant-receiving state is captured in the neoclassical model. The migrant-receiving states attract various types of high/low skilled labor from less developed countries due to higher wages. The origins of the neoclassical model of migration go back to Hicks, who posited, "differences in net economic advantages, chiefly differences in wages, are the main causes of migration" (1932:76). Within this framework, migration is perceived as purely instrumental, as a consequence of wage differentials and as a means to equalize inequalities in wages and living conditions within the Eurasian migration system. Therefore, the elimination of wage differentials will end the movement of labor, and migration will not occur in the absence of such differentials. This is pure market mechanism with the little role left for the state. The equalization will be perfect if migrant-receiving and sending states are completely similar with regards to other factors such as technology. The neoclassical model infers that international trade is a substitute for migration and "thus, the mobility of goods to some extent compensates the lack of interregional mobility of the factors" (Ohlin 1933).

To apply the inferences of the neoclassical economics approach to migration in former Soviet republics, one should accept its several key assumptions: i) people tend to maximize their utility; ii) the potential migrant is an atomic individual; iii) people are mobile; iv) migration occurs without costs; v) the potential migrant behaves in a rational way; and, vi) there is no risk or uncertainty (Massey 1998). Theory of equalization of factor prices under free trade regime with no labor mobility explains that a country will produce and export such commodities

that are produced by relatively abundant factors. As a result of gains from trade, wages should rise and, in absence of transportation costs, one could expect a total equalization of both labor and capital prices. In theory this leads to diminishing incentives to trade and a halting of the whole migration process. This is well captured in the migration and international trade theory proposed by Heckscher-Ohlin (1919).

Pyshkina (2002), for instance, concluded that two crises (1992 with Transdnistria, 1998 with Russia) combined with diminishing real wages due to price realignment under trade liberalization in the 1990s exacerbated migration pressures in Moldova. Pyshkina's results also indicate that larger gaps between post-Soviet Baltic States and the EU significantly increased emigration to the EU (2002). The World Bank Report on Migration and Remittances in Eastern Europe and Former Soviet Union (2006)[27] infers that the initial migration flows were return of the people to their ethnic homelands (there are 53 ethnic homelands in the territory of the former Soviet Union, 15 of them are republics) and that only after these huge relocations and the returns, the wage differentials become the key factor for increasing flows between the newly independent states within the Eurasian migration system (Mansoor and Quillin ed. 2006:79-80).

---

[27] The Report is edited by Ali Mansoor and Byrce Quillin with various contributor and can be accessed here http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTECA/Resources/257896-1167856389505/Migration_FullReport.pdf

Wage differentials can be considered as one of the key causes of initiation and continuation of international migration, but not the sole cause. The models based on Adam Smith's work[28] incorporate distance, imperfect information and migration policies as intervening factors between wage differentials and potential labor migration (Shields and Shields 1989; Bodvarsson and Van den Berg 2009). For example, the gravity model explains migration as a function of the 'masses' of two economies (positive) and distance between them (negative) (Rodrigue et al. 2009). Distance treated as a proxy for the costs of moving between migrant-receiving states (MRS) and sending states (MSS). Analyzing wage/income differentials between former communist states in 2002, the World Bank study concludes that just looking at the fact that Slovenia has the highest and Tajikistan has the lowest GDP per capita, one cannot expect to be a lot of migration from Tajikistan to Slovenia, due to the distance between them (and other cultural and historical factors) (WB 2006:81).

Within economic frameworks the international labor migration flows are seen as influenced primarily by labor market mechanism[29], while other kinds of markets do not have important effects on migration. Based on this perspective,

---

[28] Observations in his *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* The obvious differences in wages affect space for arbitrage and limited mobility, from which Adam Smith inferred that "it appears evidently from experience that a man is of all sort of luggage the most difficult to be transported".

[29]According to Bhagwati and Srinivasan (2001) "international migration… can be analyzed in the same way as international capital mobility"—as the flows of capital play similar role as the flow of labor. The international flow of human capital (highly skilled workers) responds to differences in the *rate of return to human capital*, which may be different from the overall wage rate.

one may infer that in order for migrant-sending states to consider keeping their people immobile, policies should concentrate on labor market regulations and wage equalization—raising the wages in their countries to the levels of the migrant receiving states. But for well-known reasons, it is hard for most of the migrant-sending poor states to handle big socio-economic and labor market issue that affect outmigration. Several strands of literature criticize the neoclassical approach to migration, pointing to the existence of a more complicated relationship between migration and trade not foreseen by the neoclassical approach. Such factors as growing inequality as a result of migration, the migration networks, and people's sense of relative deprivation contribute to the cause of international migration in addition to wage differentials. The critics of the neoclassical model point at its rigid assumption of people being mobile, the fact that the neoclassical perspective does not consider barriers and obstacles to migration, and that its focus is only on the demand side of migration. As various studies empirically demonstrated most of the people are not mobile and prefer to stay in their homelands rather than migrate.

Some barriers to migration are state policies focusing on visa regulations, involuntary return of migrants and strength of links within migration networks. With the demand side explanation we do not get the full picture of causes of migration in Eurasian migration system, there is evidence that the aggregate 'quality of life' improvement in post-Soviet migrant-sending states led to decreasing migration flows. Most of the labor force in sending states prefers to remain home rather than leave family and friends and take on risks of moving abroad (WB EE-FSU

Migration 2006:76).

Another explanation of the Russia, Kazakhstan or EU countries, emerging as the core that attracts other republics' migrants can be provided by dual labor market theory. The dual labor market theory is a structural perspective of international migration. It asserts that international migration is caused by a permanent demand for immigrant labor that is *inherent to the economic structure* of developed nations. Segmented (or dual) labor market theory neither posits nor denies that actors make rational, self-interested decisions as predicted by microeconomic models. Rather, it emphasizes factors that are responsible for massive recruitment of foreign labor and structural demand on foreign workers. International labor migration is largely demand-based and is usually initiated through recruitment by employers or by governments acting on their behalf. International wage differentials are neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for labor migration to occur. Employers have incentives to recruit workers while holding wages constant. The dual-labor market divides the market of labor force into internal and external markets. The internal market is "an administrative unit, such as a manufacturing plant, within which the pricing and allocation of labor is governed by a set of administrative rules and procedures" (Doeringer and Piore 1971:44). In the case of the external labor market the "pricing, allocating, and training decisions are controlled directly by economic variables" (Doeringer and Piore 1971:45). There are primary and secondary sectors in the labor market. Primary sectors are characterized as a having high wages, good working

conditions, and stable/secure employment with the potential for vertical mobility, while secondary sectors have low wages, bad labor conditions, insecure employment, and a lack of reasonable prospects for mobility with no rules and procedures. For instance, managers of many Tajikistan plants that ceased production due to many years of conflict in the 1990s have used their contacts to help their laid-off labor find job in partner enterprises in Russia. Tajiks continue to be employed at the fuel and energy complex in Tyumen city of the Russian Federation today, because during the Soviet period they have been employed there as shift workers, or in secondary sector (IOM 2003).

According to Piore (1979), if we pose the critical question, "Who can be interested in taking a job in the secondary sector in a developed country?" - These are mainly people whose social position is not determined by their work and their employment is only temporary, such as women, teenagers, and peasants. Yet many people work not only for income, but also for the accumulation and maintenance of social status. Once the level of living standards goes up, these population groups lack motivation to accept those jobs any longer. The issue is that the bottom, i.e. secondary jobs, cannot be eliminated from the labor market; there is always a bottom of the hierarchy and motivational problems are inescapable (Piore 1979). Therefore, foreign labor is recruited in this sector due to the wages/costs of labor being low and presence of a structural inflation and hierarchical constraints on motivation (Doeringer, Piore 1971:45).

This leads to the question as to why the secondary sector can be attractive

for immigrants. The best examples of migrant labor filling a void are Georgian, Moldovan, Albanian, Tajik, and Kyrgyz where doctors, teachers and other professionals are forced to take such jobs as cleaning, child caring, and construction work. According to Piore, immigrants *perceive* their stay in the migrant-receiving states (MRS) as a *temporary condition*.[30] Hence, the dual-labor market model argues about the possibility of migrants' employment in insecure sectors of the capitalist market economy due to the fact that migrants are not concerned about social status and upward mobility since they do not intend to remain in the MRS long term.

Do migrants know where to go and invest their time and labor for a better return? Labor mobility according to the *human capital theory* is an investment decision met with an intention to find maximal pay for a given level of skills and this investment improves the productivity of human capital (Mincer 1958; Becker 1964). Workers calculate the value of the employment opportunities available in each of the alternative labor markets, net out costs of making the move and choose an option that maximizes the net present value of lifetime earnings. Migration decision is guided by the comparison of the present value of lifetime earnings in the

---

[30] The temporary character of the migration flow appears to create "a sharp distinction between work, on the one hand, and the social identity of the worker, on the other. The foreign workers' societal identity is located in the place of origin, the home community. The immigration to the industrial community and the work performed there is purely instrumental: means to gather income, i.e. the income that can be taken back to his/her role within that social structure. From the perspective of the migrant, the work is essentially asocial: it is purely a means to an end. In this sense, the migrant is initially a true economic man, probably the closest thing in real life to the homo-economicus of economic theory" (Piore 1979:54).

alternative employment opportunities, which comprises positive net gain. This micro approach assumes that individuals behave in a rational way, they gather all information and are capable of comparing different locations, have costless access to perfect information, and maximize their utility. The neoclassical microeconomics considers that migration decisions are taken individually and social context is neglected. In a situation where a decision between different options has been made, a migrant possessing complete and unconstrained information opts for the alternative that allows him to realize the highest level of utility, but these individuals rather have bounded rationality that is conditional on the incomplete information. The most significant criticism is directed on the assumption of the potential migrant being an autonomous human being with no social context, which is not the case in real world situations.

According to another structural explanation, we can conclude of the cause of mass migration flows in the post-Soviet region that the international migration is a natural consequence of capitalist market formation when the penetration of the global economy into peripheral regions facilitated international movement of people.[31] The capitalist investments create an uprooted, mobile population in

---

[31] The key argument of the *world systems theory* is based on the reconstruction of the historical processes by which unequal political/economic structures were created and extended throughout the world, and the mechanisms by which the non-capitalist or pre capitalist regions were incorporated into the global economy. Through the lenses of the world systems theory, the international migration has been initiated when the penetration of capitalist economic relations into former communist states of the post-Soviet region societies created a mobile population that is prone to migrate. The established colonial, post-colonial, transportation, communication, cultural

peripheral countries while simultaneously forging strong material and cultural links with core countries, leading to transnational movement. International migration has little to do with wage differentials between countries and it follows from the dynamics of market creation and the political structure of the global economy.

The biggest shortcoming of transnationalism is the weakness or even the absence of any political explanation for migration, which puts it in opposite spectrum of political realism. Power is located in the economy and society, leaving little place for states and national regulation. It is hard to adopt this approach to explain the variation in migration policies of migrant-sending states in Eurasian migration system. Neoliberal institutionalism, in contrast to transnationalism and political realism, helps to explain migration management considering significant involvement of the state and non-state policy actors in the region to address migration as a development issue.

1.1.3. Managing 'Migration and development', disintegrating 'national interest'

The equilibrium based and mega-structural theories have their merits and can be utilized in explaining the determinants of mass international migration in

---

and political links also affect international migration between these countries. The changes in land, raw materials, labor and links and such processes as consolidation of landholding, mechanization of production, and introduction of cash crops all lead to destruction of traditional systems of land tenure impacting the need for manual labor. The changes in the need then create a mobile labor force displaced from the land with a weak attachment to local communities. The extraction of raw materials for sale requires industrial methods that rely on paid labor, which had created and promoted mobile labor. With the establishment of assembly plants the demand for modern labor market arises which impacts the behavior of native populations.

Eurasian migration system, though they assume that migrants are isolated individuals making decisions on their own regarding direction and timing of migration. But due to the strong community lead lifestyle and absence of individualistic approach in former Soviet states it is worth to turn to other theories suggesting that migration decisions are made in a social and political context. Douglass Massey (1987) points on the importance of the transnational social networks that instill confidence in potential migrants, lower transaction cost for international migration and raise propensity of potential migrants to migrate. Yet again the role of the migration policymakers of the migrant-sending states is underestimated in this perspective, as they are not able to do much with the changes in the global economy.

The 'liberal state' thesis takes the state as a unit of analysis focusing on politics as a process and factor-cost logic (1992a, 1997a), and it brings the theory of the state that was missing from economists' push-pull logic (Borjas 1990; Simon, Miller and Martin 1982) and sociologists' transnationalism and social networks (Portes 1985; 1996; Massey 1999b). Following the neoliberals, the concept of 'national interest' can be disaggregated for a given migrant sending state within the Eurasian migration system, looking at multiple external and internal organizations that compete to influence that state (Hollifield 2000:158). Both international and national politics are reduced to a communication and economic game and to a problem of collective action. As Milner (1997) argues, to understand the 'means-ends game' we should correctly identify social, economic and political

actors' interests and preferences. Neoliberal institutionalism (similar to political realism) is heavily rationalist. It shares many assumptions with political realism, focusing on the state and institutions and stressing the primacy of *interests*.

Some scholars also call the neoliberal institutionalist approach the international political economy of migration, as it incorporates both economic and political analysis of migration (Hollifield 2000:159). Scholars of the IPE of migration are interested in the link between domestic and international politics and stress the importance of institutions in determining migration policy outcomes. In the 21st century even domestic politics, according to IPE theorists, have been thoroughly internationalized (Keohane and Milner 1996), and it is most relevant to migration policy as the phenomenon is transnational by nature. But despite the fact that international migration would seem "to lend itself to neoliberal/IPE arguments," migration policymaking has been rarely analyzed from this perspective (Hollifield 2000:161).

The role of state and non-state organizations within various migration policy networks in Eurasian migration system can be explained through a network institutionalist approach, which draws on the logic of neoliberal institutionalist theory.[32] Network institutionalism views interactions of various policy actors as

---

[32] See Christopher Ansell, Chapter 5 in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions,* Rhodes et al. edited.

important mediating variables that affect the distribution of power and collective action. Network institutionalism has been widely used in five substantive domains in political science where policy networks are prominent (Ansell 2006).[33] The different strands of network analysis are identified as social network analysis, network society, networks of technological diffusion, cross-cultural analysis, and the policy network analysis. A network is a relationship between individuals, organizations or states. A relationship between two actors (dyad) is the basic unit of any network, however, network approaches "are typically interested in sets of interconnected dyadic relationships… the term 'network' refers to the aggregate of interconnected relationships" (Ansell 2006:77). Networks are distinguished based on i) the *content of relationships* (trust, positive recurrent relations, built on mutual obligations, affection, and reciprocity) and ii) its *global structure* (interconnected dyads, many-to-many relationships) (Ansell 2006:78).[34] Policy networks are the most prominent utilization of network institutionalism in political science. Heclo and Wildawsky's study illustrates that networks are important factors shaping policy decisions (1974).

---

[33] Other four domains are ii) organizations; iii) political mobilization and social movement; iv) markets; v) social influence, social psychology and political culture.

[34] Ansell highlights the following four meta-principles or assumptions shared across all different strands of network analysis:

i)   both *resources* (channels of information*)* and *constraints (*structures of social influence and control that limit action) on behavior;

ii)   *complexity* - (relationships that connect organizations are complex, as linkages between them are overlapping and cross-cutting);

iii)   *relational perspective* on social, political and economic action; and

iv)   *differentiated ways* of mobilizing information, social influence, resources and social capital (biased access to resources and support) (2006:76).

Migration policy network of a given migrant-sending state is regional by nature and includes organizations of the migrant-receiving state(s), international non-governmental organizations, and organizations of the migrant-sending state(s). But the interests of small groups of migrant-receiving states become impossible to impose on the rest of the world and reform of migration policies is in everyone's longer-term interests. The Regional Consultation Processes on migration is larger network of migration policy makers that take the lead in addressing their interests. Most of the states of the Eurasian and European migration systems belong to one or few of these RCPs, such as the Prague Process, the Budapest Process (active) and the CIS Process (ended in 2005).

Rhodes has accomplished some work on stability and restrictiveness of networks and also provided a 'power dependence' perspective as a framework to identify causes of network formation and the ways in which they operate (1985, 2004). The contrast of a power-dependence approach is drawn with the rational choice institutionalism (Scharpf 1997 cited in Ansell 2006:81). Though network institutionalism was criticized for its inability to tease out causal mechanisms and for providing only a description, it is the most comprehensive analytical framework that grasps the ever-increasing complexity of migration management related institutions (Ansell 2006:86) and will be complemented by an advocacy coalition framework and policy transfer analysis to explain R-policy prioritization of a given migrant-sending states.

Conclusion

This chapter looked at various theories in its attempt to shed some light on the patterns of migration flows in the Eurasian migration system and migration management perspectives. But as it demonstrates just looking at the general theories of causes and control of international migration based on wage differentials, segmented labor market, migration networks and social context we are not able to find the clear role that the state plays in international migration management. The migration-security nexus explained via political realist perspective and migration-mobility perspective analyzed by transnational approach are not sufficient to explain migrant sending states migration management strategies. On the other hand, neoliberal institutionalism captures the two-level game within migration policy networks that consider various interests, besides economic and sociological factors that affect international migration management. In the area of international migration both inter-state relationships based on 'national interests' of each states, as well as states' interests based on intra-state politics (such as lobbying) are important. Consequently, the supra national, international and national interests should be taken into account as a whole. For example, UNHCR, IOM, ILO has their own institutional interests, while the MRS and MSS have their national interests, additionally there are sub-state actors' interests that determine the positions of both MRS and MSS. Before discussing the policy network analysis as theoretical framework for analysis of the 3R-migration policy decision-making, it is important to conceptualize these 3Rs.

CHAPTER 2   Migrant-sending states' 3R policies

Beyond their conflicting sovereign interests, migrant-receiving and sending states share common objective in the migration management agenda through "introducing regulatory mechanisms buttressing their position as legitimate managers of the mobility of their nationals and foreigners" (Cassarino 2010: 38). It is in the interests of both migrant-receiving (MRS) and sending states (MSS) to make migration experience successful to develop their countries. Therefore, there is a need for migration policymakers to understand the problems associated with migration and migrants in general. The crucial migration policy prioritization recommendations can be based on the ways that policymakers conceive the causes and consequences of international labor migration, and the impact it might have on economic development. This chapter provides detailed description of categories of recruitment, return and remittance (3Rs) policy strategies and the rationale on how they encompass all spheres of labor migration management.

Betts (2011) and Koslowski (2011) provide the 'analytically meaningful slices' of the migration phenomenon for studying global management of international migration. They identify different policy issues, which impact movement of international migrants across borders. Koslowski divides the

migration governance into three different, but at times overlapping, mobility regimes: *refugee, travel* and *labor migration* regimes (2011:7). He uses state centric regime theory and state-to-state interaction approach, which is appropriate in making a policy-relevant argument in the terms used by policymakers around the world. On the other hand, Betts divides international migration governance into a wider range of policy categories, such as: *low-* and *high-skilled labor migration, irregular migration, international travel, lifestyle migration, environmental migration, human trafficking/smuggling, forced migration/refugees, internally displaced people, diaspora,* and *remittances* (2011:9).

Koslowski's classification is known as 'global mobility regimes' and Betts' typology as 'policy categories' approach. The policy categories approach is much less parsimonious, and it risks overlap and repetition of migration policies (as certain institutions and organizations arise in similar ways in terms of their governance of different policy categories). Betts' approach also risks reifying categories, which may have been created for policy purposes but have much less analytical or empirical relevance. Therefore, Koslowski's global mobility regime categories are useful to determine the boundary of the migration policy domain in the post-Soviet region. It is specifically the labor migration that poses numerous challenges to the states of the Eurasian migration system, therefore the refugee and travel regimes will not be discussed here. Though, some of the categories that further clarify the labor migration management are borrowed from Betts' migration policy categories. The issues of high- and low-skilled labor migration, remittances

and irregular migration fall under the umbrella of the labor migration domain. The synthesis of categorizations of the migration governance based on regime and policy categories allows division of migrant-sending states' labor migration policy categories into i) policies on facilitation of the *recruitment* of labor migrants abroad by migrant-sending states, ii) *return/readmission* of regular and irregular labor migrants, and iii) increase and utilization of *remittances* of labor migrants. I refer to these three policies within labor migration domain as **3R-migration** policies.[35]

Table 1: Key categories of labor migration policies of migrant sending states

Facilitate **Recruitment** of labor migrants out of migrant-sending state
Encourage **Return and Readmission** of the migrants back to the migrant-sending state
Encourage **Remittance** transfer and investment in migrant-sending state

In general, the global labor migration governance can manifest itself at three different levels: i) **multilateral (**but the UN Migration Organization is non-existent and labor migration regime is less developed in this level), ii) **embedded (**that is hard to measure as it is not easy to pinpoint migration management within trade, security, human rights treaties), and iii) **trans-regional** (includes a range of migration partnerships at the bilateral, regional, and inter-regional levels) (Betts

---

[35] Philip L. Martin et al. (2006) also discuss remittance, return and recruitment, but from the perspective of its impact on development in general. They do not study the 3R policies of either migrant-sending or receiving states.

2011). As multilateral and embedded levels are non-existent or difficult to measure, the trans-regional governance is used as "a set of formal and informal institutions that cut across and connect different geographical regions, constituting or constraining the behavior of states and non-state actors in a given policy field" (Betts 2010b). The trans-regional labor migration management includes different types of partnerships that some are formal and others are informal. Most of these partnerships have a North-South dimension, as they involve South-South cooperation supported by Northern funding or direct interregional cooperation. It includes both exclusive and inclusive structures linking regions through a combination of regional, interregional and bilateral norms and forums. Trans-regionalism is a type of governance that is especially relevant when we discuss migrant-sending states that lie between European and Eurasian migration systems and interactions occur within different regional networks. It includes bilateral and multilateral arrangements within and between migration systems and does not necessarily solely involve dialogue between different regions' migration representatives (Betts 2011:18).

Table 2: Locating 3R-migration policy issues within the migration regime and governance categories

	Migration Regime		
Migration Governance	Refugee	Travel	*Labor migration*
Multilateral			
Embedded			
Trans-regional			*Recruitment* *Return/readmission* *Remittances*

The reason for analysis of the 3R labor migration policymaking in the post-Soviet region within the 'trans-regional' level of analysis is simple. The map of the relationship of trans-regional migration policy related organizations outlines the powerful advocates for prioritizing specific R that provides solution to the migrant-sending state's challenges. These R-migration policy advocates may be representatives of other migration system too and there can be contentions between advocates of one system with another in suggesting specific R-policy prioritization when a given migrant sending state belongs to different migration systems. The trans-regional approach helps to analyze all organizational interactions and influence within and across the regions.

Two main directions of development of emigration studies are identified as: i) migration policy in the form of economic policy of developing states and ii)

criticism of migration policy as 'prerogative of a totalitarian state' (Weinar 2014:3).[36]

This research is developed within the first direction of development. When it comes

to the definition of emigration policies, the literature is quite confused, as scholars

are less convinced about the exact meaning of emigration policies confounding

them with the now old perspective of 'exit controls'. Scholars are faced either with

historical accounts of mobility control or contemporary migration and development

discourse, but neither approaches give comprehensive definition of emigration

policy in today's world. Weinar considers 'all policies that facilitate or curb mobility

across international borders' as emigration policies (2014:5).[37] And a policy is

defined as the primarily and fundamentally 'stated policy objectives' and policy

documents, i.e. formulation of rules and procedures (Cornelius and Tsuda 2004:5).

But most of the studies focus only on the impact of the brain drain on development

prospects of low-income countries.[38] Two different emigration policy approaches

---

[36] The concepts of brain - drain and human-capital are crucial in both cases.

[37] For example, the high quality passports issued through secure administrative processes are in the interest of migrant-receiving states concerned with border security. But if such passports can also be made affordable, they are also in the interest of migrant-sending states that hope to facilitate the travel and migration of their nationals. A study conducted by the World Bank (McKenzie 2005) of passport fees in 127 countries, found that "high costs of acquiring a passport have become a barrier to migration from many states. Passports cost more than $100 in nine of the countries surveyed with the most expensive fee of $333 charged for a Turkish passport. High passport fees relative to the income of the applicants are even greater barriers to emigration" (Rey Koslowski, *Global Mobility Regimes: A Conceptual Reframing* 2011:36-37).

[38] The brain drain was treated within the framework of center-periphery by Marxist theories during 1960s and 1970s, explaining the phenomenon through either push-factor (Glaser 1978) including socio-economic failure or pull factors (Bhagwati 1984) such as 'migration opportunity'. Other scholars defined two key approaches to brain drain as cosmopolitan and nationalist views, focusing on the limited human capital and its impact on the sending state and contribution to the world production system (Reiben and Adams 1968).

emerged from these debates. One is from the receiving state perspective that began working on attenuation of the push factors in sending states through implementation of various programs to prevent brain drain. Second is from the developing states perspective that put blame for emigration of their nationals on the pull-factors including their brain-drain policies (Philip Martin 2006; Zahlan 1981). According to the second approach the emigration policy seems to be more about the 'encouragement of stay and return' rather than dealing with the root cause and controlling outflows in a strict sense (Weinar 2014:4).[39] As the literature shows, countries in different levels of development have been influenced by the flows of their citizens and any state can play out its interests through emigration (Heisler 1985).

As emigration policies here are based on the strategies employed by migrant-sending states to incorporate emigration into the socio-economic development within the migration-development nexus analysis, labor migrants' recruitment abroad, return/readmission back home, and utilization of the remittances are three relevant Rs.[40] But not all migrant sending states focus and address all 3R-migration policies at the same time. Some prioritize recruitment over return and remittances. Others do otherwise. Hence, an R-migration policy is

---

[39] As Agnieszka Weinar rightly argues that "scholars from highly-developed countries did not focus at all on the same questions in relation to their own societies. Rather they engaged in the debate in the context of low-income countries. In this way emigration policy became a thing for less fortunate states and started being associated with social, political and economic failure. At the opposite end, immigration policy has become the prerogative of wealthy and successful states" (2014:4) in CARIM –East, Research based Report 2014/01 *Emigration policies in contemporary Europe.*

[40] In short, I call these policies as 3R-migration policies.

a migrant-sending state's strategic policy to manage out-migration by prioritizing either migrants' recruitment or remittances, or return issue. The remainder if this chapter describes the reasons for considering the 3Rs (recruitment, return, remittances) as key thematic issues of concern for migration policymakers of a given MSS and explains each one of the Rs in details.

2.1. Recruitment policies

The recruitment policy of a given migrant-sending state comprises of the policy measures that facilitate recruitment of the labor migrants in labor market of the foreign country.[41] The state also regulates activities of the private employment agencies, the number of which has increased over the last two decades. The state encourages labor mobility considering the wage differentials and aiming at equalization of the living conditions with the migrant-receiving countries. The objectives of the migrant sending states (MSS) in bilateral recruitment agreements[42] are to *ensure* better living conditions and *increased earning capacity* for migrant workers, and to *promote* the acquisition or enhancement of their *professional skills* and *qualifications* (MforE Report 2004:7). The Global Inventory

---

[41] The policy actors' interest in prioritizing the labor migrant recruitment policy as the core of national migration strategy can be summarized either as 'call for increase in number of low-skilled international labor migration or protection of migrant workers abroad' (Kuptsch and Martin 2011: 34).

[42] This section describing mainly the typologies of the recruitment policies is taken from the *Migration for Employment: Bilateral Agreements at a Crossroads.* OECD 2004. This publication brings to light the diversity of situations in OECD member countries and focuses on three questions: what exactly are the objectives of bilateral foreign labor recruitment agreements? Are such agreements effective in achieving those objectives? And if there are other ways of achieving those objectives.

of the European Training Foundation's Migrant Support Measures from an Employment and Skills Perspective (MISMES) identifies six models for the pre-departure support of the labor migrants: i) international job matching and placement services; ii) pre-departure information, orientation and training; iii) professional skills development for migration; iv) capitalizing skills across borders; iv) facilitation of the access to labor market information and protection in destination countries; and v) assessment, certification, validation and recognition of migrants' skills and qualifications (ETF MISMES 2015:58). The large number of these programs and policy strategies lead to an active facilitation of the labor migration across borders, and define national migration policy as the one that prioritizes recruitment.

The migrant receiving state's aim is to meet labor market needs by facilitating short, medium to long-term adjustments. The recruitment agreements in the short-term concern temporary migrants (including seasonal workers) and demand for low-skilled labor in particular. However, in the medium to long-term, the agreements focus more on skilled workers to tackle more structural labor shortages. Potential migrants for recruitment abroad can be people who would have been unemployed or underemployed at home. On the other hand, they could be employees of the governments and businesses, whose emigration leads to reduced services and layoffs (Martin et al. 2006:27). Those migrant sending states that believe that majority of their potential migrants belong to the group of unemployed and underemployed people pursue the policy of recruitment and

channel resources to train and find jobs for them in foreign job markets. There are different types of foreign labor recruitment arrangements between states that are labeled in different ways: employment treaties, labor agreements, recruitment treaties, migration agreements, or agreements for exchange of labor. The legal status of such agreements may vary as well: intergovernmental agreements, protocols of agreements, memoranda of understanding, memoranda of agreement, or national policy regulations. Although, it is true that the largest labor movements between countries take place outside the channel of bilateral agreements, more than 176 bilateral agreements and other forms of labor recruitment schemes were in force in early 21st century in the OECD countries (MforE 2004:12).[43] The main task of the migrant-sending states, which prioritize increasing number of labor migrants recruited abroad, is to sign as many recruitment bilateral agreements as possible. The states also encourage both state employment agency and non-state private recruitment agencies to explore foreign labor markets and provide opportunities (through information dissemination, trainings and skills) for more migrants to find jobs abroad. All labor recruitment agreements point on the permitted stay given to migrant workers, which is considered to be the central feature of these schemes. The bilateral foreign labor recruitment agreements between migrant receiving and sending states are one of the categories of the recruitment schemes (Fitzgerald 2006).

---

[43] The Philippines and Mexico both have the development models based on the idea of sending emigrants abroad in large numbers (Migration for Employment Report 2004)

The diversity of labor schemes reflects political concerns, nature of labor shortages and projected economic conditions, as well as different economic environments, specific to each country's labor market conditions. Though bilateral labor agreements are, by far, the most widespread method of recruitment, they are not the best in terms of the number of people involved. The most common categories of bilateral labor agreements are: *seasonal worker agreements* - stay three months to a year usually limited to sectors with the high variation of employment over a year, for example, hospitality, catering, agriculture, and construction. And quotas used to limit the number of entries and employment services in MRS or MSS facilitate the recruitment. *Contract and project-linked worker agreements* through which workers directly employed by a foreign-based company or by domestic firm carrying out work abroad. Such agreements facilitate access to work permits, and quotas under these provisions usually limit the number of contract workers, which distributed by the migrant sending states to firms at home (MforE 2004:12). The *guest worker agreements* are usually most limited to one year with the extension to another year; eg: post WW2 Germany. The *cross-border worker agreements* are mainly concluded between the EU and non-EU countries based on geographic proximity or regionalism of the labor markets.

The quotas are set according to domestic labor market conditions and migrants are required to maintain their primary residence in their country (MforE

2004:13). Some of the bilateral agreements[44] were introduced as an *incentive* for the migrant sending states to improve the management of migration outflow pressures and include: i) protecting special post-colonial or political relationships; ii) promoting cultural ties and exchanges; iii) protecting workers' rights; iv) combating unemployment in the migrant sending states; v) easing labor mobility and integration into regional economies; and vi) increasing the training of migrants (MforE 2004:14).

Implementation and management of bilateral agreements and other forms of labor recruitment involve participation of not only government agencies, but also nongovernmental organizations, such as, private recruitment organizations. Private recruitment agencies contribute to the exchange of labor between various groups of countries. *Private recruitment agencies* are widespread in both MRS and MSS of the Eurasian migration system that assist in obtaining an adequate labor supply (Abella and Lonnroth 1995). Their functions include: matching to comprehensive hiring package consisting of recruitment, skills testing, travel, visa and living arrangements. In some countries competition between these agencies exists even if they function in different segments, in other cases public labor

---

[44] The bilateral labor recruitment schemes can be in the form of *sector-based scheme* (to fill shortages in particular sectors, eg: agriculture, health, hospitality, and medical professions; no nationality is concerned in contrast to bilateral agreements). 'It can also be in the form of *skill-based scheme* (recruiting skilled individuals to enter the country as a job-seeker, entrepreneur or recruited employee; points system is used to qualify the workers' credentials), whose primary goals are to relieve sector-based or skill based shortages. The sector- and skill-based schemes are adopted by many migrant-receiving states that are reluctant to sign bilateral agreements' (MforE 2004:14).

recruitment fill more vacancies (such as in the Philippines) than the private agencies. In large emigration flow countries (such as Thailand) the private agencies are more visible, as they supplement the limited capacity of public offices of labor (MforE 2004: 20). Though it is hard to establish the impact of recruitment schemes on migration flows by separating them from other factors, nevertheless in some countries it leads to improved management of migration flows.

In migrant-receiving states, two major types of economic needs tests, namely, pre-admission (labor certification) and post-admission (employer attestation) tests require employers seeking permission to hire migrant workers to satisfy their governments where local workers are not available? Migrant sending states and most employers prefer few or no economic needs tests, post-admission rather than pre-admission tests, and more transparency in procedures used by government agencies to determine factors that are used in both admission systems. Visa and work permit procedures determine if particular individual can actually enter the country. One of the important domestic drivers of the increased number of migrants can be special interest of the employers within the migrant receiving state. From the perspective of migrant sending states' employers, companies that take their business and employees to other countries become more competitive in domestic market after gaining experience in more developed market. The main task of the migrant-sending states that prioritize recruitment-policy should be in reaching agreements with the migrant-receiving states on removal of economic test and preferred post-admission tests. More recruitment of

cheaper labor in MRS decreases foreign direct investment in MSS, and risks of brain drain in MSS poses policy coherence issue in terms of human resource management. Migrant employment agreements also facilitate the expansion of small and medium sized companies from sending states.

Some studies conclude that bilateral approach is not the most comprehensive way of tackling labor shortages in many receiving countries. That's why, for instance, OECD migrant receiving states have developed multilateral recruitment schemes that target the large group of migrant sending states (e.g. Switzerland, the UK) (MforE 2004:27). Other countries have instituted programs and policies that are open to all applicants that qualify, regardless of their nationality. The similarities in labor demand across migrant receiving states and emerging competition for labor from sending states lead to support of many of multilateral approaches or at least coordinated policies between states (OECD, 2003b). Many migrant sending states intend to sign as many bilateral labor recruitment agreements as possible, and EU provides Association Agreement with the European Union effective February 1995 that gives opportunity to non-EU migrant sending states to pursue negotiations with EU member states.

There is a growing view in Asia that when a migrant sending state is concerned not only about number of labor recruited abroad, but as well as migrant rights, then bilateral agreements are not of a big help, rather it should be tackled on a multilateral level. The Philippines took initiative in Asia to bring several migrant sending states together to coordinate their policies on bilateral agreements and

work together with migrant receiving states' governments.[45] The proliferation of the Regional Consultation Processes on migration that serve as platform for networks of information dissemination, consultation and policy coordination among migrant receiving and sending states is the result of these developments and acknowledgement of the need for a multilateral approach. Countries within specific Regional Consultative Processes on migration can go beyond national measures and bilateral negotiations to better meet the states' interests. The diversity of employed labor recruitment agreements point on the options available for migrant receiving and sending states, based on their respective economic and political conditions. For example, states have chosen a cooperative recruitment approach, which allows them jointly organize and manage recruitment, training, preparation for emigration, or integration in the sending state's labor market (MforE 2004: 28-29). In sum, all migrant sending states that direct human and financial resources towards exploring foreign labor markets to employ their nationals are considered as labor recruitment prioritizing states.

2.2. Return/Readmission Policies

Some migrant-sending states may be concerned that despite the availability of the jobs in the home labor market, people tend to migrate due to lifestyle and

---

[45] There are less comprehensive studies on moving from bilateral to multilateral agreements on foreign labor recruitment in the regional level. The role of the Philippines in coordinating the bilateral recruitment agreements will be analyzed in more details in the case of Tajikistan in Chapter 5.

easy access to foreign labor through migration networks. Hence they develop policy strategies in order to return emigrants back. Readmission agreements provide a legal framework that is merely an instrument facilitating return (Cassarino 2010:11). The below network graph (Figure 1),[46] based on the research analysis of the European University Institute's Migration Policy Center, is an example of the dense cobweb of signed return agreements, where the EU member-states are pioneers of this policy in the global stage.

Figure 1: Agreements related to migrants' return and readmission concluded between 28 EU and non-EU states, October 2013
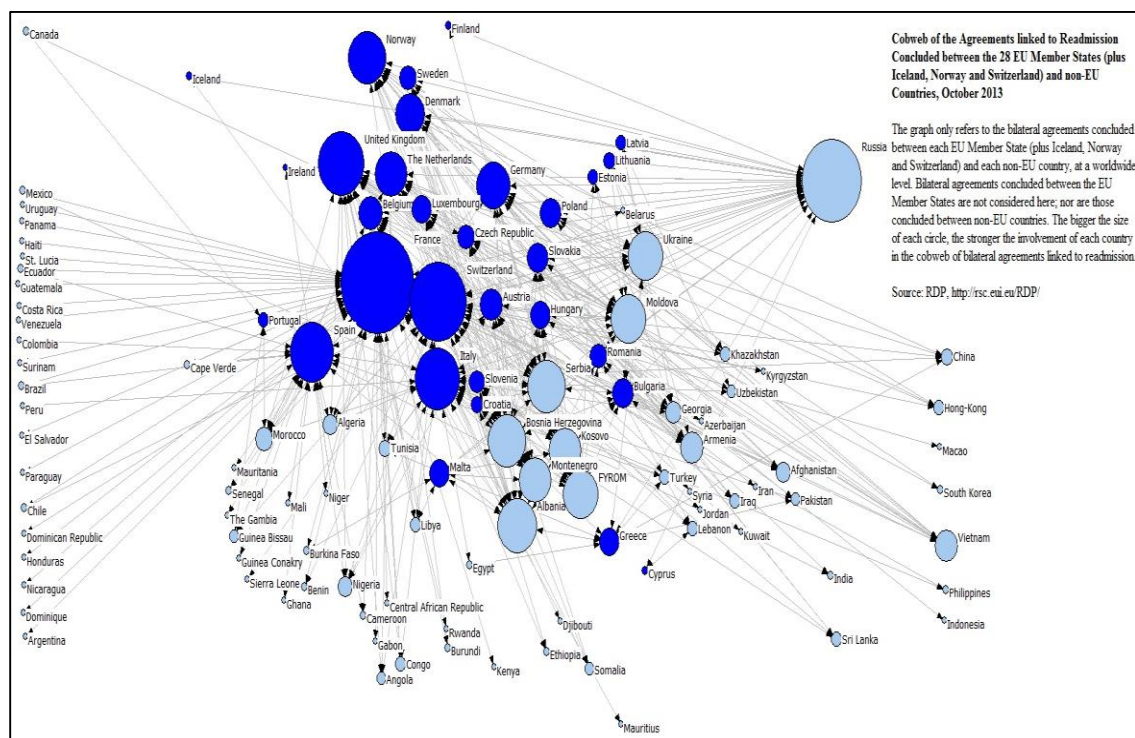
[46] Source: Inventory of readmission agreements provided by the European University Institute. Accessed http://rsc.eui.eu/RDP/research/analyses/ra/, 10/15/2015

The difference on the number of signed readmission agreements with the post-Soviet migrant-sending states is obvious as we study the size of the circles. Most migrant sending states do not have specific policies in place for returning migrants due to the lack of interest and benefits from the return policies. But the migrant-receiving states, especially of the EU, try to expand readmission programs because migrant-sending states do not do it voluntarily due to budgetary constraints for thousands of the return migrants. And migrant-sending states' policymakers think that it's senseless to protect and further invest in migrants who have gained experience abroad and are more competitive upon their return. There is not much of skill benefits of the returnees for the migrant sending states, as those migrants return who are likely to be "failed migrants" unable to adjust to the labor market of the MRS or to have acquired skills that are too job- and industry-specific to be of use in migrant-sending states (Myron Weiner 1995:40).[47] Duvell argues that initially, the governance of irregular migration has been mostly driven by security concerns and aimed at repressing this type of migration, especially by MRS.[48]

With regards to the rationale, configuration, and utility of readmission agreements, it is argued that EU readmission agreement is an effort by EU to increase the efficiency of bilateral return policies, and cannot be isolated from a

---

[47] We can observe an increase in return migration only when employment opportunities have declined in the migrant receiving states due to decline in global economy. MRS transfers back their unemployment to MSS at the hard time when it is not able to provide employment to nationals who return (Weiner 1995: 41).

[48] Franck Duvell: *Irregular Migration,* Chapter 3, in "Global Migration Governance" ed. by Betts. Oxford University Press 2011

predominantly bilateral system of cooperation on readmission in which most current EU Member States are involved. Readmission agreements are concluded to facilitate the removal of "persons who do not or no longer fulfill the conditions of entry to, and presence or residence in the requesting state" (European Commission 2002:26). They are considered to be mechanisms for returning irregular migrants. Large-scale irregular migration as a social phenomenon is relatively new, which became top policy concern in the last two decades.[49] Franck Duvell argues that 'the governance of irregular migration is a driving force in the globalization of migration policy as a whole' (2011:78). Amnesty International, for example, is not in principle opposed to readmission agreements. They have been used for a long time as a key means of combating illegal immigration, whether at bilateral, intergovernmental or the EU level (Cassarino 2010:12).[50]

Migrant receiving and sending states differ markedly in terms of cooperation on readmission, due to *types of flows* affecting their national territories and the ways in which states *codify their interaction over time*. Migrant sending states are not willing in concluding readmission agreements, as their economy remains dependent on the revenues from its migrants (legal and unauthorized) and migration is viewed as a safety valve to relieve pressure on domestic

---

[49] Irregular migration was reported in early 1930s in Palestine, the Netherlands and the United States

[50] The increase in the number of agreements linked to readmission, and the adoption of mobility partnerships are very much linked to consolidation of this agenda, at the regional and international levels.

unemployment. State-to-state interaction affects the nature of cooperative patterns and states' responsiveness to uncertainties.[51] Migrant receiving state uses various incentives to make the sending state to cooperate on readmission, through special trade assistance, increased development aid, and short-term visa exemption. Entry visa facilitation played a major role in the negotiations of some of agreements concluded so far, including between EU member states and Moldova, and Georgia.

On the top place in the hierarchy of the R-policy prioritization for the EU and RCPs stands the return/readmission policy. Based on the developments of the last two decades and terminological hegemony that emerged, the hierarchy of priorities was created in the migration management agenda conducive to a process of consensus formation on the identification of 'perceived exigencies' (Cox 2006). As Lavenex and Wichmann (2009) argue, cooperation on readmission is the feature of the process of consensus formation and "shared problem perceptions" of migrant receiving and sending states. An international normative or institutional framework does not guide the governance of irregular labor migration, therefore it is not yet global. Over the last two decades large-scale irregular migration has become a top policy concern, with the OECD international reporting system beginning to regularly report on irregular migration. The experience of the earlier signed EU 27 member states agreements and inducements used with countries of

---

[51] For example, why Azerbaijan has not signed any single readmission agreement, while Georgia signed few and Moldova the most number of agreements, Armenia many states-to-state agreements, but no EU Agreement

South Mediterranean and Africa to cooperate has shown that compensatory measures may not always work. As even after the agreement is concluded, migrant sending states' financial, institutional and legal costs for implementation of cooperation may be a huge barrier. Taking these difficulties into account, migrant receiving and sending states negotiate and conclude readmission agreements not as an end in itself, but rather as one of the many ways to consolidate broader bilateral cooperative framework, including such policy areas as security, energy and trade. [52] Hence, EU policy makers realizing that reciprocal obligations contained in a standard readmission agreement are too asymmetrical to secure its concrete implementation in the long run, graft the cooperation on to other policy areas. They know that grafting may compensate for the unbalanced reciprocal obligations characterizing the cooperation on readmission or removal (Cassarino 2010:26). These grafting into other policy areas is defined as non-standard readmission mechanisms.

But drive for flexibility motivated the migrant receiving states to have both standard readmission agreement, which stresses reciprocal obligations, and various other non-standard readmission mechanisms and cooperative instruments (Cassarino 2010:27). As circumstances and uncertainties change over time, flexible arrangements become more preferable over rigid ones. These agreements

---

[52] Examples can be drawn from Morocco-Spain agreement signed in 1992, when Morocco accepted and concluded this cooperation agreement based on its ambition to acquire a special status in its political and economic relationship with the European Union (Mrabet 2003), same with Italy and Egypt, and the UK and Algeria.

allow for flexible and operable solutions aimed at addressing the need for cooperation, prioritizing the operability of the cooperation on readmission over its formalization. Indeed the number of non-standard readmission agreements increased for the last decade between EU member states and third countries. For example, during 1995-2003 EU with 15 member states had 38 non-standard agreements linked to readmission and 118 standard agreements. EU with 27 member states by 2010 had signed 63 non-standard and 190 standard agreements (Cassarino 2010:28). The main question of interest for this study is the reasons behind signing of readmission agreements by the migrant sending states, when it is clear that prioritizing the return policy is not beneficial for them. The prominent actors' advocacy for it to be signed and included in national migration strategy is an issue of concern. The analytic chapters will discuss the advocacy methods used on migrant sending states in signing readmission agreements and incorporating the vision on return of migrants in their national migration strategies.[53]

Non-standard agreements have been responsive to lowering the cost of defection, as they can be easily renegotiated in order to respond to new

---

[53] The main reason for the adoption of non-standard agreements is to secure bilateral cooperation on migration management and respond flexibly to new situations. MRS and MSS can secure their credibility through agreements "that include the proper amount of flexibility and thereby create for themselves a kind of international insurance" (Koremenos 2005: 562). As readmission and removal are highly sensitive matters, MRS and MSS opt for flexible patterns of readmission cooperation, because of their search for credibility. Credibility, argues Phuong, is a core issue in the cooperation on readmission, as it 'symbolically buttresses the centrality of the state and its law enforcement agencies in the management of international migration' (Phuong 2007:356).

contingencies. They also lower the public visibility of the cooperation on readmission, particularly relevant to emigration MSS, by placing it in a broader framework of interaction. As early as 1994 we do observe new wave of agreements linked to readmission, but no any properly dubbed readmission agreements in the technical sense are recommended by the Council of the European Union to the EU member states. These agreements can be in the form of memoranda of understanding, arrangements, pacts, police cooperation agreements including readmission clause, etc. They are based on three approaches: i) the fight against unauthorized migration, including the issue of readmission; ii) the reinforcement control borders, including ad hoc technical assistance; and iii) the joint management of labor migration with the third countries of origin, including enhanced development aid (Cassarino 2010: 28).[54]

There are various AVR (assisted voluntary return) programs being implemented in European Neighborhood States. Number of removals data is compiled by the Frontex Risk Analysis Network (FRAN),[55] which looks at 'third

---

[54] As United Nations Population Division reports, the undocumented migration is "one of the fastest growing forms of migration in the world today". There might be about 40 million irregular migrants worldwide. Most of them reside in the EU, the United States and Russian Federation (Duvell, 2011:79). Irregular migration is used synonymously with illegal migration in the international migration literature. Illegal (irregular) labor migration can refer to clandestine entry, visa overstaying, or irregular employment. The conditions for irregular migration are set by economic and political parameters.

[55] Effectiveness of cooperation on readmission can be measured through such indicators as, number of approved and refused readmission requests, number of applications submitted under the normal and accelerated procedures, number of travel documents (or laissez passers) issued to the authorities of a requesting states, and financial considerations. These indicators are useful to calculate the extent to which two contracting parties commit to respecting their reciprocal obligations.

country nationals who left', 'third country nationals ordered to leave', and 'third country nationals refused entry' (Cassarino 2010: 47). The ratio of number of those who effectively left compared to number of national, who are served an order to leave, reflects a form of effectiveness rate as applied to removal orders. [56] Readmission agreements argued to be predominantly aimed at removing unauthorized migrants, not at systematically ensuring their safe reintegration in a country of return or at effectively dealing with return conditions (Cassarino 2010:48). There is available data on law-enforcement decisions as applied to the readmission of unauthorized aliens, but not their concrete effects. As the investigation reveals "the cooperation on readmission as it stands now in the external relations of the EU involves *more than an absolute duty* to re-accept one's own nationals" (Cassarino 2010:52, italics added). The emergence of diverse cooperative patterns on readmission has been conducive to the dramatic expansion of the cobweb of bilateral agreements linked to readmission. In general, initiative on return and readmission, or so-called regularization of irregular migrants, [57] comes from the migrant receiving states when they raise their concerns about migrant sending and transit states.

---

[56] In France, for example, out of 98 thousand ordered to leave, only 20 thousand left in 2009, in Greece out of 126 thousand ordered, 63 thousand left. 5 thousand out of 53 thousand left Italy and in the United Kingdom 62 thousand left out of 69 thousand. The implications of cooperation on readmission on the fate of readmitted persons after their removal to SS is hard to demonstrate due to the lack of data.

[57] For more information see Christiane Kuptsch and Philip Martin pp 34-60, Low Skilled Labor Migration in *Global Migration Governance*. Alexander Betts ed., Oxford University Press 2011.

2.3. Remittance Policies

Remittances emerge as a key issue for consideration as migration policy of a given migrant-sending state. The migrants' capital in the form of money and resources is called *remittances* and is also subjected to complex forms of regulations capturing more regional migration policymakers' attention in recent years. Migrant-sending state considers remittances as a source of development finance or a business opportunity, given the staggering numbers showing high remittance per capita and levels of remittance share in GDP. Migration policymakers may try to shape the remittance process intermediating remittances in the country of origin, remittance sending from the host country, and the transnational passage of remittances (Lindley 2011:242).[58] The remittance policy for this study focuses only on the transfer and utilization of remittances in country of origin. The management of the remittance flow by migration policymakers is divided into two main issue-areas: crime/security and socio-economic development.[59] Here the discussion will only be on the issues related to governance of remittances by migrant-sending states' policymakers focusing on migration and socio-economic development nexus. Migration policymakers seek to mediate these remittance flows in ways that are intended to accomplish

---

[58]   For more information on remittances as crime/security issue see Anna Lindley Chapter 10 *Remittances* in Global Migration Governance ed by Alexander Betts. Oxford University Press 2011
[59] Remittances as a component of global financial flows, are subject to complex national-, regional- and global- level financial regulations aimed at preventing criminal and terrorist use of the global financial system (Lindley 2011:243). This dissertation will focus only on socio-economic analysis.

particular socio-economic development goals in migrant-sending states. There is certain trend of policies regarding remittances from either neglect, or policies aimed at rather heavy-handed control, towards softer "remittance management" policies aiming to attract remittances by lowering costs, offering a range of incentives, or more broadly fostering good state-diaspora relations (Lindley 2011:252).[60]

For migrant-receiving states remittances are always a secondary issue and rarely bother their economists and public, and they show indifference on this issue. Major migrant-receiving states may be open to discuss remittances, but they most of the time veto effective discussions about opening up migration opportunities. This point is very important, because the anticipated remittances are the rationale behind many emigration states policy stances on labor migration.[61] Two methods of remittance management by the migrant sending states and their objectives are, first, promoting the channeling of remittances directly to development purposes, and second, stimulating direct investment of remittances.

---

[60] In contemporary migration-development policy debates, remittances have taken an important place and due to combination of factors reached the point of becoming a 'new development mantra' (Kapur 2004). As some of these factors, we can mention as remittances being an important source of income for poorer countries, having major impact on the balance of payments and on processes of social change. Another factor is that remittances promote 'self-reliance', link local with the global and related to free market and the rolling back of the state. And lastly, there is a relationship between remittances and financial sector development issues, such as expansion of the formal financial sector in MSS, increasing the availability of capital and credit.

Table 3: Remittance policy goals and measures[62]:

Objectives	Specific aims	Examples of measures
Promote the channeling of remittances directly to development purposes	Divert a proportion of remittances to be used by the state Promote donations by remittance senders Stimulate development financing by hometown associations	Direct taxation of remittance transfers Voluntary check-off for charitable donations on transfer forms Matched funds for hometown associations
Stimulate direct investment of remittances	Outreach through the infrastructure of microfinance institutions Outreach through migrants' services bureaus Small-medium enterprise schemes (financial, infrastructural or innovative)	Small scale credit for remittance receivers One-stop-shop for emigrant investors Tax break on imports of capital goods

There are different perspectives of looking at remittances: as household income, a hard-earned transnational family livelihood, a macroeconomic flow, a source of development finance, or a business opportunity. As the below figure illustrates, most of the migrant sending states with the highest remittances share in GDP (%) are former Soviet republics with Tajikistan leading the board with more than 40%, Moldova 23%, Armenia 12.5% and Georgia 7.7%. Anna Lindley (2011) suggests that, based on the geography of remittance process, we can differentiate various remittance governance opportunities.

---

[62] Derived from general remittance policies of Carling 2007 and Lindley 2011:253 Table 10.1 In general, besides two policy objectives mentioned in the above table, they classify five other types of remittance policy objectives and measures including: increase the volume of current remittances, stimulate development-friendly consumption, stimulate sound management of remittances, and secure future remittances. But as policy measures of these five remittance policy objectives overlap and involve recruitment and return measures, they are not considered as pure remittance policies here. Lindley in Betts 2011:257

Figure 2: Levels of remittances per capita
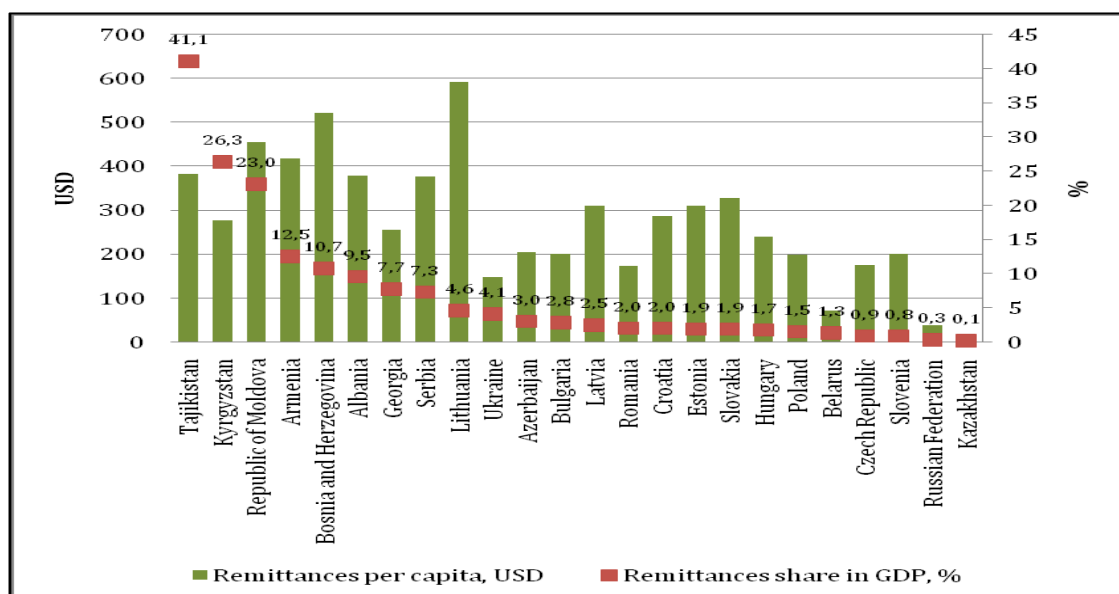
Scholars observed a clear variation in popularity of the remittance policies over time and across countries. There are limited number of remittance policies directed to securitization of future remittance flows and issuance of diaspora bonds, but there is possibility of their increase as governments are looking for the ways to raise investment capital (World Bank 2006; Ketkar and Ratha 2007). On the other hand, the remittance policies directed on increasing officially channeled volumes of remittances and financial intermediation opportunities have proved to be popular initiatives (Lindley 2011:252). Remittance policies usually are directed for the *decrease of the cost of remittances,* when high remittance costs faced by poor migrants can be reduced by increasing access to banking and strengthening competition in the remittance industry. Banks tend to provide cheaper remittance services than money transfer operators. The entry of new market players can be

facilitated by harmonizing and lowering bond and capital requirements, as well as by avoiding overregulation such as requiring a full banking license for specialized money transfer operators'[63] competition between transfer companies and control of the exchanges.

Under[64] broader policy framework of the Global Approach to Migration and Mobility (GAMM) falls the remittances agenda of the EC. The GAMM was launched in 2005, renewed in 2011 and now comprises four main pillars. Remittances area is a part of the third pillar, which focuses on maximizing the positive effects, while minimizing the negative effects of migration on development. It concludes that the largest number of remittance projects is directed toward policy formation and dialogue. It shows different forms of policy work that these projects focused on, such as, working with the wide range of stakeholders in the areas of effective labor migration, pooling information on how remittances can be harnessed for development and understanding policy incentives designed to encourage the return of migrants to their home country (Isaacs, Vargas-Silva. Hugo, 2012:51).[65]

---

[63]   Ratha Dillip, MPI policy Brief: Leveraging remittances for development 2007:11

[64]   Development and Cooperation – EuropeAid (DEVCO) works[64] across a number of thematic areas relating to development, including remittances and their use as a developmental tool.

[65] Other themes and activities of the projects that recurred throughout many of them are following: i) policy formation and dialogue, ii) private sector development, iii) transnational networks, iv) returning migrant entrepreneurs, v) financial education for beneficiaries, vi) capacity building of governments, and vii) cost of remittances. A focus on development of transnational networks and returning migrant entrepreneurs has almost always been present within the same projects. In the case of themes (i) and (ii) the projects put a strong focus on building links and engaging diaspora organizations throughout the EU. The reduction of the cost of transfer projects focused on the possibility of remitters to direct their funds to the more sustainable uses, such as, investment in MSMEs (micro, small, medium enterprises) in their home countries. The activities directed on the

This report help us to look at the number of remittance projects that the migrant receiving states implemented or will do in the sending states, which points to return and circularity of migrants more rather than actual remittance-development activities (Isaacs, Vargas-Silva, Hugo 2012: 59).[66]

Conclusion

According to the United Nations, the number of international migrants worldwide reached more than 240 million by 2014, up from 175 million in 2000 and 154 million in 1990 (UN ECOSOC Population Division Report #2013/2). And the

---

financial education of beneficiaries aims to encourage receivers of the remittances to invest in local infrastructure and community project, moving away from purely consumptive habits. The overall projects analysis demonstrates that there is a clear focus on circular migration and remittances for productive investments. The conclusion of the authors point to the strong link that RS put on remittances and return, as the objectives and goals of DEVCO on remittances and development is not clear.

[66] Three related projects that DEVCO implemented through Aeneas Program and Thematic Program for Migration and Asylum in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. Report provides analyses of the remittance projects that were implemented till today:

i) Project "*Remittances Developing Moldovan Communities: Sustainable Use of Remittances by Generating Local Income in the Republic of Moldova*", total amount of project is approx. 630 thousand Euros. The project objective is to increase "the positive impact of remittances to Moldova through improved capacity of remittances recipients and local communities in 4 target regions of central Moldova to generate income activities, develop businesses and invest in rural communities". Region: Eastern Europe. ii) Project "*Enhancing development impact of remittances and promoting legal migration in rural communities*". Total budget is 612000 Euros. Region: Central Asia. Project Objective: Provide financial education to migrant households; build capacity of local community actors and entities through training and consulting, provision of micro-credit grants; create Migrant Household Associations (MHA); set-up IP telephony and internet café to improve communication in rural communities. iii) Project "*Adding value to Central Asian Migration Awareness, capacity building and networking for maximizing the impact of migration on growth and development*". Total budget: 1 mln 734 thousand Euros. Region: Central Asia. Objective: protect vulnerable migrants and increase the positive impact of labor migration on rural communities of origin; develop more effective migration management mechanisms, whereby capacities of state structures to ensure safer, more humane and orderly labor movements are expanded and legal and risk awareness of migrants and target populations is increased; foster the positive contribution of labor migration to the economic and social development of vulnerable rural regions as a tool for poverty reduction.

latest wave of international labor migration has occurred in the post-communist space after 1990s.[67] It impacted all post-Soviet states, which started looking for better regulation of the movements of people across the borders. Some foreign labor recruitment agreements were signed on bilateral bases, as well as some agreements on readmission and return of migrants to their home countries. The migrant-sending states have developed different measures on the utilization of the migrants' remittances. In this web of relationships in different levels on 3R-migration issues, migrant-sending states had to create from scratch their national migration strategies. What are the benefits of prioritizing one R over other for the migrant-sending states? Policies regarding recruitment of labor abroad are one of the most underutilized tools, followed remittance investment policy, while some countries neglect these issues and looking at adoption of return/readmission policy tools.

Some migrant-sending states (MSS) aim to be active in the recruitment of their labor abroad; others are more concerned about increasing the amount of remittances received as a share of their gross domestic product. Still other MSS may be calling for return of their migrants from overseas. All prioritize one or the

---

[67]   Modern wave of international labor migrationemerged in the 1950s and 1960s in response to the rising demand for imported labor in western industrialized countries and oil-producing countries of the Middle East. Mexican and Caribbean migrants were recruited in the United States; migrants from Turkey, North Africa and Yugoslavia were recruited as temporary workers in the Western Europe, and Saudi Arabia, Libya, Iraq, Kuwait, Qatar; other smaller states of the Persian Gulf recruited migrant workers from Egypt, Yemen, and South and Southeast Asia (Myron Weiner 1995:24).

other R-policy.[68] Who does the prioritization of which R - recruitment, remittance, and return/readmission - benefit: the sending state, the receiving state, or migration related international/regional/domestic organizations? Table 4 below provides types of possible 3R-migration policy measures and their potential benefits for the migrant-sending states. Based on this table we should be able to look at the rationale behind the specific R prioritization by the MSS.

Table 4: Benefits for MRS and MSS from prioritizing recruitment, return or remittances

RECRUITMENT	
Policy	**Benefits - MSS and MRS**
Facilitate more labor migrants recruitment abroad	*MSS:* Ensure better living conditions - increased earning capacity for migrant workers - Promote the acquisition/enhancement of their professional skills/qualifications *MRS:* Promote specific economic ties or broader regional economic integration
Do NOT facilitate more labor migrants recruitment abroad	*MSS:* Deal with problems of lack of earning capacity for migrant workers Deal with problems of protection and investing in migrants who are more competitive upon return *MRS:* Lack of economic ties and broader regional integration Avoid legal means of accepting the flow of migration from MSS
REMITTANCES	
Policy	**Benefits –MSS/MRS**
Direct taxation of remittance transfers Matched funds for hometown associations Small scale credit for remittance receivers One-stop-shop for emigrant investors	*MSS*: Promote the channeling of remittances directly to development purposes *MRS*: N/A
NOT - Direct taxation of remittance transfers	*MSS*: Do not stimulate direct investment of remittances for development. All is for consumption.

---

[68] So in order to make policy recommendations it is crucial to understand the driving mechanism behind wage and employment assimilation. For example, some sending countries offer training courses to their expatriates, but no evidence exists on the effectiveness of such training in terms of the success of the job search or improved earnings. Many of the potential assimilation mechanisms can be affected by policy measures and hence knowing what helps migrants to do better in the labor markets over time can offer valuable lessons for policy makers. http://interact-project.eu/docs/publications/Research%20Report/INTERACT-RR-2013-06.pdf

Matched funds for hometown associations Small scale credit for remittance receivers One-stop-shop for emigrant investors	*MRS*: N/A

RETURN	
Policy	**Benefits –MSS/MRS**
Encourage return and readmit	*MSS*: deal with problems of lack of earning capacity for migrant workers Deal with problems of protection and investing in migrants who are more competitive upon return Threat to human rights of irregular migrants and of those in need of international protection. The rule of non-refoulment *MRS*: Advocates of readmission agreements claim that they are neutral in terms of human rights and merely a tool for the removal of irregular migrants. Provide a legal framework and are merely an instrument facilitating return
Do NOT return and readmit	*MSS*: Avoid budgetary constraints Avoid protecting and further investing in migrants who have gained experience abroad and are more competitive upon their return *MRS*: Social structure change, xenophobia

Although three R-policies are available for the migrant-sending states, all of them require, some less some more, cooperation with the migrant-receiving states. Prioritizing recruitment may lead to better living conditions and legal employment with less economic needs tests. While prioritization of the remittance transfer and investment policies leads to robust economic development. But the return of the migrants, especially low-skilled migrants employed in agrarian, sales and construction sectors does not provide huge benefits for the migrant-receiving states, considering the lack of domestic labor market to absorb them. Next Chapter provides the analytic framework, which will be used in case and cross-case analyses in later chapters, to explain how and why migrant-sending states'

prioritization of the issue of remittance, recruitment or return varies in the region. The framework is based on the organizational state and advocacy coalition models that lead to the new policy transfer.

CHAPTER 3   Analytic framework

This chapter provides an analytic framework to describe and explain the R-migration policy prioritization in migrant-sending states' national strategies. The variation in R-policy prioritization is explained based on i) *policy network theory* in the form of inter-organizational analysis, and ii) *policy transfer analysis*. The inter-organizational analysis is used in the organizational state model (**OSM**). The task of this study is, first, to provide steps for identification of migration policy actors/organizations, the organizations' 3R-policy interests, and the power structure within migration policy networks. Second, to provide a framework to determine the degree of dominance of organizations for change of the no-policy or existing prioritized R-migration policy. Third, to provide steps for identification of centrally located powerful organizations (advocacy coalitions) within migration policy networks. Fourth, the policy transfer analysis is used within the advocacy coalition framework (**ACF**) to look at the ways through which the identified advocacy coalitions within a given migration policy network influence migrant sending states to change R-policy prioritization. The ACF lays out the mechanism through which advocacy coalitions transfer the idea of prioritization of specific R-

policy to a given migrant-sending state. It is mainly based on empowerment, the resource transfers and institutional capacity building for convergence of priority of specific R-policy.

The objective of this chapter is to present the component parts of the OSM and ACF analytic frameworks to be used in case analytic chapters. It also describes interests of few key global and regional migration policy actors, or so-called peak migration-policy organizations that are present in all migrant-sending states' policy networks within the Eurasian migration system. This leads to formulation of hypotheses on the relationship between the type of advocacy coalition and the type of the prioritized R-policy.

3.1. Policy Network Theory

Policy networks[69] are, as defined by Rhodes, "sets of formal institutional and informal linkages between governmental and other actors structured around shared if endlessly negotiated beliefs and interests in public policymaking" (2006:426). Actors are considered to be interdependent and policy emerges as a

---

[69] The network analysis comes in many forms, such as social network analysis, network society, policy network analysis, networks of technological diffusion, cross-cultural analysis. Policy network focuses on government links with, and its dependence on, other states and societal actors. The varieties of expressions for policy networks include issue networks (Heclo 1978), policy communities (Richardson and Jordan 1979), iron triangles (Ripley and Franklin 1981), policy subsystems or sub-governments (Freeman and Steven 1987), and epistemic communities (Haas 1992). See more on other types of social network analysis in Chapter 20 by Rhodes in *Handbook of Public Policy*., edited by Moran Rein and Goodin, Oxford university Press 2006

result of complex interactions between them. Policy network analysis systematically theorizes migration policy network structure and behavior through power-dependence theory[70], and is divided into three sets of categories based on its *descriptive* and *theoretical* accounts. Descriptive policy network analysis frames the policymaking process as i) interest intermediation; ii) inter-organizational analysis and iii) governance. And advocacy coalition model is an approach that builds the analysis of R-policy change into policy network analysis.

The policy network analysis[71] in the form of inter-organizational analysis lies at the heart of the *organizational state model* (OSM). It provides a conceptual basis for the description of macro-structures of decision-making and characteristics of

---

[70] Another theoretical approach to policy network analysis is rational choice theory. And three prescriptive policy network accounts are i) instrumental, ii) interactive and iii) institutional approaches to managing networks.

[71] Policy networks are strongly influenced by inter-organizational theory (Scharpf 1978: Benson 1978; Aldrich 1979) and research on interest groups and agenda setting (Dowding 1995; Klijn 1997; Thatcher 1998; Marsh and Smith 2000). And at the core of most approaches to networks lies the central idea that actors are dependent on each other as they need each other's' resources to achieve their goals. Despite many researchers criticism on the image of the policy network representing an intuitive metaphor, 'regular communication and frequent exchange of information lead to the establishment of stable relationships between actors and to the coordination of their mutual interests'; in reality this intuition does not lead us very far (Adam and Kriesti 2007: 129). The UK scholars speak about such concepts as 'policy community', while in the United States about 'iron triangles' or 'issue networks', in order to address the concerns with the variety of actors and their interactions. Both side also divides policymaking system into one with pluralist and other with neo-corporatist arrangements; the concept of 'policy network' is a recent addition to these developments. The very definition of the conception of 'policy network' in the beginning and in the end its use by many authors in widely different ways creating confusion are prominent issues in the field (Jegen 2003; Borzel 1998). Policymaking takes place in specific policy-network subsystems operating to certain degree independently from each other; migration policy making is no exception. Each policy subsystem has its relevant number of policy actors, which deal with specific policy issues. State alone does not control political processes in these subsystems; rather, for example, in migration policy network subsystem, policy actors consist of private and public organization from migrant-receiving and sending states, as well as regional and supranational organizations.

structures/processes that emerge from multiple interactions/transactions between diverse organizations. The organizational state model will help to clarify such questions as: Which organizations can be considered as migration policy actors? What are their interests? Which organizations/policy actors influence R-policy prioritization and how?

This approach is especially useful for migration policy analysis, as international migration, by definition, is a process that involves at least two, and increasingly three or more, states with a large number of state and non-state organizations. These organizations make cooperation and consultation the integral parts of the process of migration management. Regional Consultation Processes on migration are governments' response to a world of increasingly complex and diverse migration and the emergence of regional initiatives[72] in different parts of the world. Regional Consultation Processes (RCPs) on migration have greatly contributed to the evolving pattern of cooperation between migrant receiving and migrant sending states, and it would be wise to begin the initial policy network analysis of inter-organizational interactions by looking into the relevant RCPs. Regional Consultative Processes, Kohler argues, "function more like trans-governmental networks than hierarchical regional governance models such as the EU or formal bilateral migration agreements" (2010:11). Their activities contribute

---

[72] Colleen Thouez and Frederique Channac discuss RCPs and their role in 'Shaping International Migration Policy: The role of the Regional Consultative Processes'. *West European Politics*, Vol 29/2 pp. 370-387. March 2006. And for further information on RCPs you can also see Amanda Klekowski von Kopenfels '*Informal but Effective: Regional Consultative Processes as a tool in managing migration*'. Blackwell Publishers Ltd. IOM 2001

to building trust through exchange of information and "they improve policy coordination through horizontal networks between executive-branch officials across governments" (Kohler 2010:72). RCPs are informal regional dialogues on migration and sixteen migrant-receiving states created the first RCP - the Inter-Governmental Consultations on Asylum, Refugees and Migration (IGC) in 1985.[73] The RCP 'model' is based on a group of states[74] that are not necessarily part of the same geographical region, but that engage in regular, behind the closed door informal dialogues on migration (Figures in Appendix 1).

The purpose of the RCPs is to facilitate multi-level migration governance for the development of 'best practices', information sharing, coordination between various levels of political decision-makers within and between states, and adoption of common standards regarding migration management[75] (Widgren 1989:60; Channac 2002; Thouez, Channac 2006). Most of the RCPs have been 'externally driven', with secretariats, funding and training provided by outside states of the RCP region. The migrant receiving and sending states of the Eurasian migration

---

[73] The first RCP was created with a permanent secretariat to initially facilitate the information sharing regarding asylum, and now increasingly in relation to migration.

[74] Though until recently, many solutions to migration problems had been considered mainly on a bilateral and national basis, now governments gradually becoming aware of the fact that solutions can be found on the global and regional levels, despite persistent differences in perceptions and interests among countries. One of the reasons of the proliferation of RCPs is regionalization of intergovernmental cooperation in most parts of the world. Many of the early RCPs such as the Budapest Process, the RCM, and the IGC emerged sui generis, as they were initiatives of the participating states

[75] RCPs rapidly spread across most regions of the world in the last two decades (Thouez, Channac 2006:371). For example the Regional Consultative Mechanism (RCM) for Central America, Mexico, the United States; the Budapest Process for Eastern Europe; the Bali Process for Australia and South-East Asian states; the Colombo Process; the Abu Dhabi Process; the Mediterranean '5 plus 5' Process; the International Dialogue on Migration in Southern Africa (MIDSA). (Betts 2011; Hansen 2010, Koehler 2011; Nielsen 2007)

system belong mainly to the Budapest, the CIS and the Prague Regional Consultative Processes. They have, to a certain extent different and to a certain extent overlapping, goals and topics that are generally determined by the organizing international organizations in close discussion with participating states. These processes provide a structure for the discussion of migration and, within their framework, activities are no longer ad hoc but organized. The established priorities regarding R-policies are discussed within RCPs (Kopenfels 2001: 79). The role of international organizations (IOs) in the establishment of RCPs and serving as secretariat, organizer, chair and neutral facilitator is very important (e.g. IOM, UNHCR, OSCE, and ICMPD).[76] For instance, the UN High Commission for Refugees had a significant role cooperating with Russian Federation in early 1990s to develop the CIS Conference on migration into a RCP process that lasted more than a decade.

The *CIS Conference Process* was initiated by the Russian Federation in 1995 when a special conference on migration was called in the face of fear of mass migration from other CIS states and with the hope that Western European states, likewise fearing the CIS migration, would assist them. The first cause of creating

---

[76] The four stage model is used as an analytical tool to explain the development of regional processes: i) to address issues of concern in a cooperative regional forum; ii) to use a common language; iii) to create a list of common goals; and iv) to shift toward a more operational process (Kopenfels 2001:61). States taking part in RCPs are referred to as 'participating states' and not 'member states', however they do have admission requirements and request nation states to share information and be amenable to participating in exercises, such as technical cooperation (Kopenfels 2001:69). RCPs do not require membership fees for all participants, generally relying on the support of one or more financially strong participants.

the CIS process was Russia's willingness to develop a new mechanism of migration management, previously not existent in the USSR. The United Nations High Commission for Refugees instigated the process, and other CIS States were invited to join the initial meetings. All of the states shared their concerns and issues related to migration and its management in the post-Soviet region. The CIS Conference developed into a process when various Western European and other nations indicated interest, and the UNHCR, OSCE and IOM began a series of cooperative meetings aiming at capacity building in issues of border control, visa approximation, and others (Kopenfels 2001:72).[77] CIS Conference Process is a good example of how a process of regionalization as "the growth of societal integration within a region and … the often-undirected process of socio-economic interaction or the growth of migration within a region as an issue of some concern" was a prerequisite for RCP creation (Hurrell 1997:39). The post-Soviet states joined forces to address issues of concern to all parties once migration related interactions within this region developed to a certain extent (Kopenfels 2001:73). The CIS Conference Process achieved good results during its 10-year function in integrating CIS countries and ended in 2005. It had 12 member states (all but three

---

[77] The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Antonio Guterres reported in his concluding speech of the last meeting of the CIS Process in 2005: "In the mid-1990s, the organizers of the CIS Conference recognized that the nature of displacement and forced migration problems in the region were such that they affected the stability of the broader neighborhood. UNHCR, IOM and OSCE initiated and supported a multilateral dialogue among a number of actors, including Governments and NGOs, to identify problems and solutions. This resulted in the development of a comprehensive and forward-looking regional approach to assist the newly independent countries. The Council of Europe subsequently became a fourth lead agency, and NGO lead agencies also came forward to help guide the process". http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/admin/opendoc.htm?tbl=ADMIN&id=434e20de4

Baltic States of the former Soviet Union) and 36 observer states. The new interlocutors that joined the scene (by the time the CIS Process was ending) incorporating the post-Soviet states included the Soderkoping Cross Border Cooperation Process and the European Neighborhood Policy involving the EU's eastern border. The IOM's consultative and technical Joint Consultations on Migration and the Budapest Process also redirected their activities towards the CIS region after 2005.

The *Budapest Process* that was initiated in 1991 differed from the CIS Conference Process (1995) as it has added incentive of the presence of the EU accession. The Budapest Process serves as a vehicle to further the EU acquis-adaptation process and it had a somewhat slower start, first agreeing upon a general list of action areas (second stage) in 1993 and then issuing a list of recommendations (third stage) in 1997. The 55 recommendations began with a list of goals intended to achieve information exchange and regional dialogue, including specific technical recommendations of an operational nature (fourth stage). The 55 recommendations planned to be moved in sequence, "from agreement upon definitions to seminars to simple operational elements and then to more involved operational activities"[78] (Kopenfel 2001:77). The needs of the participating states and information exchange affected the time spent developing these recommendations. It took the Budapest Process nine years to move from its initial

---

[78] …thus giving each State a clear map of where the Process intended to go and permitting them to act accordingly

meeting to the fourth stage of development (operational activities). The CIS Conference Process, on the other hand, achieved meaningful progress by developing means for addressing the different migration flows in the region. It is the only RCP to have conducted an evaluation of its progress enabling organizers and participants to determine successes and failures. It revealed that implementation was a key problem. CIS evaluation reports also demonstrated that the Program of Action was perhaps over ambitious in its initial goals (Kopenfel 2001:77). While the CIS Conference Process, aside from implementation being limited by finances, appears to have taken on too much in its 1996 Program of Action, the Budapest Process offers an alternative and effective means of determining goals. The information from these regional processes is used as a point of departure to determine the initial interaction and connections between states and organizations in this large regional migration policy network, starting from mid-1990s. [79] Inter-organizational (state and non-state) networks at the

---

[79] Based on descriptive uses of the networks as *interest intermediation, they* vary along several dimensions and range from (a) 'policy communities' in one extreme to (b) 'issue networks' in another (Rhodes 2006: 428). A policy community has a limited number of participants with some groups consciously excluded. There is frequent and high quality interaction between members, as well as consistency in values and membership. There is also a consensus with the ideology, values, and broad policy preferences shared by all participants. Policy community's exchange relationships are based on all members of the policy community controlling some resources. The basic interaction involves bargaining between members with resources and balance of power based on positive-sum game. The structure is hierarchical guaranteeing compliant members by the leaders. Issue networks, on the other hand, have many participants, interaction and access to various members fluctuate, presence of conflict and consensus is absent, and interactions are based on consultation rather than negotiation or bargaining. Power relationship is not equal in which many participants have few resources, little access, and no alternative (Rhodes 2006: 428). The second descriptive use of networks, as *governance,* focuses on the analysis of the *sharing of power* between public and private actors, most commonly between business, trade unions, and the

national and regional levels help us to identify and study interactions among all significant migration policy actors.

3.1.1. Organizational State Model (OSM)

In mid-1995, as a result of the organized interests increasingly integrating into the migration-policymaking process and organizations' greater sophistication in obtaining/utilizing political resources, the new hybrid governing structures emerged within the Eurasian migration system. The central methodology of the organizational state model is the measurement of information and resource exchanges that connect politically active organizations within migration policy networks[80] of a given migrant-sending state (Knoke et al. 1996). These actors include government ministries, professional societies, public interest groups, and international/regional/national migration-related state and non-state organizations. The organizational state model uncovers the socio-economic relationships of the

---

government in economic policy making (Atkinson and Coleman 1989, Jordan 1981). The studies of corporatism and pluralism (Cawson 1986; Rokkan 1966; Heisler 1979) labeled as 'the segmented state' (Olsen 1983:118) and the negotiated economy (Nielsen and Pedersen 1988) lead to research on governance by (and through) networks. Governance is broader term than government and the emphasis is on partnership and joined-up government, which entails coordination of multiplicity of interdependent actors in the long chains of actions typical of complex societies (Rhodes 2006: 430). Four types of governance are identified that challenge hierarchical model – *market, participation, flexible, and deregulated governance* (Peters 1996)

[80] A policy network is identified by: "A substantively defined criterion of mutual relevance or common orientation among a set of consequential actors concerned with formulating, advocating, selecting courses of action (policy options) that are intended to resolve the delimited substantive problems in question. It consists of 'only those actors that have common interests in certain types of public policies (but not identical preferences) who must take one another into account in their efforts to influence those policy decisions" (Knoke, Laumann 1982:256)

power-based network participants, providing detailed communication/resource exchanges between organizations and essential explanations about how resources flow from whom to whom within identified relational structures (Freeman, 1978; Goldsmith and Kettl, 2009; Jackson, 2008; Scott, 2007). They also explain the meaning of the sub-structures (coalition, clique) emerging from multiple interactions and transactions among various policy actors (Scott, Carrington 2011; Newman et al 2006; O'Toole 1997; Wasserman, Faust 1994; Coleman 1990; Pescosolido 1992). The OSM identifies formal organizations, not individuals, as central actors in the organizational state (Knoke 1996). Their participation in policymaking is based on rationality and elite individuals participate only as agents of the organizations. They pursue interests of the organization and its main constituents, seeking in those terms to minimize losses and secure more benefits for the organization, whether it is a state or non-state agency. All of them, coming together, fulfill the main function of the organizational state, namely, to produce collectively binding decisions on the R-policy prioritization. The organizational state perspective is a framework not only for the study of the relationships within the individual migration policy network, but also for comparison across networks.[81] It is particularly useful for the cross-comparison of the post-

---

[81] Organizational state perspective is inductively synthesized from the analysis of the US energy and health policy-making (Laumann and Knoke 1986, 87, 89). See more in David Knoke et al. *Comparing Policy Networks*, Chapter 1. Cambridge University Press 1996

Soviet states with the similar institutional legacies, but varied prioritized R-policies influenced by regional supra-, inter- and non-governmental organizations.

It is through inter-organizational coalitions/alliances that policymaking organizations realize their policy interests on R-policy prioritization. Yet often overtime, certain organizations lose their influence over decision-making depending on the organization's intensity of effort. Sustaining alliances/coalitions is costly, as they should be continually reconstituted with new members due to limited attention and resources. In order to gain an advantage on issues of interest, organizations pool their resources and coordinate their influence leading to coalition formation with other organizations that have the same R-policy preference. Only those organizations that have interests in 3R-policy make up a migration policy network, but they do not have to have identical preferences. Migration policy actors/organizations must take each other into account in their efforts to influence the R-policy prioritization. Burstein (1991) argues that organizations construct a common culture regarding how society should and how it does work and migration policy networks develop a "logically coherent substantive or functional basis for framing its policies".

Migration policy network boundaries are not necessarily synonymous with formal state ministries and they are not legally recognized entities with clear-cut criteria and enforced by central authority (Knoke et al. 1996:9; Laumann et al. 1983). 3R-migration policy network analysis within the post-Soviet migration system identifies the degree of a given organization's involvement in formulating

specific policy, and its analytic elements – migration policy actors, interests, power

structure and collective actions – are provided in below Table 5.

Table 5: The component parts of migration policy network in Post-Soviet states [82]

ANALYTIC ELEMENTS	PRESENCE in POST-SOVIET MIGRATION POLICY NETWORKS
POLICY ACTORS/organizations:	
Interest Groups	IOM, PEA, ILO, WB, EU, FMSRF, UNHCR, MSS Ministries and agencies, ETF, SIDA, domestic NGOs, etc.…
Peak state and non-state organizations	IOM-CO, EU ENP, WB (other quasi-official advisory bodies) MSS Migration Ministry/Agency, Official Migration Advisory Councils, Regulators
POLICY INTERESTS	
Subfield Issues Events	Broad area of focal concern: labor migration General/substantive matters: return, recruitment, remittances Negotiations, consultations, trainings/technical as-t, capacity building
POWER RELATIONS	
Information exchange (communication) Resource exchange (financial support)	Ideas, data, strategies, advice, trainings Funds, facilities, tangible resources
DOMINANT COALITIONS	
Advocacy circles Action sets	Shared preference for a specific R-policy Active collaboration to produce favorable R-policy
COLLECTIVE ACTIONS	
Mobilization Publicity Lobbying	Coalition building, capacity building Mass media blitzes, targeted mailings Contacts with government officials

---

[82] The analytic elements are derived from Knoke et al.'s (1996) framework, Table 1.1 and I determined what represents these elements in the post-Soviet migration policy networks.

A specific combination of these components (in Table 5) locates specific sets of organizations into network positions possessing differential power. Their collective actions are targeted at the ultimate governmental policy decision makers within the sending states (Knoke 1996:11). An accurate description and analysis of a given migrant sending state's migration policy network's policy-making processes is provided through investigation of these components. Separate sections in chapters 5, 6, and 7 discuss power structure based on the configuration of these components within migration policy networks of that country-case. The following two sections will describe these basic components in details.[83]

3.1.1.1. Migration Policy Actors

The term policy actor indicates "any social entity able to pursue its goals in a unitary manner" (Knoke et al. 1996:11). The strengths of individual policymakers are magnified through formal, unified organizations enabling them to coordinate their actions in an attempt to affect the outcome of policy decisions. Within a given migrant-sending state's policy network, tens or even up to one hundred, organizations related to issues of migration express some interest in policy concerns, but very few make discernable impacts. We observe only at the level of

---

[83] The 'jointly occupied positions' within the networks will be described briefly here and analyzed in much more details within advocacy coalition framework in empirical part which identifies the role of advocacy circles and action sets in policy outputs.

organization the ways how sufficient resources are mobilized, as organizations continuously monitor the policy activities and effectively intervene in collective decisions within a network.[84] The power of migration policy actors/organizations lies on maintaining an on-going physical presence at the geographic sites where migration policy related decisions are made. Organizations' presence ensures that they communicate interests and intentions to decision-makers, allies, and opponents, and have an impact on other players. These functions are usually beyond the capacity of single individuals, although in some instances an individual policymaker's power gains importance and influence. The non-state supra, inter- and intra-regional organizations are deeply involved in policy-making processes. When organizations ignore the preferences of some specific organization, it undoubtedly lacks standing within the network. Some of the common policy actors for all the states within the Eurasian migration system are the EU (Neighborhood Policy and Mobility Partnership), IOM, World Bank, UNHCR, ILO, Russian Federal Migration Service, ETF, and some experienced migrant-sending states. The policy interests of these and many other migration policy actors/organizations vary and serve as orientation towards specific preferred ends. To identify the relatively small number of policy network's 'movers and shakers' we use this analysis drawing the boundary between core and peripheral organizations. For instance, in the case of Moldova, the EU, and in the case of Tajikistan the IOM and its consultants from

---

[84] These individual migration policy actors give up control over the use of their resources once they pool those resources together for coordinated actions within the network (Coleman, 1973b).

other migrant-sending states, are the 'movers and shakers' of the decision of the R-policy prioritization.

3.1.1.2. Migration Policy Interests and Power Relations

When organizations have interest in a specific R-policy within the Eurasian migration system, then interests of the organizations are demonstrated in different levels that can be classified as *subfield interests* and *3R-policy issue interests.* The subfield interest requires understanding of each of the subfields within the migration policy domain. There are several specialized subfields in the migration policy domain, such as refugee, labor migration, human smuggling and travel. The subfield of interest for this study is labor migration. A labor migration policy subfield is contained within the migration policy domain, and in turn, this subfield contains specific relevant issues (Knoke et al.1996: 14). Migration organizations' interests in the subfield are measured only if those interests are related to labor migration.

To study the influence over R-policy prioritization, it is important to focus on the *issue interests.* The issue interests are broadly characterized set of substantive matters, i.e. *recruitment* of labor migrants in foreign labor market, use of labor migrants' *remittances* for investments, and *return/readmission* of the labor migrants. These R-issues are contained within the labor migration subfield. An 'issue' is primarily framed "by policy domain actors at fairly abstract levels that identify the salient problems believed to require policy decision, but do not stipulate what course (s) of action should be taken" (Knoke 1996:14). Issues are not framed

in terms of specific plans of action, although they may lead to concrete policy proposals. It is sufficient for the issues to just have a short descriptive label to identify it for interested actors and sometimes, two or all three R-issues can be bundled, linked together and aggregated into one.

Organizations are classified into *specialist* and *generalists* based on their interests across different 3R-issues. The generalists are those 3R-migration policy related organizations that have a broad portfolio of issue interests, with high levels of concern spanning numerous substantive issues, i.e. all 3Rs. Specialists concentrate their interests and efforts on one narrowly defined issue (example: return) (Hannan & Freeman, 1977). For characterizing the organizations' interest structures within the migration policy network, both the distribution of interests in a single R-issue and the profile of organizational interests across all 3R issues are important (Knoke et al. 1996:15). Some organizations in migration policy network develop and promote R-issue favorable to them and resemble the issue entrepreneurs, while other organizations are either reactive or passive in their responses. Thus degree of interest is the core relationship linking actors to R-issues and measured through the level of involvement. Organizations may have strong, weak or no interests in a particular R-issue and the policy proposal might have an impact on the organization's fate. The organizations' interests in subfield (labor migration), in issues (recruitment, return and remittances), as well as in events (R-policy prioritization consultations, negotiations, technical assistance, and training of the MSS officials) shape *power relations* within migration policy

networks. The usual beginning of the migration policy process is linked with organizations' efforts to attach an R-issue to specific incidents or conditions in a larger society.[85]

For instance, the *European Union* Association Agreements and Mobility Partnerships meant to provide a comprehensive forum between MRS and MSS for managing different migration related issues. They make the EU the front-runner in linking migration related norms to economic agreements with migrant-sending states (Kunz et al. 2011:10). The EU Mobility Partnerships are signed between the willing EU member-states, the European Commission and a migrant-sending state. The EU MP establishes multilevel structure integrating commitments in migration management by EU member-states into memoranda of understanding signed between the EU and migrant-sending states. The EU MP also establishes structures for dialogue and interaction, including policy transfer activities such as capacity building and cooperation (Kunz et al 2010:11). The Readmission Agreements are concluded with the migrant sending states within this framework that call these states to return their own and third country nationals back. Some scholars are very skeptical about the promises advanced by the EU Mobility Partnerships (Carrera, Hernandez 2010). Analyzing the kind of circular labor migration policies the EU Mobility Partnerships advocate, those arrangements are

---

[85] Policy events at this stage, which was in mid 1990s for these post-Soviet MSS, most closely resembled a garbage can when many actors hope to ride a winning issue and many suggestions trying to latch onto sponsoring actors. In this stage, as Kingdon (1984) put it, those particular policy proposals that slipped through the very narrow windows of opportunity to the next stage were more a matter of luck and timing than a merit.

described as 'security' partnerships that ignore liberty and security of migrant workers. Lavenex and Stucky (2010) argue that EU MPs repackage the EU's prevalent security based approach to migration, while their use of conditionality in external relations illustrates that it is significant only for division of competencies between EU institutions and the member states over immigration policy. The EU is considered as an advocate for return and readmission of migrants. Though it argues about the readmission of irregular migrants, the definition of irregular is very vague and varies among various EU member states.

On the other hand, there are two *World Bank* research reports influential in shaping the global migration management agenda, articulating the contribution of low-skilled migrants to poverty reduction through increased remittances to migrant-sending states. The first is the Global Economic Prospects (GEP) report on *Economic Implications of Remittances and Migration* published in 2006. The second is the Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM) report, *Migration in an interconnected world: New directions for actions,* published in 2005. Two points that the reports highlight made significant contributions to migration policy making worldwide. The GEP 2006 report suggests that increasing low skilled emigration from developing countries should be promoted via managed migration programs between the receiving and sending states through a combination of temporary migration of low-skilled workers[86] (Kuptsch and Martin 2011:43). The

---

[86] With incentives to return

GCIM report highlights carefully designed temporary migration's need for the "well regulated liberalization of the global labor market" (2005). But the World Bank shapes the agenda on policies related to recruitment of labor migrants only through its research and assessments of different factors in developing countries' labor markets, etc. It is motivated by the potential of the migrants' remittances to engender development and has emerged as a new migration policy actor specializing in remittance regulations.[87] The WB is in favor of labor migrants' recruitment abroad with high emphasis on circular migration and positive impact of remittances on development. It works on the strategies of channeling the remittances into the economic development of the migrant sending states too. It is one of the important organizations active in the Eurasian migration system for information sharing and communication links and it is influential based on the degree of its information exchanges.

International Organization for Migration (IOM)'s operational activities encompasses four broad fields of migration management: migration and development, facilitating migration, regulating migration, and forced migration. IOM began as a logistic organization whose predecessor - the Provisional Intergovernmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe (PICMME) - was established in 1951. The Constitution of the ICEM (Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, substituted PICMME in

---

[87] Christina Gabriel and Helene Pellerin ed, Governing International Labor Migration: current issues, challenges and dilemmas. Routledge 2008.

1952) stated that it intended to promote increased migration from Europe "by providing, at the request of and in agreement with the Governments concerned, services in the processing reception, first placement and settlement of migrants" (Kuptsch and Philip Martin 2011:43). With the expansion of the activities of the Committee, it changed its constitution and was recognized as the IOM in 1989. The IOM deals increasingly with labor migration, including low-skilled migrants, and helps governments to negotiate bilateral agreements on temporary labor migration by assisting with MoUs and helping with migrant selection for temporary programs [88] (Kuptsch, Martin 2011). It is in favor of increasing labor migration abroad and is a pro-recruitment advocate.

In general, the RCP model served both as a forum for dialogue and as a means through which models of 'best practice' and capacity building have been disseminated from migrant-receiving states to migrant-sending states. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) played a significant role as an intermediary in disseminating the RCP model throughout the world. The increasing number of crosscutting bilateral relationships emerged, for instance, within the Budapest, the Prague and the CIS Processes connecting states and organizations across Eurasian and European migration systems. To take an example of the EU and the post-Soviet non-EU region, the EU has developed a so-called Global Approach and European Neighborhood Partnership within which it initiated

---

[88] See Compendium of Good Practices Policy Elements in Bilateral Temporary Labor Arrangements, GFMD 2008

agreements with third countries cutting across three migration areas: circular migration, migration and development, and irregular migration (Nellen-Stucky 2011, Kunz et al. 2011). In the meantime, many individual EU member-states have developed bilateral partnerships with preferred sending states in areas ranging from recruitment to readmission.

International Labor Organization (ILO) and *the United Nations (UN)* are also peak organizations in the Eurasian migration system that set the agenda regarding 3R-migration policies. The ILO is a tripartite body consisting of representatives of employers, workers, and governments that is mandated to protect migrant workers. There are two ILO principles that are important in the management of the low-skilled migration: ILO Convention 97 (1949) and 143 (1975). The ILO is an organization that is most active in negotiating, implementing, and monitoring the enforcement of international norms that regulate low-skilled migrants' employment (Kuptsch and Philip Martin 2011:37). The bedrock principle of Convention 97 is equality of treatment, and it aims to protect migrants and ensure equal treatment for them by encouraging states to sign bilateral agreements that are envisioned to be relatively detailed. The agreements should spell out:

> the terms under which workers can cross national borders for employment, the procedures for private and public recruitment having labor-sending and receiving governments exchange information on migration policies and regulations, foster cooperation between public and private agencies, so that employers have accurate information on the migrant workers they hire and migrants have complete information on wages and working conditions abroad (Kuptsch and Philip Martin 2011:37).

The second ILO migrant specific Convention is 143 (1975), which deals (in part 1) with migration that occurs in abusive conditions and (in part 2) with equality

of opportunity and treatment and the integration of settled migrants. Convention 97 has been ratified by 48 states and Convention 143 ratified by 23 states. Migrant-receiving states are mostly reluctant to ratify these conventions because some of their provisions conflict with their national legislation (e.g. Article 14 a of Convention 143 requires that migrants have a right to occupational mobility, while most receiving states tie migrants to particular employers). Those who do ratify the Conventions make exceptions for jobs dominated by migrants like farms and maids so that these are excluded from national laws on minimum wages (Kuptsch and Philip Martin 2011:38).

The *United Nations* Convention of December 1990, which came into force in July 2003, is an International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families (8 Parts, 93 Articles) that was ratified by 40 net-emigration states. The UN Convention is built on the ILO Conventions and aims to "contribute to the harmonization of the attitudes of States through the acceptance of basic principles concerning the treatment of migrant workers and members of their families" (Preamble). Rights-based multilateral framework, which was called upon in ILO 2004 Conference, calls for expanding avenues for regular migration, suggesting that labor migration will not be a transitional phenomenon. It asks governments to assess their needs for foreign workers by sector and occupation in order to introduce temporary worker schemes "to fill shortages in specific sectors" (Kuptsch and Philip Martin 2011:39). The eight guidelines based on the ILO Conventions 97 and 143, and the UN Convention deal

with labor recruiters and brokers, calling for a licensing system, posting of bonds, and contracts that offer them legitimate jobs abroad. In contradiction with many other guidelines on integration and equality of opportunity, however, the migration and development guidelines call for encouraging circular and return migration and reintegration in sending states (Kuptsch and Philip Martin 2011:41). The ILO Conventions, Multilateral Framework, as well as the UN Convention erect some of the obligations of the governments that should protect low-skilled labor migrants, but their effect is limited to some middle-income countries that are in the process of establishing regulatory systems on international migration (Kuptsch and Philip Martin 2011:41).[89]

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)'s *International Migration Outlook 2008* concludes that more low-skilled labor migration across borders is good, however, temporary migration should be for temporary jobs. The number of temporary migrant workers (majority low-skilled) is three times higher than that entering on permanent basis. Some temporary jobs being seasonal jobs during harvest or tourist seasons attract temporary migrant workers in and out. But these workers most of the time are different people and

---

[89] Many migrants are employed in countries that offer relatively low wages and few rights, suggesting that they are willing to accept unfavorable conditions in exchange for an employment opportunity abroad. Migrants' self-exploitation can also increase the number of migrants and reduce their rights. The migrant-sending states are more likely to ask for post-admission tests and work with the special interests of employers within the receiving country, rather than giving support for pre-admission tests and receiving government strengthening of visa and work permit procedures.

employers have to retrain them instead of retaining experienced staff. Economic rationality should prevail over artificial or badly designed regulations, argued Angel Gurria, OECD Secretary General (Kuptsch and Martin, 2011: 44).

The *United Nations Development Program* (UNDP) has just recently started its operational activities in the field of labor migration through its involvement in global migration governance. It is the leading agency in the "Delivering as One" initiative launched in 2008 that supports local authorities and civil society seeking to contribute to linking migration and development. The Human Development Report by the UNDP in 2009 was about migration contributing to the research in this field. [90] This description of the World Bank and the OECD suggests that they promote the best practices of labor migrant recruitment based on an increase of temporality and circularity conditioned by migrant return. The International Labor Organization is more influential in setting the agenda of labor migrant recruitment policy and practices. The following sections discuss how all policy actors and organizations, considering their interests on R-policy, influence the coalition building for R-policy prioritization of migrant-sending states in the post-Soviet region. The influence and domination are identified within the migration policy network by looking at the power relations determined through centrality measures.

Power, in relational terms, is a phenomenon that has two main aspects. The first aspect is "the *capacity* of some organizations to produce intended or foreseen

---

[90]   See www.migration4development.org; http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr2009/

effects on others" (Wrong 1979:2). The second aspect of power is based on the *control* of highly valued scarce material and intangible *resources* by specific actors/organizations (Knoke et al 1995:73). No matter whether another organization resists or consents, power occurs in an instance of one organization obtaining another organization's obedience to a command. Policy network analysis describes power through networks of exchange relations, as the exercise of power requires interactions between organizations, whether force is needed or voluntary assent is present (Knoke et al. 1996:18). An organization's ultimate objectives in pursuing exercise of power are to make as many other organizations prioritize R-policy that it wants.

Power-dependence is a theoretical lens in the policy network analysis that is designed to uncover power relations among the core migration policy network organizations (Rhodes 1997a; Scharpf 1999). Those organizations that *control* the highly valued resources have control over migration policy outcomes, irrespective of their specific exercise of inter-organizational control (Alford and Friedland 1975). Resourceful organizations, usually through exchanges, *coordinate* collective action toward the achievement of their preferred migration policy objectives leading to negotiated consensus, as well as exchange these resources in return for obedience to their commands. Migration policy organizations have different levels of capacities to gain access to resources important for getting prioritized R-policy. The stable sub-networks or coalitions emerge as a result of these differences.

Migration policy organizations' locations near the center or on the peripheries of policy network spaces represent unequal positional advantages, which depend on access to resources and their exchange. Migration policy organizations that are well connected to important other organizations gain, through their access to political resources, important advantages. While other organizations' ties are mainly connected to other peripheral actors, that cannot get sufficient quantities of resources in order to effectively participate in collective action (Knoke et al 1996:18). Coalitions emerge as a result of *resource exchange* and *information exchange* within migration policy network. Resources are defined as all physical commodities, control over which can be transferred from one organization to another, for example facilities, labor power, money, technical assistance, project funding, grants, etc. Information is an intangible asset, "whose transmission from one organization to another does not result in its loss to the first possessor" (Knoke et al 1996:19). Any legal, scientific or political knowledge can be transmitted from one to another without the fear of loss.

Those peak migration policy organizations (such as the ILO, EU, UNHCR, IOM, WB, FMS RF) that control scarce resources have ready impact on migration system's actions, especially if those resources are unavailable from alternative organizations. The major migration policy organizations' positions are considered to be targets for needy ones that seek essential symbolic/material rewards. These powerful organizations produce collective ends through the resource controllers that reward others' cooperation or punish their resistance. The two basic types of

network power relations, *influence* and *domination,* are based on the results of *information* and *resource* exchanges accordingly (Knoke 1990b, 1992a, 1996). Influence is a "persuasive communications intended to change others beliefs and perceptions regarding political actions", and domination is defined as "transactions of physical benefits (or harms) in return for compliance with commands" (Knoke et al 1996:19). [91] The influential organization gains its influence, based on the strength of communication/information exchanges. The policy organization is dominant compared to others if it has achieved more transactions of physical benefits than other organizations within the network. These influential/dominant organizations are not necessarily exclusively state institutions.[92] To determine the outcome, which R-policy would be prioritized, we should consider organizations' positions in already-existing resource and information exchange networks, as various coalitions among organizations arise to undertake coordinated political actions to further their 'best practice'. Based on the suggested 'best practices' of the abovementioned organizations that are considered to be peak organizations in both Eurasian and European migration systems, the following hypotheses can be suggested:

---

[91] In analytic power classifications this differentiation between intangible and physical resources is recurrent. Different scholars differentiate between different types of resources in analysis of power (French and Raven 1959, Broadbent 1986, Clark 1968, Laumann and Pappi 1976) ranging from 6 up to 13 power resources.

[92] This is despite the fact that governmental agencies normally possess enormous resource stocks (such as their formal legal authority over collective decisions).

Hypothesis 1:

If *the IOM, ILO and/or other migrant-sending state(s) are dominant* in the migration policy network of a given MSS*,* then migrant *recruitment policy is prioritized* in a given MSS

Hypothesis 2:

If *the EU migrant-receiving state(s)* enter the migration policy network as an advocacy coalition and become dominant*,* then the *policy of return/readmission of migrants is prioritized* in a given MSS

Hypothesis 3:

If the World Bank and/or the migrant-sending state itself are dominant in its own migration policy network*,* then the *policy of remittance is prioritized* in a given MSS

The relationship between the type of advocacy coalitions and the type of

R-policy prioritized in a given migrant-sending state is summarized in below

Table.

Table 6: Proposed relationship between the type of an advocacy coalition and a prioritized R-policy

Type of Advocates	*Type of prioritized R-policy*
IOM and/or ILO, and/or other MSSs	Recruitment
EU based state/non-state organizations	Return/Readmission
World Bank and/or MSS itself	Remittance

The power structure of a given migrant sending state's migration policy network is classified into different types based on how the interests are mediated and on the degree of an existing conflict in power relations (Knoke 1996:19). Though there is a lack of definitive solutions to event definition and sampling, for this dissertation relatively large numbers of salient migration policy formulation events were gathered, such as consultations, negotiations, technical assistance and etc., based on the content analysis of the various documents. As was discussed above, in the network analysis language the identification of a coalition in a migration policy network is done defining the most important social structural formations through organizational interests, specific events, and exchange ties (Lorrain and White 1971, Burt 1976). The following coalitions (or clique, cluster) are likely to occur in the order of increasingly smaller size (Knoke et al. 1996).

The first coalition consists of three or more formal organizations who communicate directly or indirectly among themselves about policy matters and

who prefer the same outcome for that event. This subset is referred as 'advocacy circle' and is identical with the 'collective actor' of Laumann and Marsden (1979).[93] For an advocacy circle to be called as such, it should have at least three member organizations where its members all support the 'pro' outcome for that decision (i.e. pro-return) and a second advocacy circle which would prefer the 'con' outcome. The smallest subset of policy organizations has a restricted scope and consists of the smaller number of organizations out of advocacy circles who consciously coordinate their policy influence activities and are referred to as a*ction sets* (Knoke and Pappi 1991, 1996). At this structural formation stage group cohesion is essential, because if communication channels are weak and disjointed, then more than one action set in favor of the same policy may emerge. For an action set to be cohesive, all its members should be directly or indirectly linked together in communication of other networks, prefer the same migration policy outcomes for the event, and jointly engage in lobbying or other policy influencing activities/events. In general, a more typical case of emergence of action sets within the policy event (consultations, negotiations, meetings, technical assistance provision, and training of the officials) is two opposing sides arguing for prioritization of different R-migration policy issues for a given migrant-sending state.

---

[93] Though the concept of advocacy circle is identical to Laumann and Marsden (1979)'s 'collective actor' and Knoke and Pappi (1991), but it is a more descriptively accurate term and is similar to Sabatier's (1988) concept of 'advocacy coalition'.

3.1.1.3. Measuring inter-organizational power dependency in migration policy network

Migration policy change, first and foremost, is the result of the changes in power structure within a given migration policy network. Power dependency and the ways of interactions of organizations are measured through various dimensions of 'cohesion' and 'centrality' in network analysis. These measures shed light on the overall management structure and policymaking process within policy networks. Looking at organizational reputation, information/resource exchanges, and advocacy-coalition building capacity we can reveal the multiplex patterns connecting periphery and core clusters of organizations. The analysis of the power structure of migration policy networks is done through conceptualization of power by deriving important dimensions of power relationships.

It is important to distinguish organizations with an authority and organizations with an access to power. One actor's access to another is identified when it uses direct or indirect contacts to obtain approval for its R-policy prioritization proposal. Once all the organizations with authority are identified, that is organizations with legitimate ability to make binding decisions, it will be possible to investigate which organizations have power via access to the authorities. This approach of the delineation of the power structure of the migration policy does not rely on an individual actor's characteristic, for example whether an actor possesses formal authority, but solely on network relations (eigenvector). Moreover, in institutional settings like migration policy networks, "authority is a scarce resource

to which powerful actors must have access in order to reach their objectives in collective decisions" (Knoke et al. 1996:191).

The next power structure dimension is observed through information/ communication exchanges or within a so-called *access network*. In this scenario, actors enjoying better or broader access are the more powerful ones (measured via eigenvector). Some organizations can be considered to have influence due to their linkages with the most powerful actor in the policy network rather than being linked with many less powerful actors. It looks at two types of organizations in the network matrix, one granting access in the rows and others seeking access in the columns. Then the matrix of confirmed information exchange is constructed to derive the *latent access* dimension of power networks.

The *lead organizations,* for instance those mentioned in the region, are included in the subset of actors looking at the specific roles played by them. Those actors that do not have any authority are *common organizations*, it is possible to consider migrant-sending states organizations as such, as they do not have previous experience of migration management to build on in order to show the authority in migration policymaking in the region. It is not sufficient to rely on a bipartite network of just the contacts between lead and common organizations, because leading organizations can improve their power position through their access to other leading organizations, and common organizations gain access to lead organizations through intermediaries (brokers) who are also common organizations or in some cases international organizations with less resources. To

separate the lead and common organizations, one cannot use having a role of authority as an attribute. Therefore, it is necessary to examine the whole network that includes all migration network organizations irrespective of their authority roles. After organizations and their interests are defined, the optimal measurement of power in migration policy networks is identified.[94]

Power dimension is also present in some forms of *bargaining*. Bargaining is asymmetric (one actor has more power than others) in the case of concentration, and symmetric in the case of fragmented power distribution. Similarly, Adam and Kriese (2007) distinguish between horizontal and hierarchical cooperation. Identification of the precise form of the structure of migration policy network requires analysis of the component parts of policy network framework. Each organization can acquire resources from its support system, and an organization's number of contacts matters as with more contacts offering money, information, and moral support they have potentially greater access to resources of those partners than an organization with fewer such connections (measured through 'in-degree centrality'). On the other hand, the organization's resource-dependents—to which it sends money, information, and support—are also potential sources of resources

---

[94] One good example would be the fact that valuable R migration policy information may be exchanged for another valuable domain policy information, but it can also be traded with other influence resources, such as political money etc. the complete enumeration of the important power resources and their prices or exchange rates is needed by the analyst, as well as data gathering on exchange offers that were not accepted by more powerful organizations. It is not an easy task to measure power in exchange networks, as exchanged resources can be very different. Cook (1990:120) doubts that the concept of directionality of ties in exchange networks is meaningful. Knoke et al. contend that some imbalances can be built into actual exchange networks, especially when the analyst has to take into account more than one potential power source

that could be obtained calling in the political debts (out-degree centrality). R-policy prioritization depends on the *resources* that actors control and the intensity of the organizations' *interests* in various policy events. In a political elite system, mutual trust is essential for a pair of organizations in direct exchange with one another, and resource exchanges are more likely to take place only through well-established communication networks comprised of direct and indirect connections (closeness centrality). *Brokerage relations* may play a critical role in bringing potential exchange partners together (measured via 'betweenness centrality') (Knoke et al 1996:28).

Due to some encountered difficulties in obtaining all the necessary information about these aspects of exchange networks to measure power, other measurements of power are added: i) resource/*information exchange*, and ii) *coalition-building capacity.* Power as "a latent dimension of all networks or at least of those with asymmetric or directed relations" can be operationalized and measured through *resource dependency* relationships (Knoke et al. 1996:190). Questions are asked in regards to financing, project funding, technical assistance, etc. to gauge to what extent once social actor has in exerting control over the other's behavior (Knoke 1990b). The answers to the questions related to reputation and resource dependency are found both through content analysis of the documents and semi-structured questionnaire.

Two matrices of *resource/information exchanges* and organizational reputation are put together to identify the cluster of migration domain organizations

that all system participants perceive as especially influential. The influential organizations jointly occupy the center of the confirmed information exchange network in each migrant-sending state, in the sense that they send and receive valuable information from other positions. But whether these organizations in the center are unified in terms of migration policymaking preferences is an open question. It is important to understand if they usually agree on R-policy or are divided into two or more subgroups or advocacy coalitions concerning their policy preferences. Until the final collective decision is reached in the policy formulation phase, these small organizations must negotiate compromises and concessions. Power is an ability to achieve one's objectives in collective decisions, but the organization should not only be considered powerful because it shares policy preferences with really powerful organizations. Action sets or coalition building capacity of the organizations is another network power structure dimension, in a sense that less-powerful organizations can always build coalitions with other organizations that share their preferences concerning R-policy prioritization and work together to influence the outcome (see Knoke et al.1996: 193). Joint analysis of these power structure dimensions—resource/information exchange and action-set coalition building capacity—provides us with the operationalization of the Emerson and Cook's *power dependency* theory. It means "actors acquire power

to the extent that others depend on them to supply desired resources" (Knoke et al. 1996).[95]

The concepts of network *centralization/cohesion* describe the level of overall power distribution—decentralization—throughout a given network structure at a macro level (measured through fragmentation, density, connectivity) (Wasserman and Faust, 1994; Freeman, 1978). The concepts of network *centrality* describe the importance of organizations at the micro-tier in terms of their structural roles and functions in a given network (measured through degree, betweenness, closeness) (Jackson, 2008; Scott, 2007; Wasserman and Faust, 1994; Freeman, 1978). Three measures of network centralization—degree, closeness, and betweenness—are used for the migration policy network analysis. 'Degree' indicates the *popularities* of certain or overall migration policy actors/organizations within a given MSS migration policy network; 'closeness' analyzes the *shortest path* or distance among certain or overall policy organizations in migration policy network; and 'betweenness' indicates the *bridging power* of certain or group of policy organizations in the network (Scott, 2007; Wasserman and Faust, 1994).

---

[95] The reputational network is understood as a resource dependence matrix where reputational differences indicate power imbalances. The power inequalities within a specific migration policy network can be overcome either by network extension or by coalition formation. However, interpreting a non-mutual reputation as an indicator of resource dependency overemphasizes the dependence aspect. Therefore, the organizational reputation matrix is interpreted at face value or as insiders' views of the power structure of a 3R-migration policy network.

The degree of dominance based on bargaining power and cooperation between competing advocacy coalitions is determined through distribution of power and types of interaction. The power structure can be pluralist, corporatist or clientelist considering the interest intermediation between the core and peripheral organizations. [96] The theoretical OSM and ACF perspectives are used for interpretation of the resulting structures. The images of the basic power structures within post-Soviet migration policy networks are generated utilizing clique/cluster analysis. The organizational state model (OSM) classifies these types of power structures as having interactions that are conflicting, bargaining and cooperative accordingly. Migrant-receiving (MRS), migrant-sending states (MSS), supra national, intergovernmental and regional organizations (IO) are normally found in confrontational coalitions. Corporatists argue that the peak organizations representing MRS and MSS negotiate compromised policies "to avoid political stalemate" (Knoke et al. 1996:194). For pluralists, the mechanism of integration of organizations' interests is based on crosscutting cleavages in a fragmented policy network. It creates the most conflictual type of interaction. In the clientelist system, relationships are patron-client based and have the highest level of cooperation. Migration policy actors utilize preexisting information and resource exchange networks in their efforts to influence specific events and organizations on each side of a particular migration policy event trying to increase the chances that these

---

[96] It offers also different subtypes such as, pressure pluralism, liberal corporatism, or additional type like clientelism (Knoke et al. 1996:194)

authorities will chose their preferred outcome instead of the other side's. The migration policy network structures are classified into different types based on a combination of two network dimensions — the basic *distribution of power* and the *type of interaction*. The following table (7) summarizes six possible types of migration policy network structures that affect the degree of dominance of organizations.

Table 7: Policy network structure and advocacy coalitions' degree of dominance

Distribution of Power	Types of interactions of advocacy coalitions		
	Conflict	*Bargaining*	*Cooperation*
Concentration	DOMINANCE	ASYMMETRIC BARGAINING	HIERARCHICAL COOPERATION
Fragmentation	COMPETITION	SYMMETRIC BARGAINING	HORIZONTAL COOPERATION

Source: Adam and Kriesi Figure 5.2 (2007:145)

The degree of dominance of the advocates is influenced by the policy network's capacity to mediate and often minimize the dominance of one organization (Marsh and Smith 2000:8). The conflictual interactions in a fragmented structure lead to competition between advocacy coalitions with different preferences over R-policies, while in concentrated network it leads to dominance of one organization. The bargaining process in concentrated network is asymmetric, but in fragmented network is symmetric. The cooperation is

hierarchical in the concentrated and highly centralized network, while it is likely to be horizontal cooperation in the fragmented network. The assumption for this to hold is that any migrant-sending states' first response to mass emigration of its nationals is either to do nothing, or to manage transfer of the remittances sent by labor migrants home, i.e. remittance policy prioritization. And the change from remittance prioritization to recruitment or return policy prioritization happens mainly when that migrant sending state is located within the network that allows one organization to be highly dominant. It can, through change in institutional capacity and resource transfers, advocate a new R-policy to substitute the existing or non-existing migration policy.

3.3. Policy Transfer Framework: Mechanism of R-migration policy prioritization

Collective actions of migration policy advocates can take the form of i) *mobilization* - freeing up and applying some of the resources held by the collaborating organizations aiming to make an R-policy to be prioritized; ii) *publicity*, expressing preferences over R-policy via the media to audiences, i.e. government officials, non-governmental organizations, general public or iii) *lobbying*, attempting to persuade governmental authorities to prioritize some R-policy. The most important targets of these actions, in any given migration policy network, are the relevant governmental officials who have the authority (customary or legal) to decide about R-policy prioritization, while the governmental officials push for different prioritized R-policy targeting other players through their actions

(Knoke et al. 1996).[97] Advocacy circle and action sets mobilize resources for prioritization of R-policy (Knoke et al. 1996:10). Out of the overall 100% organized organizations involved in the process of the R-policy prioritization, about 75% of the policymakers are advocacy circle organizations[98] and 25% are action set organizations[99]. In policy network comparisons the use of the metaphor of a funnel is illuminating, whereas the outflow of the funnel nears, fewer mobilized positions remain to carry on the specific migration policy fight (Knoke et al. 1996:24-25). As the R-policy prioritization moves over time towards a definitive collective resolution, the policymaking processes filter both the proposed R-policy alternatives and organizations occupying key network positions.

Most of the actors and advocates within the action set are representatives of state organizations and peak international/regional organizations. Many individual persons and organizations or collectivities (90%) lack structural interests in R-policy prioritization and most lack resources, including time, for effective participation, or simply disinterested and hence uninvolved. Organized interest

---

[97] Unfortunately, conceptualizing the total number of decision points across space and time that reflect the complete event process is not as easy as identifying and selecting elite migration related organizations. The purposive selection of only highly visible events where one can observe greater core actor participation is the most preferred sampling of events. However, this approach may lead to overemphasizing exciting rather than routine events and risks distorting real occurrence of policy participation.

[98] Smaller number of organizations out of advocacy circle, 'who consciously coordinate their policy influence activities' (Knoke and Pappi 1991, 1996).

[99] Three or more formal organizations within an event public, who communicate directly/indirectly among themselves about policy matters, who 'prefer the same outcome for that event.' (Knoke, Pappi 1991, 1996)

groups[100] are more likely to perceive that their interests are at stake in specific policy events. But interests are not the ultimate defining factor, as many organizations "have either narrow policy mandates or insufficient power resources to get involved in every collective actions" (Knoke et al. 1996:26). As the R-policy alternatives become more clearly defined, most of those with clear R-policy preferences are likely to choose sides, though more than half of them remain passive. Among organized interest groups on migration, the membership in an advocacy circle is fairly common, however few of them collaborate with others as action set partners.

Some of the peak interest organizations are mass membership organizations, such as the International Organization for Migration, International Labor Organization, United Nations High Commission for Refugees, while others are organizations with institutional members like the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, and the European Commission. A substantial number of the peak associations in the 3R-migration policy network belong to action sets. The ultimate decision-makers over R-policy prioritization are legislature and regulatory agencies (the institutional arenas) that all participate, as a final collective decision depends on them and is impossible without their action. They collaborate with peak regional organizations on prioritization outcome. The funnel metaphor also reflects

---

[100] For example, NGO 'Migration and Development' in Tajikistan

the temporal procession from earlier activities involving broad publics to later actions that are settled among a small number of key decision makers (See figure Appendix 2). [101]

The action set coalitions attempt to create convergence of R-policy priority in a given migrant sending state. And resources determine their capacity to change the existing R-policy depending on their degree of domination and influence (Sabatier and Jenkins 1993: 25-34). Organizations' set of causal assumptions on value priorities and their inter-organizational relations are central to understanding their actions, which are not necessarily motivated by rational self-interest (Rhodes 2006:16). The *advocacy coalition framework* (ACF) is very illuminating in identification of R-policy prioritization mechanism within a given post-Soviet migrant-sending state.

The *ACF,* [102] developed by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993), is an

---

[101] The success or failure of migration policy event fight depends on which side of the contest can activate enough power resources to overcome the advantages on the other side. Every stage of the funnel contributes to such resources: publicity and grassroots lobbying by interest groups, peak associations pour professional fundraisers and lobbyists into the offices of bureaucrats and politicians, while within the institutional arena itself lawmakers and regulators twist arms and trade support for their pet project proposals (Knoke et al. 1996: 26).

[102] Overview of the framework from *Policy change and learning: An advocacy coalition approach, edited by Paul A. Sabatier and Hank C. Jenkins-Smith. Westview Press 1993*

There is three approaches that seek to build the analysis of policy change into policy networks: *advocacy coalitions*, *the dialectical model*, and *decentered analysis* (Rhodes 2006:436). According to *dialectical model* of policy networks (Marsh and Smith 2000), policy change is "a function of the interaction between the structure of the *network and the agents* operating in it, the *network and the context* in which it operates, and the *network and policy outcomes*" (emphasis are mine). By examining context of change, structure, rules and interpersonal relationship in the network, one should be able to explain policy change. Thus, for instance, recruitment policy change occurs depending if the structure of the policymakers' network is clientelistic or pluralist, rules within each of this types of networks and interstate relationship within each network. I take sending states as

approach can be used to build the migration policy change into analysis of policy networks. For the ACF framework to be used as a theory of change of national migration policy, four premises are important: i) time perspective of a decade or more; ii) focus on policy subsystems; iii) intergovernmental dimension of the subsystem; and iv) possibility of conceptualizing labor migration policy in the same manner as sets of value priorities. Organizations must have causal assumptions about how to realize those value priorities and beliefs about R-policy.

The first premise of the ACF, on the analysis covering the time-lapse of not less than a decade, is met in the cases under investigation. Post-Soviet migration policy networks have been forming since the mid-1990s and provide more than two decades of process for analysis. The most aggregate unit of analysis for understanding policy change being not any specific governmental institution but rather a policy subsystem has been met through the study of all regional/national/international policy actors/organizations actively concerned with

---

focal actor in any network. It is dialectic because it argues that not only policy outcomes affect networks, but networks also feedback and affect networks. The issues of the formation, evolution, transformation, and termination of policy networks is explained by Hay and Richards's 'strategic relational theory of networks', in which they argue that actors (for example states) "seeking to realize certain objectives and outcomes make a strategic assessment of the context in which they find themselves, however, that context is not neutral. It too strategically selective, that is, it privileges certain strategies over others" (2000:14). The network context changes by the actions of the states, so they have to adjust to different context. For Hay and Richards (2000, 2002), networking is "a practice – an accomplishment in the part of strategic actors… which takes place through the consequences of strategic action" (2000:14).

The *decentered study of networks* shifts focus from institutions to individuals and analyses social construction of policy networks through the ability of individuals to *create meaning* (Bevir and Rhodes 2003: Ch 4). We can substitute individuals with states which can be involved in different networks and roles with their task being "to produce concrete outcomes": issue networks, policy communities, ad hoc policy projects, user boards, actors from within, without, above and below traditional institutions of democratic government (Bang and Sorensen 1999: 332-336).

a specific R-policy. These 3R-migration subsystems include administrative agencies and non-state organizations. Programs and R-policies can be conceptualized in the same way as system of values by integrating implicit theories on how to achieve their objectives. According to Sabatier, this ability to map a set of value priorities (technical and professional beliefs) and policies on the same 'canvas' is an assessment tool of the influence of various actors over time, "particularly the role of technical information/beliefs on policy change" (1993:17).

Within the Eurasian migration policy system organizations are aggregated into a number of advocacy coalitions who share a set of normative and causal beliefs/set of value priorities and often act in concert. When there are conflicting strategies from various advocacy coalitions, they are usually mediated by a third (group of) organization(s) referred as migration policy *brokers*. The brokers' main concern is to find reasonable compromise in order to reduce intense conflict. Change in perceptions about R prioritization decisions and their impacts forces advocacy coalitions to revise their set of value priorities and alter their strategy, which results in a revision of the whole institution on the collective choice and operational levels, while changes in the dominant coalition may occur on the systemic level (Sabatier 1993:19).

After the powerful organization is determined through measuring power dependency dimensions, and advocacy coalitions are identified, then the next question is: how exactly does the R-policy prioritization take place? The advocacy coalition aligns the migrant-sending state's values regarding prioritization of the

migrants' recruitment, return, or remittances with its own values. That's the results of the strategic interactions in the events held for designing policy, consultation, training, funding, negotiation, and technical assistance. The strategic interaction and analytical debates leading to changes in the set of value prioritization between advocacy coalition A and B can result in R-policy prioritization with or without involvement of the policy broker. Advocacy coalitions can have different levels of dominance and influence but can still work together by increasing political resources and policy-oriented learning. At times resources of organizations in the Eurasian migration system may increase in case of 'external perturbation', such as socioeconomic conditions, outputs from other migration policy networks and change of governing coalition. This is an important point when we consider those migrant-sending states that are located between different migration systems.

Advocates attempt to achieve transition of practice to more sustainable cooperation on readmission/return/recruitment policies, when responsiveness to perceived exigencies has to be ensured on a more state-to-state regular basis rather than sporadically. The R-policy may be designed based on reciprocal commitments and obligations to cooperate i) on readmission, which is usually done by the EU MRS, ii) on recruitment, initiated by the IOM and other MSSs consulting a given MSS, and iii) on remittance policy that is more in the interest of the MSS and the World Bank. The concept of the 'policy transfer' refers to a "process in which knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements, institutions, etc. in one time and/or place is used in the development of policies, administrative

arrangements and institutions in another time and/or place" (Dolowitz and Marsh 1996:344). The R-policy transfer may consist of situations ranging from voluntary *learning* or *lesson-drawing* experiences based on rational calculation to cases of *coercive transfer* when R-policy is directly imposed on migrant-sending states. The action set organizations likely to be involved in R-policy transfer in post-Soviet states are: elected officials, political parties, bureaucrats, pressure groups, policy entrepreneurs/experts and supra-national organizations (Dolowitz and Marsh 1996:345). The R-policy experts concerned with the issue build up an international and regional network of contacts that are a source of ideas for new programs (Rose 1993:56). The supranational organizations, such as the EC, IOM, UNHCR, and WB are most likely to be involved in direct and indirect coercive transfer of R-policy. The R-policy transfer based on voluntary learning is most likely to be due to the dissatisfaction from current R-policy or no-policy, as it does not provide solutions. The source of dissatisfaction can be uncertainty about the cause of problems, effects of previous decisions, which leads to search for migration management policies to borrow (Dolowitz and Marsh 1996:347).

Many public policy transfer scholars argue that most of the supranational organizations often play a key role in direct coercive policy transfer, functioning as policy-pushers. The emergence of the international consensus, as well as political actors believing that their country is falling behind their neighbors and competitors organizations may lead to indirect coercive R-policy transfer (Figure in Appendix 3). The case of voluntary learning from the past history is almost non-existent in

the migration policy domain of the post-Soviet states, due to absence of international migration before 1990s. It is more important to analyze direct and indirect coercive transfer by policy experts and inter and supra-national organizations. Migrant-sending states adopt policies of migrant remittance utilization from scratch or based on voluntary learning from other migrant-sending states. Two other R-policies, recruitment and return, are most likely to be transferred through indirect and direct coercive methods.

Policy-oriented learning most likely occurs when there is an intermediate level of informed conflict between the two that is likely to remain as long as the migration policy network's advocacy coalition responsible for prioritizing the R-issue remains in power. In the abovementioned situation each coalition has technical resources to engage in such a debate (Jenkins-Smith and Sabatier 1993:50). The different advocacy coalitions' relative strengths within the network rarely are sufficiently changed by events internal to the network (increase resources, out learn opponents) to overthrow a dominant coalition, instead minority coalitions hope to gain power within the network by waiting for some external event to significantly increase their political resources (Sabatier 1995:31-35). These changes in political resources over time translate into interests, beliefs and ultimately migration strategies with R-policy prioritization. Migration policy-oriented

learning across systems of value sets[103] is most likely when there *exists a forum* that is dominated by professional norms and is prestigious enough to force professionals from different coalitions to participate.[104] Regional Consultation Processes, like the Budapest and the CIS Processes, are not created ex nihilo and the outline of cooperation is often already partially fixed by previous and on-going cooperative experiences. Intergovernmental cooperation structures and modalities, such as information exchange, the promotion of a common language, and increasing the frequency of the meetings and gatherings, influence the construction of the states' reality on migration issues (Thouez and Channac 2006:384). RCPs do not have administrative structures and are often compared to 'clearing houses': structures that maintain a permanent and increasing stream of information among their participants in order to facilitate their contacts. RCPs create networks of socialization allowing participating states to know each other better and to quickly and clearly identify respective interlocutors. Through networks of socialization they gradually organize a convergence of perceptions (Thouez and Channac 2006:385). Policy transfer processes take off from the point when states first start participating in RCP meetings, which lead to other bilateral and multilateral meetings and negotiations re R-policy prioritization. Most of the 3R policy instruments are transferred through Budapest and CIS Processes by mixture methods, where lesson drawing (bounded rationality), international

---

[103] i.e. the belief system adjustment regarding what R-migration policy issue to prioritize
[104] Jenkins-Smith, Sabatier 1993:54

pressures (image, consensus, and perceptions), externalities, conditionality, and obligations (loans, conditions attached to business activity) lead to the R-policy prioritization.

Conclusion

The IPE of migration or liberal institutionalism defines migration policy networks as institutions. The inter-organizational analysis describes migration policy network as the system of governance with interacting organizations. Migration policy network behavior is explained using the power - dependence theory. And advocacy coalition framework (ACF) is used to explain how migration policy network behavior affects R-policy prioritization. Policy transfer perspective looks at the mechanism of prioritization. The analytical path selected and used for the study of migration policy networks is highlighted in red in the chart below.

Figure 3: Use of policy network analysis for description of migration policy network, explanation of network behavior and policy change

---

Concept of policy network as description
Interest intermediation
Inter-organizational analysis
Governance

Policy Network theory explaining network behavior
Power dependence theory
Rational Actor Theory

Policy network analysis to explain policy change
Advocacy coalition model
Dialectical model (interaction between network and agents, context and policy outcome)
Decentered study of networks (meaning creation with the task of ...)

Various bilateral and multilateral exchanges within and beyond the RCPs will be taken into account as 3R-migration policy network for each migrant sending states to describe and explain migration policy change over time.

CHAPTER 4 Research design and methodology

This study employs a balanced approach of in-depth within case analysis combined with a structured focused cross-state comparison. The approach is used to tease out the causal link between advocacy coalition's policy transfer capacity/power within migration policy networks (IV) and type of the prioritized R-policy (DV). The network analysis method utilizing the UCINET (software for network analysis) helps to scrutinize the relational data obtained from semi-structured interviews and content analysis of the reports for both within and cross case analyses. It is a qualitative study and, as many scholars have begun to realize, qualitative research is becoming more and more methodologically rigorous with greater potential for contributing to the accumulation of knowledge. The following sections describe the case selection technique, and methods of data collection and data analysis used to answer the research question at hand.

4.1. Case selection

This study is based on George and Bennet's definition of case study as an integrated single and cross case analysis. The cases of Georgia, Moldova and Tajikistan have been chosen for the study of the relationship between the power

structure within their migration policy networks and 3R-migration policy prioritization based on the similarities in their migrant-sending experiences. The method of controlled comparison is used to compare 'most-similar' migrant-sending cases that are the same in most respects "except for the independent variable, whose variance may account for the cases having different outcomes on the dependent variable"[105] (George and Bennet 2008:25). In addition to matching these three cases, the process tracing approach is used in identifying the causal path, as well as for robustness of the inferences on the relationship between the values of the types of the emerged advocacy coalitions within the migration policy networks (IV) and the values of the types of the prioritized R-migration policy (DV).

The pioneering works of Przeworski and Teune (1970), Lijphart (1971, 1975) and Ekstein (1975) on the techniques of small-N case selection gave impetus to further discussions on selection bias problems and justifications of why case A should be selected over case B. Seawright and Gerring (2008) provide the roadmap for unbiased case selection with the objective to have a representative sample and useful variation on the dimensions of theoretical interests. The case study is an "intensive (qualitative or quantitative) analysis of a single unit or a small number of units (the cases), where researcher's goal is to understand a larger class of similar units (a population of cases)" (Seawright and Gerring 2008:296). The goal of this research is to make a causal inference about factors behind

---

[105] See George and Bennet Chapters 4 and 8 on 'controlled comparison' or typological theories (2008)

variations of 3R-migration policy prioritization. Therefore, the breadth of the key inference is medium and requires not in-depth analysis of a single case, but three cases in some depth.

Ekstein defines a case as a "phenomenon for which we report and interpret only a single measure on any pertinent variable" (1975). Case study scholars reject this definition as some researchers who are trained in statistical methods misapply the 'degrees of freedom problem' to conclude that "case studies provide no basis for evaluation of the competing explanations of a case" (George and Bennet 2008:17). George and Bennet define a case:

> As an instance of class of events … class of events refers to a phenomenon of scientific interest, such as revolutions, types of governmental regimes, kinds of economic systems…the investigator chooses to study with the aim of developing theory regarding the causes of similarities or differences among instances (cases) of that class of events. (2008: 18)

So, a case study is a well-defined aspect of a historical episode, not the historical event itself. And a case study is not only the study of a single case, but a combination of within-case analysis and cross-case comparisons within single research program. This approach has several strengths, such as, achieving high *conceptual validity* and strong procedures for fostering *new hypotheses*. It also has value as a useful means for close examination of the hypothesized role of *causal mechanisms* in the context of individual cases and in its capacity to address *causal complexities* (2008:19). The research question will be addressed treating three migrant-sending states' policy networks both as unit of analysis and as context of

analysis. The main goal is to explore the complex interplay between migration policy actors' interests/capacities and policy issues within each of three migration policy networks, as well as the impact of this interplay on R-migration policy prioritization. In the initial stage the within-case (a given migrant-sending state's policy network) analysis of the relationship between structure and migration policy outcome will be investigated, looking at the impact of network positions on organizational reputations and policy influence. At the second stage, these relationships are compared across three migrant-sending states as features of the regional/national political systems that influence R-migration policy prioritization.

The conceptual validity is achieved through 'contextualized comparison' that means "self-consciously seeking to address the issue of equivalence by searching for analytically equivalent phenomena — even if expressed in substantively different terms — across different contexts" (Locke and Thelen 1998:11). Research in 3R-migration policy can be derived from migration policy analysis at a broader level of generalization into more contingent generalizations. Some of the quantitative studies are preceded by case studies to identify relevant variables others are followed by case studies focusing on deviant cases and further refinement of concepts. The network analysis that involves a quantitative analysis and is considered to be part of the set theory is preceded by a case study that refines and clarifies concepts related to 3R-migration policy networks.

When this study uses semi-structured questionnaires and document content analyses, some factors affecting R-migration policy formulation are

discovered that led to proposing new hypotheses on types of advocacy coalitions based on these observations. [106] The case study allows examining the operationalization of the causal mechanism between emerged advocacy coalitions of migration policy networks and R-policy prioritization. Within each one of the three cases it is possible to identify what conditions in a case actually activate causal mechanism. Selection with some preliminary knowledge of cases allows them to be chosen with a view toward them being least likely, most likely or crucial for a theory. [107] According to George and Bennet, the results of the selection bias can be the most damaging if one selects only cases whose explanatory and outcome variables vary as the favored hypothesis suggests, and it ignores cases contradicting the theory further overgeneralizing from these cases to wider populations (2008:24). This type of bias can understate or overstate the relationship between policy network structure (advocacy coalition influence) and R-policy prioritization. Therefore the careful definition and scope limitation of the findings are provided only to post-communist migrant-sending states that share the same key characteristics as Moldova, Tajikistan and Georgia.

The strength of this three cross-comparison study of migration policy networks is that it is better able to identify the scope conditions of the policy network theories, as well as organizational state and advocacy coalition models. It

---

[106] 'Statistical methods can identify deviant cases that may lead to new hypotheses, but in and of themselves these methods lack any clear means of actually identifying new hypotheses' (George and Bennet 2008:21).

[107] This requires very serious attention to process tracing test of a theory. Process tracing and congruence testing serve as methodological safeguards against investigator-induced biases.

is also strong in assessing arguments about causal weights of variables related to the policy prioritization across a range of cases. This cross-case study of migration policy networks of post-Soviet states has its limitations as well, i.e. it makes only tentative conclusions about how much gradation of a particular network and non-network variable impact the policy prioritization in a particular case. Its conclusions are also very tentative on how much network and non-network variables generally contribute to the R-policy prioritization in a class of cases (2008:25).

The cross-comparison of the three cases is 'structured' in that the *general questions* related to the characteristics of migration policy networks and the impact of the emerged advocacy coalitions on the R-policy prioritization are *applied to all* three cases. This approach standardizes data collection and makes systematic comparison of the cases possible. The cross-comparison of these cases is focused, as it "deals with certain aspects of the historical cases examined" (George and Bennet 2008:67). This study fits well within heuristic and theory testing case study designs as it both inductively identifies new variables, hypotheses and causal mechanisms as well as assesses validity and scope conditions of organizational state and advocacy coalition frameworks. It tests integrated policy network models to identify most-likely and crucial cases for these theories.

Certainly, it is clear that case studies face much more severe critique of the work due to the importance of understanding the history and context. The reader-critiques should have a decent level of familiarity with the cases under investigation in order to easily judge the validity of the explanations (George and Bennet 2008).

The reader-critique should be more concerned about the research objectives posed in this study and whether the cases constitute an easy or tough test of the policy network institutionalism theory in general, and of OSM and ACF in particular. To make this task easier, this study provides transparency of analysis demonstrating enough detail information on data collection, coding of the variables and analysis to satisfy replicability, validity and reliability criteria of a scientific research.

4.2. Sources of data on component parts of the 3R-migration policy networks

This dissertation strongly agrees with and follows the statement of King, Kohen and Verba that "the most important rule for all data collection is to report how the data were created and how we came to possess them" (1994:51). In general, the sophisticated model and a set of assumptions is imposed to investigate the outputs of complex migration policymaking in post-Soviet system regarding ways in which migration policies are made. Who do migrant-sending states turn to for crucial information and advice on given types of policy problems, such as management of mass-outmigration?

Some of the influential policymakers and advisers bargain with each other, without consulting the migrant-sending states regarding what options to recommend. These advisers and influential policymakers expect to resolve their differences with other non-migrant-sending state policy actors and protect their own interests. In studying the importance of 'evidence' that migrant-sending states

have actually engaged in 'consultation' with advocacy circles, it is assumed that there is a rationale for this engagement. And that rationale is based on the idea that MSS consult with advocacy circles in order to obtain information and advice before making any final decisions—mainly to satisfy the 'cognitive needs' of the policy elite of migrant-sending states.

There can be also many other reasons for migrant-sending states' need for 'consultation' with outside (and inside) state and non-state organizations regarding prioritization of the specific R issue in their migration strategy. MSS want to build consensus with MRS, need to satisfy the expectation of the IOs and MRS that important migration policy decisions are not made without participation of all key policy actors who have relevant knowledge, responsibility and expertise to 3R-migration prioritization. The MSS want to assure having 'legitimacy' over migration policy decisions in order to have a good reputation at the regional level. As there is a need for showing that others in the region can be assured that an orderly, rational process was followed in making decisions about 3R-migration issue prioritization, MSS policymakers can be motivated to conduct the prioritization decision process in such ways that enables them to assure MRS, IOs, local NGOs and the highest national decision making body that decisions were made after careful multi-sided deliberation. Whenever possible, this study relies on semi-structured interviews of the people who were directly involved in 3R-migration issue prioritization decision-making processes. But as we know, the 'insider' accounts' of how and why a particular decision was made are difficult to verify.

One of the ways of capturing the influence of the 'consultants' and 'advocacy coalitions' is to collect migration policy network data through content analysis of the documents where the influence of specific policy advocates can be systematically studied.

The collection of network data is not an easy task to handle. Researchers made some progress identifying classes of network data— egocentric networks and complete networks— that currently exist. Egocentric begins with focal actor (ego) then collects information on relationships of ego to others (alters), and then relationships between ego's alters. Some scholars would argue that it is biased and selective in nature. An alternative class of data collection is a complete network. According to this approach, data is first collected, identifying a group of actors, and then information on the interactions amongst them (Ansell 2006:80). Such data is hard to collect as identifying connections between all the actors creates a large volume of data, and complete networks confront a problem of boundary specification, as everyone may be connected to everyone else in some way.

Hence the boundary is specified in this study as the migration policy domain related to 3R-labor migration issues of the migrant-sending states. The network of policymakers related to migration domain is an appropriate one and the boundary is drawn on the basis of non-network criteria in order to achieve the research objective. First, the complete list of states, both MRS and MSS, and organizations were obtained from the websites of the Budapest Process, CIS Conference, IOM,

ICMPD, GMG, Prague Process, and related states' websites. Newspapers, reports, migration profiles and working papers were compiled from different sources in national and regional levels for content analysis about the migration-issue-related relationships between these MRS and MSS policy actors/organizations. Additionally, for identification of the parts of the migration policy networks, purposeful and snowball sampling is used. These approaches were used to firstly identify focal policy actors/organizations, and then to ask about their relationships building outward continuing sampling until discovery of new policy actors drops off leading to the theoretical saturation (Ansell 2006:80; Bryman 2012).

For Tajikistan, a list of potential regional migration policy domain organizations was compiled from different primary and secondary sources. Selection of the Tajikistan organizations to be interviewed was based mainly on the number of appearances in public migration related documents during the last decade. The sources of data on Georgian migration policy actors within their policy network were mainly online resources and a few online interviews with the representatives of the International Organization for Migration. For Moldova, a list of potential migration policy domain organizations was compiled from similar sources of reports and other migration policy development related documents and several semi-structured interviews were conducted.

Only a portion of all potential migration related concerns is sufficiently salient to attract serious consideration by the core migration policy

actors/organizations. The total number of migration policy issues was produced as three issues, namely the issue of recruitment of labor migrants abroad, issue of returning migrant to their country of origin, and lastly the issue of utilizing the money sent by migrants (remittances) for investments at home. Not all migration policy issues were included,[108] as some only temporarily disposed or failed to gain sponsorship (such as refugee, travel). The public media, regional/national reports, and regional/national conferences notes were used to find substantive contents of the diverse debates and proposals. Therefore only these 3R-migration issues were used as key policy issues, and the interests and influence of core actors regarding them were identified. Chapter two described and operationalized these 3R-migration policy issues. These migration policy issues were included in the semi-structured questionnaire, and the points scale was used to determine how much the respondents' organizations are interested in each of these issues in the migration policy domain and to find out about the interests and influence of various organizations within each of migration policy networks.

The data on migration policy networks' events were mainly compiled initially from the documentation review and then included as structured questions in the questionnaire. Considering that migration policy events are "decision points in the process of selecting a collectively binding decision" (Knoke et al. 1996:73), there can be innumerable activities identified, and only the major decision points were

---

[108] Other potential migration related concerns could be refugee, highly skilled labor migrants, travel and tourism migration, and lifestyle migration, for instance.

selected for further investigation. They are those decision points from which a large number of migration policy actors were likely to seek influence (RCPs, Bilateral Negotiations). Then I looked at the relative influence of all actors. A good attempt was made in order to take into account the full spectrum of domestic and international non-state organizations, migrant-receiving states and migrant-sending states' decision-making authorities. Migration policy events were identified from mentions in the reports of the International Organization for Migration, reports of the Consortium for Applied Research in International Migration, governmental reports, mass media, newspapers, etc. The LexisNexis was also used for this purpose. The respondents were asked whether they were in favor or against recruitment, return and readmission policy, concept papers, legislature, programs, and formulated proposal contents. They were also asked about the mobilization of their members, working with other organizations, the frequency of contacts and communication with public officials and other organizations, and what advice regarding the 3Rs they received from other organizations.

The questionnaire was sent out through email or when possible face-to-face interview was conducted with the organizational informants. In the majority of interviews, the key informant was the head of the department, deputy minister, migration program manager that handled governmental policy affairs, or a representative of the IOM headquarters dealing with migration issues of post-Soviet countries. These informants had participated directly in policy influence and decision-making activities. Most of them had information about the process and in-

depth knowledge about policy domain related questions. If some of the informants were new with no sufficient knowledge, their information was coded as missing and filled out by public documents, such as governmental reports and negotiation protocols between the organizations. The interview questionnaire was piloted with the lower-level migration related officials, reviewed, reconstructed during my preliminary field research in Tajikistan and then sent out to the actual informants/interviewees. Major sections of the questionnaire consist of questions related to organizational interests in migration and informants' perceptions of the most influential organization in the migration policy subfields, to their communication with other domain organizations and their interests in R-migration policy issues/participation in issue related events, etc. The data collection phase in three post-Soviet nation states was successful and was tailored specifically for the specification of the structure and processes of migration policy networks. All the datasets for all the nation states are nearly identical and provide very detailed information about the interests and actions of almost all major migration policy domain organizations from 1998 to present. Interviews and content analysis were conducted from summer 2012 to summer 2015.

Units of observation are organizations whose actions are directed towards any type of migration issues within each of three country-cases, therefore the initial contextual conditions of migration management systems and tentative list of participating organizational actors within migration domain are identified through the content analysis and documentation reviews from multiple sources. These

sources include white papers, annual reports, research project reports, journal articles, situation reports, local national newspapers and answers to the questionnaire of relational data. Both relational structure and functional processes of Rs migration governance system/ policy network were under scrutiny. The second stage of the content analysis process focused on collecting basic information (from the websites of every organization identified and included in the list through the initial analysis) about organizations on the list and the names of each organization's formal partners. The process began from the website of the most frequently identified organization, International Organization for Migration, as mentioned in the initial stage of the content analysis. The size of the roster of organizations composing the migration governance was expanded through visiting all the websites of the partnering organizations and the websites of partners of the partnering organizations. The information about interactions and transactions among those organizations was collected in addition to the above. Then, the data collection process was reiterated till the subsequent decrease in the number of newly emerging organizations could be observed. Additionally, local news articles within each country-cases, policy memos, national reports, and internal and external organizational reports were revisited for collecting the missing information from content analysis from the websites. Following the general coding protocol of the content analysis identified information about organizations and interactions among those organizations was coded as a single entry with a unique identification number into the Excel spreadsheet for further network data analysis.

Specifically, the coding protocol systematically arranges the list of variables such as the name of the organizations, levels of jurisdictions, sources of funding, types of organizations, and data sources. The content analysis and mini-survey coding protocol also guides the coding of interactions and transactions data, namely, initiating organizations (the organization of a subjected website) and recipient organizations (listed partners and donors of the organizations of subjected website). In this relational data collection process from 28 webpages of organizations, 90 organizations were identified as organizations participating in 3R migration policy domain in all of the country-cases. In order to collect clean and valid data, migration policy related organizations that are not within the geographic boundary of the post-Soviet region have been eliminated from the network data set. Therefore, newly identified donor or partner organizations that are not located within and in proximity of the Eurasian (regional) migration system were excluded from the data set. The finalized data set includes 178 identified organizations and the list of those involved organizations can be found in the Appendix.

The specific tools for generating comparable network data and non-technical solutions were adopted for transferring information from decision-making case studies into policy networks Serdult and Hirschi (2004).[109] There were two steps in the process of generating the comparable network-data. The first step

---

[109] Uwe Serdult and Christian Hirschi. *From process to structure: developing a reliable and valid tool for policy network comparison,* in Swiss Political Science Review 2004. 10 (2)" 137-155 http://www.cs.unibo.it/~ruffino/Letture%20SNA/U.%20Serdult%20-%20Democracy%20and%20Decision%20Making.pdf

involved description of a policy process in an "Actor-Process-Event Scheme" (APES) concentrating on the migration policy actors' participation in decision-making processes. And in the second step, the data that was formalized in the APES was transformed into two matrices on i) policy actors' event participation and ii) the process-links between actors. Two matrices merge in the end allowing analysis of the decision-making process in the form of policy network (Serdult and Hirschi 2004:137), in network analysis terms this is known as generating two-mode network data.

The migration policy network analysis makes clear the link between OSM and ACF theories and indicators, such as density of networks and centrality of policy actors (i.e. organizations). The narrative generated from the cases and the process-oriented case study approach is applied to integrate the concept of migration policy networks as a variable to a set of hypotheses related to migration policy outcomes. Serdult and Hirschi assert that a structure of the policy domain— understood as relations between nodes—can be derived from process (Serdult and Hirschi 2004:138). For this purpose, the well-documented case studies about the political process in each migration domain are provided in chapters 6, 7 and 8. Then this study develops the structural configuration of political actors by applying APES (Actor-Process-Event-Scheme) based on the thick description of these case studies about the migration political processes. The event participation is the basic information required in order to study affiliation networks. That means it is required

to systematically extract information on i) migration political actors; ii) process links; and iii) events from a case study about a decision-making process.

A process is understood 'as a sequence of linked events' containing the information necessary to derive an underlying structure. [110] And the "*event participation of political actors* in an event of the decision-making process on the one hand and *process links connecting these events* on the other hand are sufficient indicators in order to operationalize the structure of a decision-making process in the sense of policy network" (Serdult and Hirschi 2004:139). The events of 3R migration decision-making procedure are defined by institutional characteristics and the rules of the political system in each case. A descriptive case study is transformed into APES after agreeing on the events of decision-making procedure and migration relevant organizations. In APES, the political actors interact through i) event participation and ii) procedural (institutional) linkages.

4.3. Methods of Data Analysis

The Action-Process-Event-Scheme is basically a graph that shows the links between policy actors and chronological sequences of the policy-making process. It runs within a two-dimensional space spanned by an axis with the participating migration related organizations on the vertical reference line and a timeline in the

---

[110] There are many applications in SNA based on this idea, named affiliation networks or actor-event networks (Wasserman and Faust 1995:291f; Jansen 2003:102)

horizontal that separates the policy process into different stages and events' (Serdult and Hirschi 2004:140). The actor dimension captures migration corporate actors that are distinguished along political hierarchy levels and organizational distinctive features. According to the data on migration policy decision-making processes, the international migration policy actors are on the top level. The regional and domestic actors are on the subordinate levels subdivided into national migration governmental agencies and non-governmental bodies. The arrangement of the migration policy actors and the distinction between different coalitions of migration policy actors can be different according to the context and process under investigation.

The scheme in the process dimension of the APES is based on the concept of the 'policy cycle' as it deals with the outflow of a complete policy cycle (Serdult and Hirschi 2004:140). The scheme is phase focused phenomenon, which illustrates the process stages of policy formulation from 1995 onwards in three post-Soviet MSS. These stages are concretized and adjusted to empirically observable events in order to generate a scheme of migration policy process for each country-case (Parsons 1995:79-81). The relevant events of the 3R migration policy process are defined in accordance with the specific characteristics of each of R (recruitment, return and remittance) policy for each case separately as distinct objects of investigation. The following process events are crucial for the analysis of the post-Soviet Georgia, Moldova and Tajikistan's 3R migration policies,

considering the domestic and international dimension of the migration policy-making processes:

      i)   Development of preliminary migration strategy draft—assessment of results of inner administrative preliminary investigations leading to a first draft of a political program/measure or policy statement on specific R-migration issue. This includes capacity building of the decision making authorities in migrant sending state

      ii)   Consultations outside the state administration—inclusion of actors from outside public administration in the process of discussing/developing an appropriate political program/measure on migration

      iii)   International and regional negotiations—process in which authorized negotiators bargain with international partners[111]

There are two procedures to identify the advocacy coalitions within policy networks. The first is the *structural equivalence* approach, in which several migration policy actors "jointly occupy a structurally equivalent position to the extent that they have similar patterns of ties with other actors, regardless of their direct ties to each other. This approach is calculated through block modeling or clustering techniques" (Wasserman and Faust 1999:7). The second is the *subgroup cohesion* approach, which "aggregates actors who maintain dense mutual interactions as 'cliques' (Hanneman, online source). The standard software available for formal analysis of networks that was used in this research is

---

[111] These three are operationalized in migration policy making process graphs for each case in subsequent chapters below where consultations with the EU, or IOM or within MSS itself leads to negotiations, leading to change in policy or not change

UCINET,[112] as other approaches to network analysis are *generative* (Macy and Willer 2002; Cederman 2005) or agent-based (Watts 2003; Axelrod 1984).[113]

The operationalization of the power structure (distribution of power) involves reputational and positional indicators (Aiken and Mott 1970; Laumann and Pappi 1976; Kriesi 1980). *Centrality* and centralization measures in network analysis describe important information about the underlying mechanism of a specific migration policy network, including roles and functions of the participating organizations within the inter-organizational networks, diverse modes of patterns of transactions among the identified migration organizations, and structural patterns of connections (Carrington et al. 2005, Wasserman and Faust 1994). The *density* measure indicates the overall connectedness— observed connections among organizations over possible number of connections among organizations— among participating organizations within each R migration network boundary. The *distance* measure indicates the average numbers of organizations that an organization needs to be through to reach every other organization. The *centralization* measure tells whether the expected roles and functions of

---

[112] Other similar software used for formal analysis of policy networks are Pajek, GRADAP and VISONE

[113] Generative approach does not pre-specify the interaction system, rather specifying the mechanisms responsible for generating the interactions between the agents. It then simulates the construction of the interaction system based on assumptions of the theory about the generative mechanisms. According to Cederman (2005:867f), in this approach "explanatory value resides in the specification of (often unobservable) mechanisms and the reconstruction of a process within which they are embedded". Axelrod's (1984) well-known work on cooperation and Shelling's classic model on segregation are used for agent-based modeling. The test of the model is based on the comparison of the configuration emerging from the model-based simulation of interaction in the network with the configuration of the empirically observed network.

connectedness among migration organizations within an identified policy network are dominated by certain organizations. The centrality measures show which organization plays important roles and functions within the network. The shape and characteristics of each identified migration policy network are based on these measures.

In addition, the calculated measures provide the evidence for inferences on the underlying working mechanisms of the identified inter-organizational migration network in each country-case, which can serve for the development of migration policy recommendations regarding systematic coordination of a given or emerging 3R migration policy and practice related inter-organizational network. The descriptive statistics looks at the correlation between four main centrality measures of the migration policy network for each state. All organizations were elicited from the content analysis, documentation review and answers from standardized questionnaires, and the numeric values for centrality measures of each organization were obtained from network analysis.

PART II

One of the well-known international migration experts Bimal Ghosh, who is the International Organization for Migration's key consultant and the director of the new international system of migration regulation, advocates the improvement of the conditions for labor migrants. He considers lack of coordination and cohesion as a key issue of labor migration regulation, despite a lot of funds being spent by international organizations for these purposes. The common issue in different migration systems is that large number of migrants flow across borders independently, while the work of the migrant receiving and sending states' agencies and the IOs and NGOs is all about assessments and consultations.

Figure 4: Immigration flows between CIS countries 1989 – 2000 in percent
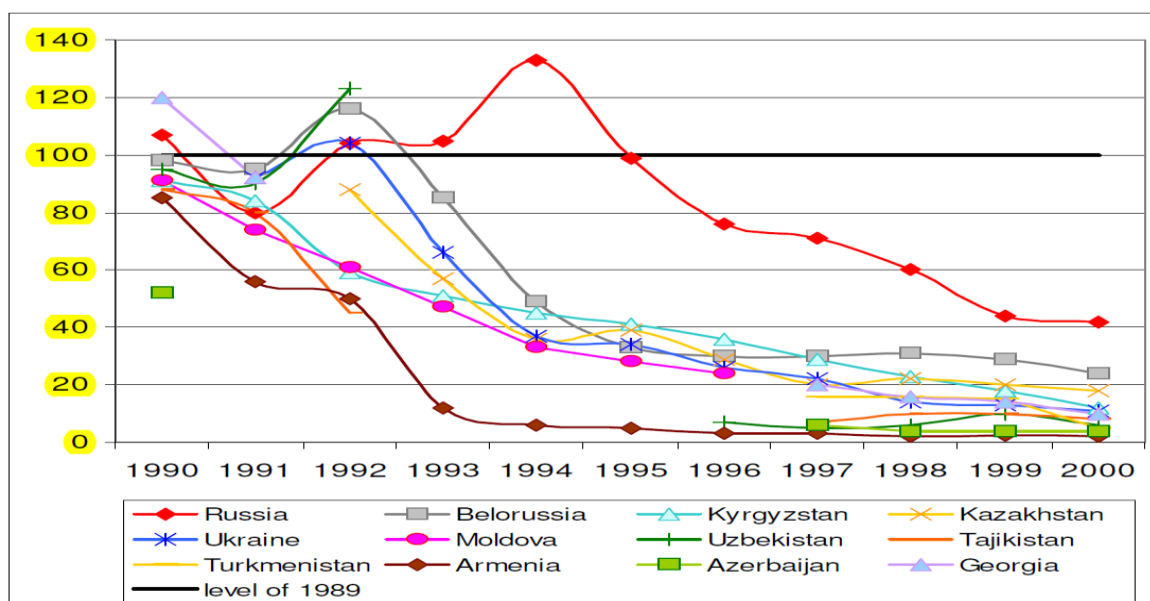
Source: Tishkov, Zayinchkovskaya, Vitkovskaya 2005: 5, Figure 2

Technological and technical instruments are available for these institutions to monitor route and mobility of labor migrants. The following case-analytic chapters look at feasibility of the Ghosh's advocacy on free movement of all people across borders, regulated transparency, and removing of the entrance barriers in the post-Soviet region. The above graph (Figure 4) illustrates migration flows between CIS countries demonstrating important changes in Moldova (pink), Tajikistan (orange) and Georgia (blue triangled) over the period of two decades. All three cases analyzed are involved in international migration and, based on the scale of emigration from them, are considered to be the 'migrant nations'. The World Bank study (2006) of migration trends in Eastern Europe and Central Asia in the years of 1990-2004 demonstrates the following graph (Figure 5) where we observe the positive natural increase of population in Tajikistan, unchanged natural increase in Georgia and negative natural increase in Moldova, while all of these three migrant-sending states show negative net migration, meaning the number of people who leave the country is much higher than people who enter. This is to show that demographics and increased number of population cannot always be the cause of mass outmigration.

Figure 5: Natural Increase and Net Migration in Europe and Central Asian Region, 2000-2003

Natural Increase (Decrease) and Net Migration in the ECA Region, 2000–03
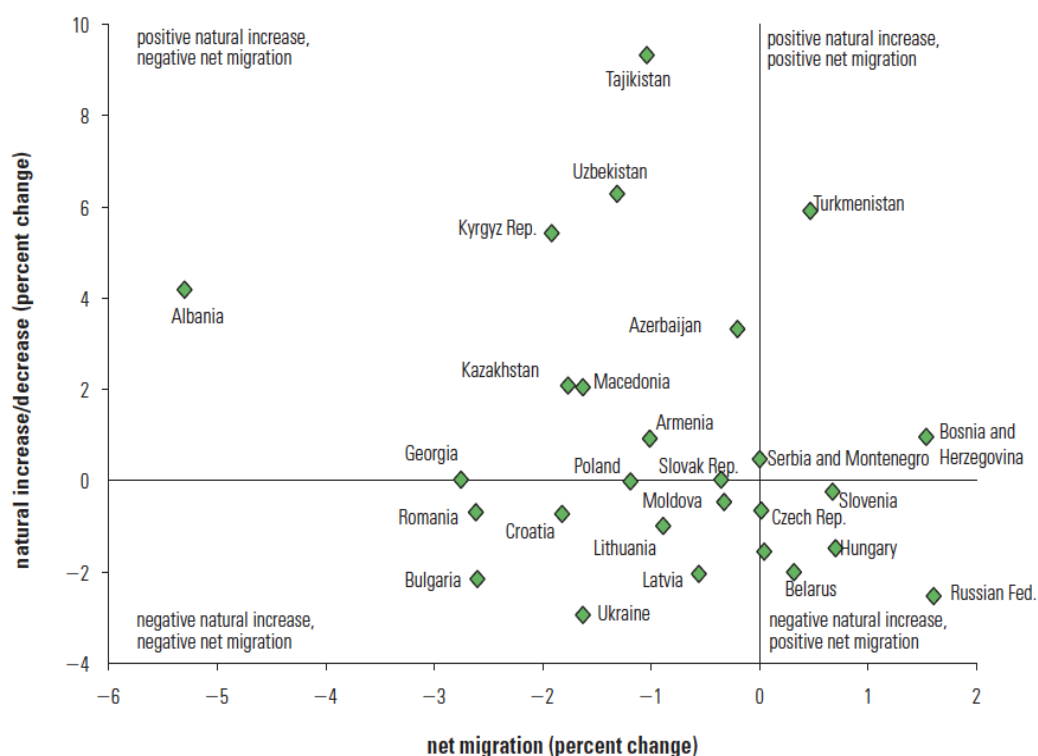
Source: National statistical office of the ECA countries and UNICEF, TransMONEE Database.

Source: World Bank Report on Migration and Remittances: East-Europe, former Soviet Union 2006:31

The following four chapters will analyze the cases using the network approach to determine different approaches to migration management that ultimately affect the trend in outmigration over time. The within-case analytic chapters will focus on the general background information of the emergence and perpetuation of the migration flows and policies and their causes.

Chapter 5 describes three different waves of outmigration of people after Tajikistan's 1991 independence. It will also discuss the initial design of Tajikistan's national strategy on people's emigration, which has been developed since 1995 followed by its current progress. Section 5.1 provides background information on the migration system formation and perturbations in broader political system and socio-economic environment. Section 5.2 provides a brief overview of the basic legal structure and available key migration policy papers in this migrant-sending state. Section 5.3 will list 3R-migration policy network actors and will discuss the structure of the power, which depends on these policy actors' interaction and exchanges. Section 5.4 of the chapter focuses on the analysis of the emergence of advocacy coalitions and the ways in which they affect migration policy change through R policy prioritization. Section 5.5 identifies degree of dominance of the central advocate. Section 5.6 runs network graph and centrality and density measures to identify the high dominance of the IOM advocacy coalition which favors recruitment policy. And section 5.7 describes how the indirect coercive transfer by the IOM led to the recruitment prioritization in the Tajikistan national migration strategy overt the last two decades.

The second within-country analysis is provided for the case of Moldova in Chapter 6. The initial section discusses general background information on the nature of the migration system that has emerged in post-Soviet period. The various waves of cross-border migration and their differences are outlined within the Section 6.1 as well. The initial design of the Moldovan national migration strategy

that was developed in early 1990s has not changed much till today and Section 6.2 lists key migration policies that have been developed. Section 6.3 focuses on identification of the Moldova 3R-migration policy network actors, looking at the structure of the power within this network in post-Soviet period. The power structure, which is fragmented, is identified based on the migration policy actors' communication and resource exchanges. Section 6.4 is on the emergence of the advocacy coalition on development of migration policy based broadly on the linking return with the development. The policy network related hypotheses derived from organizational state model (OSM) and advocacy coalition framework (ACF) will be tested in this case and analyzed in Sections 6.4-6.7. The former Section looks at the types of relationships between policy actors within the network in this case, and the latter Section focuses on testing propositions on the link between relationship types and policy change through value prioritization mechanism, which was laid out earlier in theoretical chapters. Chapter 7 provides similar analysis of the case of Georgia, its migration policy network and remittance prioritization. These three chapters go into in-depth analysis of the cases defining the migration policy actors, their relationships, types of interest-intermediation and governance within their migration policy networks and the ways how specific R type of migration policy is transferred to these migrant-sending states. The ACF and OSM, as well as Dolowitz's policy transfer models are empirically tested in these three cases, after identification of the advocacy coalitions and provision of the network measures related to power structures.

CHAPTER 5

TAJIKISTAN: 3R-migration policy network and recruitment policy prioritization

The Tajikistan National Strategy on Migration (NSM) for 2011-2015 sets out specific steps and actions to be implemented in the area of labor migration aiming to explore new markets for employment abroad and to provide pre-departure information and trainings for potential labor migrants (NSM Action-Plan 2010). According to Kireyev, migration from Tajikistan has been unprecedented in its magnitude and economic impact:

> No other country has seen its workforce decline by around 20 percent in a decade, nor do flows of remittance reach around 50 percent of GDP. And no other country has addressed so well the hurdles of transition from a planned to a market economy. Tajikistan has achieved this without substantial and protracted recourse to aid, and by purely market based means, simply by exporting its main commodity of comparative advantage – cheap labor (Kireyev, IMF Working Paper/ Policy Development and Review Department, 2006:3).

According to the International Federation for Human Rights Report 2011, '*Tajikistan: Exporting the workforce – at what price?'* Tajik government "is facing critical questions concerning the extent to which it should facilitate and encourage emigration and the measures that need to be taken to avoid the negative

consequences of emigration." [114] (2011:19). And the Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration-EAST Report[115] goes as far as arguing that "Tajikistan is basically following the path of intensified export of labor resources, exporting people just like Russia exports oil and other natural resources. As a result Tajik economy has become fully dependent on labor migration" (FIDH 2011:21). Therefore, Tajikistan is identified as prioritizing labor migrants *recruitment* strategy, which means exploring new foreign labor markets; assisting the establishment of framework for professional qualification and pre-departure training of labor migrant; strengthening economic protection, social and legal rights of migrants abroad; and regulating private recruitment agencies' activities in the areas of training, recruitment of migrant workers. The IOM, World Bank, and consultants from other migrant-sending states recommended the Tajikistan Presidential Office (TJPO) to adopt a coordinated labor market policy that lays the foundation for labor migration management. The within-case analysis of Tajikistan will shed light on the factors and the causal mechanism affecting this policy that leads to migrant recruitment issue prioritization. The aim of this chapter is to look which advocacy coalitions emerge within migration-policy network to change the Tajikistan initial remittance issue prioritization to the recruitment prioritization. It also explains if the policy transfer was coercive in nature or not.

---

[114] IFHR Report 2011:21. *Tajikistan: Exporting the workforce – at what price?*
[115] Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration was created at the European University Institute (EUI, Florence) in 2004 and is co-financed by the European Commission, DG AidCo, under the thematic program for cooperation with third countries in the areas of migration and asylum (http://www.carim.org/index.php?callContent=2).

The change in R-policy prioritization of Tajik government is a result of iterative process of participation in open professional forums on migration, transaction of resources and expertise from other organizations. The influence of the advocacy coalitions on the recruitment-migration policy prioritization will be provided through testing of the policy network related hypotheses, which were laid out in Section 3.1 of Chapter 3. It will follow the steps provided in the theoretical subsections and Tables 5 & 6.

5.1. Background information on mass emigration from Tajikistan

During the Soviet time it was believed that Tajiks were difficult to move, they are not mobile, they are attached to their places of origin, youth are attached to parents, and parents continue traditions of many generations. In 1970s – 1980s it was extra difficult to send Tajik youth to the Komsomol Soviet Union constructions (ICMPD 2010).[116] But in the late 20th century the Tajik people faced waves of emigration and remigration, and time and conditions made Tajiks one of the most mobile people in the world. Today when we talk about Tajik migration, the discussion is usually about high levels of outmigration and remittances, but not their immobility. Tajikistan tops the list of the the countries in terms of share of remittances per GDP and the volume of the national economy. According to the 'Avesta', the remittances transfers in 2011 was $2.96 billion, which is 36% higher

---

[116] International Center for Migration Policy Development provides a comprehensive report Tajikistan- Extended Migration Profile 2010

than in 2010, and which comprises more than 45% of the country's GDP. This is the highest level of remittances as proportion of GDP, making it the most remittance-dependent country in the world. The outmigration from Tajikistan is estimated to be between 1 million and 1, 5 million people[117], which ranges from 15% to 20% of the country's total population. Main destination countries for these labor migrants are Russia and Kazakhstan (Ulmasov Forthcoming: 265). According to the UN 2006 data more than 60 % of Tajik citizens lived below the poverty line, subsisting on less than a dollar a day, GDP is the smallest in the region, workforce is estimated more than two million and migrants consist more than half of the entire working age population. At least one household in four has migrants.[118]

The Tajik civil war of 1992 was the main cause of the initial post-Soviet migration across border. More than 1 million people or every sixth person in Tajikistan became a refugee. More than 60 000 people died in this war, which constitutes 1% of the population. There were incidents of the whole villages leaving their residence. After five years of the civil war in Tajikistan the industrial production fell on the level of 35% from what it was in 1991, including electro energy – 91%, automobile and steel production – 15%, light industry – 37% and food production – 20%. The level of poverty in Tajikistan could also be measured based on the following: the government budget in 1990 was $5128 mln and in 1999 dropped to

---

[117] More related information can be found in Migration and Remittances Factbook 2010
[118] Remarks made by M. Naderi, the representative of the International Organization for Migration in Tajikistan, IOM website, September8, 2006

$201 mln, i.e. 25.3 times decrease. An economic sector development expense was $2140 mln and dropped to $48.6 mln in 1999, i.e. 50 times decrease. The main issue with the poverty in Tajikistan is that it was an 'unexpected' phenomenon, as many people who overnight dropped to the poverty line were teachers, doctors, government officials and others who had job security and stability during the Soviet period (Ulmasov forthcoming: 280). The unemployment is as high as 48.3% according to the research conducted by the Ministry of Labor and Social Protection of Tajikistan. The 70% of the unemployed people are youth (Ulmasov Forthcoming: 278).[119] There is no national economic policy in the form of export-oriented growth or import substitution industrialization, the best policies for creation of jobs and reducing unemployment levels. There are also lots of barriers for foreign direct investment: Tajikistan is in the 176th place for investment protection. The number of days required for paperwork is 82, and in terms of the cost of the export procedure Tajikistan is a leader. [120]

The Tajikistan Extended Migration Profile 2010, prepared in the framework of the 'Building migration partnerships' initiative, distinguishes three waves of labor migration from Tajikistan in the last two decades. The migration from early to mid-1990s - *first wave of migration* - was composed primarily of highly educated and high-skilled people from Dushanbe (the capital city) and surroundings. The main

---

[119] There were internal markets of cheap labor near different bazaars in Khodjent, Ura-Tube and Dushanbe ("Silk road, 'Sakhovat', and "Korvon" bazaars). Prices for cotton and aluminum, which are considered to be main export products of Tajikistan, fell 46% for the former and 19% for the latter in 2009-2010

[120] The cost in Uzbekistan is $2550, in Kyrgyzstan $2500 and Tajikistan is $3000, and while in Singapore the cost is $16 and China is $90.

push factors behind it were the decline in public sector salaries and living conditions and the beginning of economic boom in Russia. Many of these migrants were from education and health sector and included Germans, Jews, Russians as well as native Tajiks. Other sectors, from where highly skilled migrants were moving, included industrial and construction work in Tajikistan and they found jobs in oil and gas, metallurgical and engineering industries in Russia. The post-independence civil war ended in 1997 with the peace agreement signed in Moscow by today's President Rahmon and the leaders of the opposition Islamic Renaissance Party. The *second wave* of outmigration from Tajikistan began when the rural population started to move out from post-civil war destructions of the countryside in late 1990s. These people were older but less educated compared to the first wave migrants. They were heads of the households that needed to provide for their families the very basic needs of subsistence. Tajik migrants found jobs in services, private construction and agricultural sector, because this time in Russia was the period of economic stabilization and rapid development of the private sector (ICMPD 2010).

The *third wave* - beginning 2001 to present - is significantly different from the previous ones especially in terms of the age range, i.e. these are overwhelmingly aged between 18 to 29 years, migrating straight after completion of secondary school. They are very low skilled, majority are without Russian language knowledge and with no specialized education and mostly employed as unskilled laborers in agriculture, on bazaars and construction sites (ICMPD 2010:

47). A very large majority of Tajik migrants work in Russia, since it has the most dynamic economy in the region, and migrants can earn salaries five to twenty times larger there than at home. The geographic origins of the migrants from Tajikistan are mainly from the mountainous regions, where mountains comprise more than 93% of the country's territory lying in the altitude above 1500 meters, which works in favor of the massive migrations. Half of migrants reside in Moscow, while 14 percent settled in Siberia. According to the data on the professional distribution of Tajik migrants provided by "Delovaia Rossia" group, which represents small businesses, the foreigners in Russia account for 40 percent of construction workers, 30 percent of shuttle trade workers, 7 percent of agricultural workers and 4 percent of transport workers. Two methods of data collection on migration flows and migrants stocks are accomplished by Tajik authorities initiated by the Presidential Decree N 378 of August 1, 2008: i) a system of migration cards filled out at the borders and ii) door-to-door surveys conducted through Tajik Living Standard Survey (TLSS) process. This requires the government to introduce emigration cards at the airports and train stations for migrants to fill out and provide information. According to this data, the total number of Tajik nationals who left for work abroad in 2009 alone is 693000, out of which 15000 migrants found work through private recruitment agencies.

The Federal Migration Service of the Russian Federation (FMS RF) provides its own data from the perspective of the migrant-receiving state. For comparison of the flows and stock of Tajik migrants from these three sources in

2009, FMS RF reported 983000 Tajik citizens registered residing in Russia, door-to-door survey provides the number of migrants left for work as 400,000 and according to the system of migration cards 792,000 migrants left the country with the intention to work. The International Organization for Migration (2001) reports, "99 percent of labor migration in the Eurasian Economic Union formed of Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, the Russian Federation, and Belarus is irregular. Due to their irregular situation, most labor migrants do not benefit from the same protection rights other regular citizens enjoy and are thus more vulnerable to exploitation by underground employers" (IOM 2001: 11).[121] Due to difficulties in data collection on migration flows and stocks, as well as increased number of irregular migrants, the migration system in post-Soviet states has become much more complex than it was in early 1990s. It led to changing states' responses and strategies to manage migration in the region, despite existing legal frameworks on migration as early as 1994.

5.2. Basic legal structure and key migration policy papers

The issue of labor migration management was on the political agenda of the Tajikistan Government as early as 1994 with the Decree of the Government of the

---

[121] Most of the Tajik migrants work in the construction sector and suffer from particularly difficult living and working conditions. They do not benefit from legal protection and public administrations and NGOs in Russia are not given necessary rights and competencies to defend workers' rights. The economic expectations from migrants are very high, though they lack decent housing, access to hygiene, exhausting work conditions, absence of work contracts that would make harder for employers to fire migrants without notice, refuse to pay wages and systematic lack of health insurance.

Republic of Tajikistan *"On measures to regulate external labor migration of Tajik nationals"* N15 adopted in January 24, 1994 with more elaborated and detailed measures to follow later. Table 8 provides list of Acts and Executive Decrees on regulation of labor migration that were issued as early as 1994 and amended later.

Table 8: Labor migration legal national and executive acts of Tajikistan

National legislation
*Act "On migration" of December 11, 1999*N882, amended on May 10, 2003 N31, December 28, 2005 N145, December 31, 2008 N470, and January 12, 2010 N591; *Act "On refugees" of May 10, 2002* N50, amended on January 12, 2010 N590; *Act "On assisting employment of the population," August 1, 2003*N44, amended on December 28, 2005N137 and July 30, 2007 N325; *Act "On counteracting trafficking in human beings" of 2004*
Executive acts related to labor migration
Decree of the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan *"On measures to regulate external labor migration of Tajik nationals" No 15, January 24, 1994* Decree by the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan "On the concept of labor migration abroad" N242, June 09, 2001 Decree by the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan "On approving the Regulation on State Employment Service" N168, May 10, 2005 Decree by the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan "On approving the Program of external labor migration of Tajik nationals for 2006-2010" N61, January 31, 2006 Decree by the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Tajikistan "On approving the Regulation on Migration Service under the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Tajikistan" N101, February 20, 2007 Decree by the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan "On the State agency for social protection, employment and migration" N102, March 03, 2007 Decree by the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan "On representative office of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Tajikistan on migration in the Russian Federation" N124, dated March 29, 2007

Decree by the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan "On regulating the issues of employment" N531 dated December 04, 2003, amended on June 30, 2007 N362

Decree by the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan "On establishing State institution – Adult Education Center" N115, dated March 05, 2008

Decree by the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan "On accounting external labor migration of the Tajik nationals" N378, August 01, 2008

Decree of the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan "On approving the Protocol on amendments to the Agreement on cooperation in the area of labor migration and social protection of migrant workers of April 15, 1994" of June 11, 2009

In 2001 the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan developed the Concept Paper of Labor Migration. Its purpose is the state labor migration management and social legal protection of Tajik citizens working abroad, covering all aspects of external labor migration. It, for the first time, raised the issue of establishing the employment agencies that attract migrants and provide them with job opportunities abroad. As one of the important economic purposes of labor migration the Concept Paper 2001 makes reference to the need for reduction of unemployment level and solving the issue of labor migrants' social protection.

The migration management has improved by the government of Tajikistan since 1990s in order to ease labor related migration in early 2000s. This is despite the fact that the 'Law on Refugees' of 2002 is considered as a step back by most of human rights advocates. The Tajik Constitution recognized the right to emigrate and repatriate, though the Migration Law of 1999 required for people to obtain an exit visa after having an exit interview, and citizens could be prohibited from emigrating easily. The visa clause of the migration law was repealed in August 2002, additionally simplifying passport-obtaining process. Members of the

Eurasian Economic Community (EEC) could travel using their internal passports before 2005, but the demand for passport risen in recent years, as citizens must have them to travel. Tajik citizens also need a transit visa to travel through Uzbekistan. Bilateral Agreement on labor migration with Russian Federation, signed by the Tajikistan government, lays out important principles for the protection of the rights of Tajik migrants in Russia. It is called the "Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan on Labor Activity and Protection of the Rights of Citizens of the Russian Federation in Tajikistan and of Citizens of Tajikistan in the Russian Federation". The Law of the Republic of Tajikistan on Migration N 881 has governed migration since 1991. This Law was amended in 2002. Under Article 8:

> 'The state shall assist the transport of migrant workers who are citizens of the Republic of Tajikistan in an organized fashion and upon their consent only to those countries where their rights are protected' (FIDH 2011:28).

The Law though requires that labor migrants should have employment contracts prior to departure. The Tajik government asked the Russian authorities in 2000 to sign a bilateral agreement to protect Tajik nationals and force Russian employers to ensure decent working and living conditions for Tajik labor migrants. Tajik government approved a multiyear program in 2002 to regulate its migrants. Moscow caused an uproar by returning hundreds of Tajik migrants to the home country in 2003, then quickly returning to its initial position and announcing that wants more open labor immigration. Duma passed a law on social protection of Tajik migrants to facilitate their legalization and provide access to health insurance.

Most of the migrants are forced to rely on companies that specialize in sending seasonal workers to Russia and they raise the cost of migration due to the fees they charge. High fees force migrants to get involved in illegal activities to make large amount of money quickly and that's the reason why Russians have a sentiment that Central Asian illegal immigrants work alongside the mafia networks (Latov and Vychovanes 2006).[122] There are particular complexities in Russian legislation, as a migrant-receiving state, on work permits, naturalization, and residence permits discouraging migrants from seeking legal work status. The mechanisms to legalize the migrants is lacking too, as the complex administrative approach to regulatory procedures in Russia does not encourage companies to apply to the Federal Migration Service on behalf of their foreign employees. It is very difficult to obtain the compulsory registration (propiska) in Moscow, St. Petersburg and many other Russian cities that it forces migrants to remain outside the law. The Interior Ministry, which does not favor legalization of migrants, is now the supervisory agency over Federal Migration Service worsening the situation since 2001 (FIDH 2011:30). The importance of the regulatory framework to select immigrants was realized in 2006 in Russia with the passing a law in July 18 and enforced in January 15, 2007. For those migrants who cross the border legally the law reduces the requirements for registration and obtaining work permit. Unfortunately, for those migrants that crossed border without formal status and

---

[122] See Latov and Vychovanes (ed) Nelegalnaia migrasia v sovremennoi Rossii (The illegal migration in contemporary Russia) Moscow: RGGU, 2006

reside in Russia, the law does not provide any normalization measures (Laruelle 2007:113).

Very small number of immigrants actually obtain work permits, while millions live in Russia illegally. According to this law, Russian authorities now have to establish quotas for labor migrants coming from countries that do not require visas to enter Russia. The new law was adopted in April 1, 2007, which concerned the limitation of the number of migrants in bazaars and retail sector to calm down the xenophobic sentiments in the country regarding Central Asian and Caucasian workers in the small business sectors. There have been many attempts for legal improvement of the migration domain between Russia and its neighboring countries. Tajikistan has attempted to set up legal mechanisms to facilitate the labor migration and protect its nationals once they settled in Russia.[123]

The implementation of the Concept Paper was followed in January 31, 2006, by adopting the '*State Program on External Labor Migration of Citizens of the Republic of Tajikistan for the period of 2006-2010'*. The key issues included in the Program that prove governments pro-recruitment policy prioritization are as follows: 'organizing consultative assistance to labor migrants' (Chapter 7, paragraph 7.2.2.); 'attracting and developing the system of education for the unemployed youth on the basis of the state employment service and basic

---

[123] It is also the first state that has experienced the phenomenon of mass emigration in a large scale in early 1990s, that's why it managed to open some initial negotiations on migration issues due to its very close economic and security links with Russia. The 201st Russian armed division guarded the Tajik-Afghan border until 2005 and continues to have bases in the country

vocational education system' (ch7, paragraph 7.1.); and 'assisting the establishment of an extensive network of intermediary organizations and creating a databank on their activities' (ch7, paragraph 7.3.) (ICMPD 2010:51). The Program also highlights importance of cooperation between agencies, ministries and bodies with executive power, civil society and mass media. It provides measures for protection of labor migrants' rights abroad. The External Labor Migration Program for 2006-2010 of Tajikistan states that:

> 'External Labor Migration is occasioned by necessity in order to ease the social climate driven by idleness of the workforce… therefore in view of the absence of legal means for increasing income and actual economic conditions to raise the population's standard of living by employment inside Tajikistan, exporting the workforce is an important factor in resolving this issue' (FIDH 2011: 23)[124].

Due to the strong criticism of such policies of exporting the workforce[125] as means of solving the country's economic issues that came from the United Nations Committee in Migrant Workers, the Tajik government is less explicit about it in National Strategy on Labor Migration for 2011-2015. And the new National Labor

---

[124]The External Labor Migration program for 2006-2010, available at http://www.rec.tj/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=63:reg-ext-mig&catid=38:tj&Itemid=54

[125] Many other CIS countries are also strengthening the institutional and legislative frameworks and formulating innovative approaches and practical reforms to realize the full potential of migration: "There was a legislature since 2005, which does not allow holders of internal passports to travel to CIS, only visa or international passport can work for travel, which is particularly costly and not affordable for the impoverished sectors of society. Despite all these legal complexities, migrants have begun to organize themselves to collectively defend their rights. From Central Asian states, Tajiks were the first to do so. Migration strategy in Tajikistan is based on 'tacit encouragement of citizens' departure to seek employment abroad'. The government alleviates socio-political tensions in this way, which can result from population growth, stagnation of economy and spread of poverty. According to various migration reports the social responsibility of the state in Tajikistan is transferred to labor migrants, where most of the families have family members employed in Russian Federation" (World Bank Press Release 2011).

Migration Strategy for the period 2011-2015 mainly focuses on exploring new labor

markets abroad, on provision of decent working, as well as on living conditions for

labor migrants abroad and protection of labor migrants' rights.[126] Most of the

leading international organizations, including IOM, ILO and the World Bank

participated actively in developing the draft law on migration beginning 2011 and

presented it to several domestic and regional NGOs. The new Law on Migration

focuses on the regulation of activities of recruitment agencies (Article 10) and the

coordination of migration processes on the condition that migrants rights can be

protected in the destination country (Article 12). Article 4 of the Law states that

'persons legally resettling from the Republic of Tajikistan to other states for

permanent residence of a period greater than six months shall acquire the status

of emigrants', without explanation of the meaning of that status. The National

Strategy on Labor Migration for 2011-2015 points on the positive impact of

migration on the qualifications of Tajik migrants:

> It is important to note that along with the outflow of a qualified portion of the able-bodied population, LMA (labor migration abroad) has allowed a large number of migrants to improve their skills. In Tajikistan a "construction boom" can be seen and the majority of builders, and highly qualified specialists received occupational skills (usually without any formal recognition) while working abroad. It can be unequivocally stated that the construction sector in Tajikistan has been provided with specialists as a result of the LMA. This phenomenon is a positive influence on the Tajik labor market (FIDH 2011: 22).

Therefore various vocational courses are provided for potential emigrants.

Lately, many other proposals are discussed and some adopted with wide range of

---

[126] You can find all other national migration policies, programs and international and regional agreements signed by the government of the Republic of Tajikistan in Appendix 1.

government interventional instruments is available for facilitation of labor migration. Ulmasov (2014) the leading migration scholar in Tajikistan, highlights some key issues in Tajikistan regarding labor migration management, which need improvement. The issue of direct state legal instruments and their implementation is considered to be in the following condition:

- Minimal norms for labor contracts are not developed; instructions before labor migrant recruitment are provided partially; instruction prior to labor migrant placement is not completed; provision of passports has not limits; emigration permissions prior exiting the country are not required; not required to pass professional tests; absence of professional education subsidized by the government; very small portion of the labor migration is covered with the recruitment agreements; social security measures are absent; fund for return to the home country is not present.

Some of the following issues related to regulating private employment agencies has been developing slow and according to Ulmasov some measures need a significant improvement too: Licensing of the activities of the private employment agencies is implemented; government agency for management of recruitment agencies is present; partial monitoring of the private employment agencies is done; limitation of the payment for placement of the labor migrants is absent; the job vacancy advertisement regulation is not done; extension of the permission for labor contract is allowed; and the centralized agency for information about the availability of jobs is absent. The direct involvement of the state to

facilitate labor migration and foreign recruitment of labor through signing bilateral agreements and regulation of the private employment agencies are encouraged by advocacy circles consisting of academics, experts and regional/international organizations. To tackle issues of labor migration management the state changed its strategies many times with the involvement of the various regional, national and supra-national organizations that are involved in its migration policymaker's network.

5.3. Migration policy network

Tajikistan belongs to the Central Asian subsystem (uniting Russia and Central Asia) of the Eurasian migration system (Ivakhnyuk 2014:2). It was member of the CIS Conference Process, before the process ended in 2005, and currently is member of the Budapest Regional Consultative Process on migration that brings together over 50 states and 10 international organizations to manage international migration. But based on the information obtained via interviews provided by the respondents, it does not participate in many its professionalized forums and Tajik migration officials are not very familiar with the Budapest Process. They are more informed and realized the close cooperation while they were part of the CIS Conference Process. Since October 2007, Tajikistan is member of the new CIS Consultative Committee on Migration, which brings together 10 FSU migrant receiving and sending-states (Tajik Migration Service Website 2013).

The international community is not very active in helping Tajikistan to manage its labor outmigration. Various regional and international organizations

work with the government advocating different models of migration policy, based on experiences imported from other migrant-sending states. Tajikistan did not find much of its own previous basic legal frameworks to build on, as it had close to zero experience in developing policies of international migration. The International Labor Organization (ILO), the Organization for Security and Cooperation of Europe (OSCE) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) refer to the Philippines as an example of 'best practice' of migrant-sending recruitment policy since 1970. Philippines' situation, where more than 10% of the population works abroad, resembles that of Tajikistan after mid-1990s. And in 2009 the World Bank (WB) organized a comprehensive study visit of the Central Asian administrators and NGO representatives to the Philippines. After the on-site training in that migrant-sending state, the head of the Tajikistan Government Migration Service referred to the 'Filipino Model', as the example for Tajikistan to follow.

In addition, Tomas Achacoso, who worked many years as an IOM consultant for Central Asia and presented in his many publications the Filipino model as an example for Tajikistan, is a former Administrator of the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA) (FIDH 2011:24). To highlight the degree to which the POEA facilitates recruitment of the labor migrants, it should be mentioned that Philippines President Arroyo's Administrative Order N 247 of 2008 'calls upon the Philippines Overseas Employment Agency to adapt its strategy in order to conquer new labor markets and to increase the number of countries that receive Filipino workers in order to 'pass the mark of 200 countries''

(FIDH 2011:25). Most of the criticisms addressed to the Filipino migration system reveal many issues, challenges and risks that Tajik authorities face in the process of their migration policy development too.[127] Nevertheless the IOM consultants and other local experts including Ulmasov argue that:

> The Philippines Organization on Recruitment provides assessment and monitoring and is responsible for fulfillment of the conditions for each Filipino labor migrants. Tajikistan should learn experience of the Philippines Organization of Recruitment Abroad, as it will facilitate the payoff from labor export and enhancement of the quality of this export. (Ulmasov forthcoming: 270)

IOM is an intergovernmental global agency. And Tajikistan is its full member since 1994. The official from the International Organization of Migration mentioned that there are no 'the most influential organizations' as an implementer of the recruitment of the labor migrants abroad. There are different private and governmental agencies, which are involved in recruitment of labor migrants abroad and are licensed for this kind of activity. The respondents mentioned about the governmental employment agency Tojikkhorijakor (Tajik foreign employment) that was established as a state employment agency and functioned under the State Migration Service, but was liquidated. It did not fulfill its obligations as an agency, which was responsible to organize recruitment of the migrant labors on behalf of the state. The liquidation of this state organization affected the reputation of the

---

[127] The International Organization for Migration in 2004 launched an information resource center in the capital city of Dushanbe, which provides legal, social and financial related information to potential migrants. IOM also expanded its work to deal with human trafficking in Tajikistan and the 'Law on Combating Trafficking in Persons' was passed in 2004 along with establishment of police unit and a commission dedicated to the problem.

Migration Service and the Ministry of Labor in Tajikistan. This points to the free market labor recruitment strategy present in Tajikistan. IOM is now working solely with the Migration Service, not Tojikkhorijakor, based on the similar expertise it gained from the similar Service established in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan. As the IOM representative reported on its influence and cooperation with Tajik government:

> IOM in Tajikistan provides technical assistance for the functioning of this agency (Migration Service); train the personnel on work with migrants, selection of migrants, signing relevant contracts with the employers, etc. IOM is currently (summer 2014) piloting the organized recruitment of 100 migrants through this agency. There are many issues with the organized recruitment and one of them is that according to the international rules of recruitment, the employers in the migrant-receiving state should pay the transportation, health services, social security, which is done in many countries. But in the case of Tajikistan, potential employers in Russia and Kazakhstan are not ready to cover these expenses. This is the main barrier why we have disagreements in the region on organized recruitment. Nevertheless, based on best practices of the organized recruitment in migrant sending states, the IOM and Ministry of Labor are ready to pilot the organized recruitment of labor migrants and assess the real cost of recruitment per each migrant and the matching of the skills of our migrants with the expectations of our employers in migrant-receiving states. That will give chance to the migrant-receiving states to provide their recommendations and feedbacks to Tajikistan, which can be further used to improve the organized recruitment practice.
> (Respondent #1, IOM)

The International Labor Organization listed many organizations, which it considers dealing with organized recruitment of the labor abroad, but it only refers to regulating of the private recruitment agencies: the President's Office of the Republic of Tajikistan, Ministry of Labor, Migration and Social Protection, State Migration Service, Tajik Embassies in Russia and Kazakhstan, Labor Unions, Diaspora, Private Employment Agencies, International Labor Organization, and International Organization on Migration.

> The IOM has assisted the government of the Republic of Tajikistan in development of the legislative policy on the regulation of the private employment agencies, but the Tajik Parliament did not ratify the legislature, and there were many amendments required by the Ministry of Justice. As a result of the reshuffling of the positions in the high government agencies this year (2014), the policy left without any attention. (Respondent #3, ILO)

The IOM has also began the launching of the IRIS system – the International Recruitment Integrity System - in the global level, which is planned to be utilized in all IOM member states, including Tajikistan. The big multinational companies included in the IRIS system as a startup, which have a long practice in hiring the international labor migrants in line with the international standards on recruitment considering protection of labor migrants rights and interests. IOM hopes this strategy will assist in its work in Tajikistan as well in developing projects in the field of organized recruitment of labor migrants and creation of the network of employers and intermediaries practicing ethical recruitment of migrants.

These observations based on the reports and interviews reveal the IOM as the most dominant organization in Tajikistan migration policy network. With regards to other less powerful organizations involved in the migration policy network of Tajikistan scattered media information is available on their activities. The major Russian newspaper Argumenti i Fakti (Arguments and Facts) published about intention of the movement of 'Tajikskie Trudovie Migranti' (Tajik Labor Migrants) to organize a protest of 100 thousand participants late August 2014 in Moscow to demand the following: i) hold employers and owners of the capital's markets (bazaars) for using Tajiks as slave labor and refusing payments, as thousands of Tajiks are held in desperate conditions without payment, locked in warehouses, holding their documents; ii) reassess the legal cases of many migrants behind the bars in Russia; and iii) raise the issue of creation of jobs in Tajikistan. Karomat Sharipov, the leader of the movement, listed these demands.

It was expected that migrants would be protesting in one of the following squares: Park Sokolniki, Bolotnaya Ploshad, Paveleskaya Naberezhnaya. [128] Many organizations, among them 'Inson' directed by Muzaffar Zaripov, 'Tajikistan Fund' directed by Gavhar Juraeva offer health, legal, consultative and psychological services to migrants. These two groups have published the journal "Migrasia i Pravo" (Migration and Rights) in 2002.The Philippines, as well as India, and Indonesian comprehensive infrastructure for labor migration could be adopted by Tajikistan, asserts Ulmasov, the influential academic expert of the field. The infrastructure includes agencies for organized recruitment, schools and courses on professional development and legal knowledge of potential migrants, training centers for professional development and special medical centers for pre and post migration medical check-ups.

In terms of return and readmission of the migrants from the migrant receiving states, the IOM officials mentioned that there are not any influential or specialized agencies working on return of migrants in Tajikistan. The diplomatic representatives are the only ones that try to help with the documentations for the returning migrants if they are lost or aren't appropriate for return. The diaspora associations based in Russian Federation get involved in it most of the time, as there are many migrants in Russia, but very small staff in consulates to help them. The IOM provides some assistance and always has some budget line in its funding

---

[128] Article in AiF titled 'Why migrants want to protest in Moscow?' published 08/20/2014 http://www.aif.ru/dontknows/actual/1320768, accessed 08/21/2014

requests from the donors, requests from diplomatic representatives are made on a constant basis to provide material support for many returning migrants especially women, children and disabled people with the clothing and flight expenses to return. It also provides shelters and reintegration assistance when they arrive to Tajikistan. The IOM was only actively involved in return measures in Tajikistan during post-civil war years when they assisted the Government of Tajikistan and United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) in returning huge number of refugees from Afghanistan to Tajikistan.

> Currently there are no return programs which the IOM or the government are actively involved in. But the IOM has ability to apply for the return of migrants programs in a crisis situation, that type of crisis can be attributed so far only with the withdrawal of the NATO forces from Afghanistan and flow of refugees from that neighboring country to Tajikistan, due to possible destabilization of the situation there. The IOM, in these kinds of situations, usually provides logistic and organizational assistance, while UNHCR provides other assistance. The IOM does not see any other types of crisis situations considering migration nature in Tajikistan on its involvement in the process of the return of migrants to or from country. (Respondent #1, IOM)

The outmigration of labor from Tajikistan was particularly high in the mid-1990s, but realization of the fact that the country was largely surviving on migrants' remittances emerged later in 2003-2004. This was the period when country's balance of payments began to capture 'massive private transfers through the banking system" (Kireyev 2006: 4). Some works have been accomplished in terms of the strategies of the IOM in utilization of remittances of migrants in investments and other developmental projects of Tajikistan. The IOM developed some projects in the household level, but donors and migrant-receiving states are not very much interested in funding remittance related projects. In Central Asian countries, one of the economic issues is to receive a part of this financial inflow and incorporate

it into the budget and eventually redistribute it. Tajikistan has much better established banking transfer system than other Central Asia countries. But the initiative of the Tajik government in 2001 to impose 30% tax on remittances forced migrants to send cash and use informal sectors, and the policy has failed. The personal transfer of money increased the risk of corruption at customs and the danger of extortion during the travel. This lead to mushrooming of the banks specializing in transfers in post-Soviet space in addition to Western Union, Money Gram, Bistraya Pochta and others to facilitate increased secure monetary transfers.

Based on the IMF statistics, share of household that depended on remittances in Tajikistan in 2007 was 60%. 37% of the households had only one member employed abroad, 14% - two and 5% - three members. And in 2008 it was 74% households whose members worked abroad, while the average number of Tajik labor migrants increased threefold from 2003 to 2008 (ICMPD 2010:43). The means of transfer of remittances from 2002 increased 23 times in terms of official means of transfer. The first two most important uses of remittances are purchase of food and basic necessities and then house construction/repair. The Report provided by the International Center for Migration Policy Development also states that: 'according to a survey conducted by the National Bank of Tajikistan, the size of remittances tends to determine their end use-either consumption or investment' (2010). Annual remittances of under US$1000 spent mostly for consumption, US$1000-5000 is spent on durables and home improvements and financing small-

scale import transactions; and over US$10,000 is invested in real estate and large

imports.[129]In 2003 International Organization for Migration conducted a survey on

the use of remittances by the families of migrants, the results of which concluded

that only quarter of the families used it to finance everyday life purchases. The

other three quarters of the families spent money for building of the house,

purchasing a car, establishing family businesses, and financing children's

education. Almost 70 percent of remittances are sent to rural areas in Central Asia.

This can also indirectly compensate for disappearing of an efficient schooling

system in rural areas after the break-up of the Soviet Union. There are many

money transfer systems in Tajikistan, which were developed in the last decade and

are very effective and accessible. But there are issues about the difficulty of the

receiving the transferred money from the banks due to the unnecessary

requirements by them to provide passport with the residency stamp in it, which

IOM considers to be a human rights violation:

> The IOM had a case of a woman who was kicked out of her in-laws house and needed to collect money sent to her via money transfer service in bank from Russia by her sister. She could not do it due to the absence of the residency stamp in her passport and the IOM had a long six months discussion with the National Bank of Tajikistan about violation of the human rights, as a result of which the practice was revoked. Another issue on the provision of the micro credits and opening of the special saving accounts for the families of the migrants or migrants themselves to use the remittances transferred is absent. This is a loss, as it is well known from the National Bank of Tajikistan's reports that there are huge amount of remittance transfers, and the state could make use of. (Respondent #4, MD)

---

[129] Data is provided in Tajikistan-Extended Migration Profile 2010 from Institute for Development Studies, Sussex Center for Migration Research, L. Jones, R. Black, R. Skeldon 'Migration and poverty reduction in Tajikistan', 2007, p. 21-23

Unfortunately, there was not funding provided and much remittance related projects remained on paper, though currently the government of Tajikistan expressed interests in regards to the remittance utilization. This interest is the result of the technical assistance and capacity building projects accomplished by the IOM and DFID (United Kingdom Department for International Development). They emerged after the government officials were taken to the study tours to India and Bangladesh, where they observed the effectiveness of the remittance related projects. But further implementation of these projects depends on high interest of the government, which can attract donors and ready to use some of its own funds to work on remittance utilization. The government of Tajikistan has been working with the UNDP for several years to optimize remittances and combine them with projects sponsored by the international funds to support local infrastructure and micro-credit.[130]

There are some negative effects of emigration in Tajikistan too, such as, the brain drain, the altering of balance of prices, especially in real estate market, loss of workforce etc… As many Tajik migrants work in construction and agrarian sector, from April to November villages become empty, commerce in markets drops, prices fall and marriages are postponed till fall. Most of the students are absent during the seasonal migration period from the technical schools. During the harvest months' migratory movements are intense and creates labor shortages in

---

[130] Cited in Laruelle 2007: Trouth Hoffman and C. Buckley, "The Value of Remittances. Effects of Labor Migration on Families in Tajikistan", paper read at the Annual Convention of the Association for the Study of Nationalities (ASN), New York, Columbia University, April 12-14, 2007

the agrarian fields. It also affects the status of women in society, who become managers of the households remaining alone with elderly persons and children. But these negative impacts was undermined by many positive effects that labor migration has on society and have not resulted in change of Tajik migration strategy into returning of its emigrants from abroad.

International Organization for Migration has been supporting many of the Central Asian governments in the efforts to strengthen their migration system management since the late 1990s. Previous programs implemented by IOM in Central Asia, include: the EC-funded regional initiative 'Central Asian Labor Migration', work funded by the Danish government 'Promoting human, refugee and migrants' rights in Central Asia', and the EC-funded regional project 'Dialogue and Technical Capacity Building Program in Migration Management for Central Asia and Pakistan'. In most of the migration policy related programs both the EU and Russian Federation are absent. And some EU funded projects assist Tajikistan only within larger Central Asian Regional migration management programs.

5.4. 3R-policy network and organizational interests regarding recruitment prioritization

The issues of migration policy network of Tajikistan are identified as: recruitment of Tajik labor migrants in Russian Federation and other labor markets, use of remittances of Tajik migrants for investment, and return/readmission of the Tajik labor migrants from (mainly) Russian Federation back to Tajikistan. These 3R policy issues are presented not as something that requires immediate action,

but a persistent problem with no evident solution, which invites variety of advocates to propose their preferred treatments. For the list of organizations in Tajikistan migration policy network, this study used the questionnaire[131], extended migration reports and profiles by the IOM, ICMPD, ILO, World Bank, MPC, DFID, governmental reports, news and information online outlets, and scholarly researches about the region. Types of organizations are divided into state agencies including ministries, services and divisions, and non-state domestic organizations of both MRS and MSS, as well as international and regional organizations.

The total of 43 state and non-state organizations were found active in Tajikistan migration policy network: Russian Federation Federal Migration Service representative in Russian Embassy in Dushanbe, Asian Development Bank, Tajik Border Guards, International Organization for Migration, National Bank of Tajikistan, Tajikistan Presidential Office, Tajikistan Ministry of Internal Affairs, Tajik State Migration Service, Ministry of Labor, Migration and Social Protection, GIZ Center for International Migration and others (ERTRF, EUTP, GCJ, ICMM, ICMPD, ILO, MSLOC, NDC, SCO, UNHCR, UNICEF, and etc.)

---

[131] The questionnaire was sent out to different governmental and non-governmental organizations, such as, the International Labor Organization, Migration Division of the President of the Republic of Tajikistan, NGO 'Migration and development' (Migrasiya i razvitie), migration consultants of the World Bank country office, Ministry of Labor and Social Protection and Tajikistan State Migration Agency.

Though the IOM is the most influential and dominant organization based on the contacts and resources it possesses, the State Migration Service is a significant organization with a formal authority. It was established under the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and then independent under direct supervision of the President's Office, and in 2013 was transferred under Ministry of Labor and Social Protection[132]. The Tajikistan State Migration Service (TJMS) was established by the Regulation of the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan on December 29, 2006, when the competences of the Ministry of Labor and Social Protection of the Population of the Republic of Tajikistan were transferred to the Ministry of Interior. TJMS is the main source of data since 2007 on migration and refugees, while all the data on internal migration is still provided by the Ministry of Labor. The TJMS is responsible for international migration issues and was within the Ministry of Labor and Social Protection until 2006, which meant the migration issues were transferred to the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA). Before 2010, the responsibility for designing international migration programs for 2006-2010 years lied with the Ministry of Internal Affairs, despite the fact that such programs framework is designed for the Ministry of Labor and MIA lacks all necessary expertise for its

---

[132] The transfer of competencies between different governmental bodies began in 2006. In 2006 the Migration Service was transferred from the Ministry of Interior to the Ministry of Labor and Social Protection, later the Service was separated and established as an independent Agency subordinate directly to the Tajikistan Presidential Office (TJPO). In 2014 the Migration Service was moved back under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Labor and Social Protection. These steps were taken while the system is learning through trial and errors in an attempt to establish the state agency for migration issues in order to centralize and streamline migration management. The Migration Service was established exactly for the purpose of overcoming the incoherence in migration policies that was created by the National Security Committee (Border Guards) based on their independence and difficulties to generate consistent data.

implementation. The accountability of the Migration Service to the MIA lead to simplified relations with the Russian Federal Migration Service. In Russian Federation FMS' former members of the security ministries hold all leadership positions.

One of the interviewed officials in Migration Service responding to the question about the reason behind including this agency within the Ministry of Internal Affairs, responded that 'it is just an adoption of the Russian model', as FMS (Federal Migration Service) of the Russian Federation is a part of its Ministry of Internal Affairs. Therefore, it was considered to ease the cooperation between counterparts who had long lasting experience of working together since the Soviet era. TJMS consisted till 2014 of several divisions, including the Office of Visa and Registration, the Office of Citizenship and Refugees, the Office of Work Permits, the Office of Passports and the Office of Labor Migration. There is some divergence on the opinions of the quality of the Migration Service within the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The missions from international organizations working on migration policymaking in Tajikistan conclude from the interviews of the people who stated that in view of the overall public distrust of the state police (i.e. Ministry of Internal Affairs staff), migrants did not regard the MIA Migration Service as an agency that could protect them.

As a result of these debates on the subordination of the Migration Service under the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the President of the Republic of Tajikistan announced in April 2010 about the creation of a new government structure: the

State Migration Service. By an adoption of an edict in January 2011 the TJMS was created. The former chief of the MIA Migration Service, Police Colonel Saifullo Devonaev is the head of the TJMS. There was some confusion after this in early 2011, as the functioning and authority of this service were undermined. The information about the adoption of a Regulation on the Migration Service was there, but nobody knew its contents. The mission met in Qurghonteppa city administration and was told there that the migration services have been 'disbanded'. According to one official: 'now the staff do not know where they work!' (FIDH 2011:31). Numerous issues were raised back in 2011 and 2012 about the functions and authority of this new State Migration Service (the TJMS), including one about its merger with the Office of Visa and Registration, and risks of widening the TJMS's at the expense of other ministries like the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Labor and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Two international organizations that were involved in migration policy making analysis and design – FIDH and ADC 'Memorial' – were not able to obtain a copy of the final version of the Regulation on Migration Service, even directly from the TJMS itself and had to rely on the draft dated February 2011. According to February 2011 draft of the Regulation text, the mandate of the TJMS is much broader than envisioned in the draft on Law on Migration. The State Migration Service was responsible for both issues of emigration and immigration, for design/development, analysis and adoption of state migration policy, and also for the coordination of the work of various agencies related to migration, mainly private recruitment agencies. The

TJMS includes, according to the Regulation, staff from the MIA and other ministries. It had different simultaneously fulfilling functions assigned to it, which were police functions and handling issues of migrants' education and employment in Tajikistan, and an official migration representative abroad.

Established as a separate agency, the TJMS, in 2011 had many shortcomings in its structure and range of competences. It was responsible for the organization of pre-departure information campaigns and consultations for leaving labor migrants. The three departments of the State Migration Service[133] are related to external migration, they are the Department for Refugees and Citizenship, Department of Labor Migration, and the Department of Immigration Control. The competencies of the Department of Labor Migration only are directly related to labor migration policy domain. The Department consists of the following specific units: i) external labor migration (promoting employment of the citizens of Tajikistan abroad, via eg: job fairs, explanatory publications); ii) issue licenses for private employment agencies; and iii) unit assisting Tajik citizens deported from abroad. The Department of Immigration Control's main duty is collection of data on

---

[133] The list provided by FIDH of the functions of the State Migration Service, according to the Regulation includes also the following responsibilities: i) protecting state secrets; ii) providing information, consultation, registration, assistance in organized recruitment, issuing and revoking licenses for organizations and individuals to provide employment abroad for migrants, developing a system of state agencies, participating in economic programs and projects for migrants, coordinating the education system for migrants such as adult training system, and developing programs for protecting the rights of migrants. Iii) Combat illegal immigration and implementing readmission agreements; and iv) working with diasporas and state agencies of other countries, especially within the Commonwealth of Independent States. FIDH Report 2011:29-30 *Tajikistan: Exporting workforce- what price?* Paraphrase focusing on how it turned from militia and security to civil agency

migration flows of any kind by i) means of migration cards – collecting information on declared purpose of exit (since 2009) and entry (since 2010) of nationals of Tajikistan by a special unit at the Dushanbe airport and railway stations; and ii) means of door-to-door survey conducted by the local authorities every six months since 2009 (ICMPD 2010:54). In 2008-2009 the TJMS in cooperation with the Department of Employment, Social Protection and Migration under the Executive Staff of the Tajikistan Presidential Office (TJPO) conducted the consultative activities in almost all districts and *jamoats* of Tajikistan. There is numerous government provided information services, as well as eight non-governmental Information and Resource Centers for labor migrants supported by international organizations and operating in different districts of Tajikistan (2009:29).[134]

The TJPO or the Executive Office of the President of the Republic of Tajikistan is the main significant body that coordinates the migration agenda in Tajikistan. It prepares comprehensive information for the meetings and discussions of the intergovernmental Commission on Regulation of Migration Process (RMP). Within the Commission on RMP the TJPO also coordinates the work of the international organizations such as IOM, World Bank and ILO and other regional and local NGOs. The TJPO is the main communication powerful actor, but not necessarily the resourceful policy actor. All other administrative bodies responsible for migration issues should submit all the necessary information to the

---

[134]ACTED 'Trends of labor migration from Sughd and Khatlon Region, Republic of Tajikistan under the impact of global financial crises, Dushanbe 2009.

TJPO Executive Office, which then compiles them, prepares complex information for the intergovernmental meetings. The Commission on Regulation of Migration Process meets regularly involving all main stakeholders of the migration domain in the country, including IOs. One of the difficulties that arise in R migration policies in Tajikistan is the fact of transfer of competences between different governmental bodies since 2006 (ICMPD 2010:55).[135]

The substantive part of capacities allocated to migration management in Tajikistan 'is consumed by the state policy of exporting labor force abroad' (ICMPD 2010:57). But the development dimension of the pro-migration policy is lacking, as remittances are not tracked easily and many Tajik labor migrants abroad enter informal economic sector. Many analysts agree that the main coordinating body of the migration agenda in Tajikistan is the Department of Employment and Social Protection of the Executive Office of the President of the Republic of Tajikistan (TJPO), which basically coordinates all the governmental and international bodies responsible for migration issues in Tajikistan, which includes Ministry of Labor, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Health, Border Guards, Ministry of Interior, and International Organization for Migration in Tajikistan, and International Labor Organization in Tajikistan. It prepares complex information regarding the meetings of the intergovernmental Commission on Regulation of Migration Processes and

---

[135] As was mentioned earlier the main migration related executive competences were transferred from the Ministry of Labor and Social Protection of Population to the Ministry of Interior, and then back again to Ministry of Labor.

roundtables with all the stakeholders of migration process are regularly held (ICMPD 2010:53; BMP Expert Mission Report 2009:7).

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Tajikistan (the Consular Department) is another key migration domain organization. There are consuls representing interest of Tajik migrants in St. Petersburg, Kaliningrad, Yekaterinburg and Petrozavodsk of Russian Federation. The separate Department on Labor Migration was established in 2009 under the Tajik Embassy in Moscow. The former State Statistics Committee, which is today the Statistical Agency under the President of the Republic of Tajikistan is also considered to be the central statistical office of the country. It collects population census, complex demographic statistics, household surveys and data on migration flows of domestic population. Another source of statistical data for collecting migration flows is Migration Cards filled in Tajik borders upon entry and exit prepared by International Labor Organization in Tajikistan. In those areas in which the state is not fully capable, these organizations provide migrants with support and contribute enormously to the development of the legislative and policy framework of migration. The migration policy framework is affected by these IOs mainly by submitting recommendations to the government based on field researches in order to improve the current legislation and practices. They are always invited by Tajik migration authorities to consult on legislation developments.

The State Program of External Labor Migration envisages that the Ministry of Labor and Social Protection of the Republic of Tajikistan should "design a

mechanism for accounting minimum standards when signing bilateral agreements securing social and legal protection to migrant workers" (ICMPD 2010:52). The function is delegated to the Representative Office of the Ministry for Internal Affairs of Tajikistan in Russian Federation, expecting among other things the responsibilities of the office to include "the protection of migrants' rights and interests in case of their violation by employers or authorized employees of the Federal Migration Service, Ministry of Internal Affairs and other competent authorities of the Russian Federation" (ICMPD 2010:55).

The United Kingdom Department for International Development (DFID) provided tangible[136] and intangible resources to develop effective and evidence-based labor migration policies in Tajikistan. [137] The DFID Migration Program's interests with regards to migration policy are: i) policies for managing labor migration to be evidence-based and effectively implemented; and ii) improved regional partnerships, dialogue and coordination on selected- poverty reduction, gender issues, and policy coordination- migration issues. The DFID program is one of the major resources provided for migration policy development in Tajikistan. The key program partners – International Organization for Migration, UNIFEM and the World Bank – all have extensive experience in migration issues in Central Asia. The DFID Program has been designed based on thorough consultations with

---

[136] With total amount of 6, 960,537.00 Great Britain Pounds (as stated in original DFID Central Asia Regional Migration Program summary budget, February 2009: 20)
[137] The program is called "Central Asia Regional Migration Program 2009-2013", which targets Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan

relevant policy network organizations at levels of the state, non-state and migrants themselves. The key implementing organizations are International Organization on Migration and UNIFEM with the hired project-specific full-time dedicated team, Ministry of Interior, Migration Service representing the government of Tajikistan and Federal Migration Service of Russian Federation (DFID Program 2009:16). The two strands of cooperation of the DFID with the IOM and the WB of this Central Asia Regional Migration Program are defined. It is a joint program with the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the UNIFEM, when the DFID shares a funding Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with IOM. The IOM, in turn, has separate funding agreement with the UNIFEM. IOM and UNIFEM additionally contribute through their use of their respective core funds, mainly through provision of services and use of facilities. The separate agreement is signed with the World Bank. The Bank mainly provides technical assistance program on migration policy and analytical capacity of governments in migrant-sending state (Tajikistan). The WB also aims to play the advocacy role to influence government officials in key ministries about the economic benefits of labor migrants into the national economies of the migrant-receiving state (Russian Ministry of Finance). The WB joined the CA Regional Migration Program in the second quarter of 2010 (DFID Program Summary 2009:23).

The Program worked closely with the regional Eurasian Economic Community (EurAsEC), which coordinates dialogue on labor migration matters at high levels of government (DFID Program 2009:6). The CA Regional Migration

Program is very complex with many organizations and institutions involved, but the responsibilities and accountability is well addressed. DFID Report states that despite the mass migration, the preliminary assessment finds the extreme weak capacity of government agencies managing migration, in most cases high-ranking government officials not having the training and access to information to enable them to fully understand the set of complex migration issues. Due to lack of capacity, government officials simply end up adopting inappropriate migration policies, which means many development opportunities are missed. The DFID Migration Program's main expectation was that the Program would result in "transforming the migration process from an irregular to a regularized one and the proportion of regularized migrants is expected to increase as a result of the program" (DFID 2009:12). All the efforts are directed on the changes and advocating certain migration policies in the migrant-sending state.[138] Though Tajikistan has top-down system with centralized government, it does not lead to DFID and other international organizations to perceive that the decision-making is concentrated in the hands of powerful presidency. As process of political decentralization is underway that sees some changes in the number of levels of government, increasing the power of Jamoats (micro-districts) the local self-

---

[138] The program does not have any discussions about how exactly it changes the receiving state's (Russia) migration policy.

governments. And this has potential both reinforcing direct lines of influence from center to the periphery as well as spreading power more evenly.

The DFID CA Migration Program emphasizes importance for the implementing partners to develop a keen awareness of the broader institutional environment within which they are working to develop good relationships with people with formal authority. There is no consistent effort to collect data to evaluate the extent of migration and the implications for existing and potential policies. There are enormous information gaps on all the main R-policy issues that would enable migration policies to create a supportive regulatory environment for migrants. The DFID CA Regional Migration Program's aim at providing technical and resource assistance for the consistent collection of disaggregated micro data was one of the key steps towards a proper labor migration management in Tajikistan. DFID CA Regional Migration Program, as well as its Rural Growth Program is working on developing local economic activities that can provide alternatives to migration and opportunities to invest savings from remittances (DFID 2009:14).

The DFID CA Regional Migration Program built on the previous programs implemented by the IOM. As above discussions reveal the IOM has managed to establish a strong network with different organizations in Tajikistan migration policy network. IOM emphasizes the involvement of all MRS and MSS governmental and non-governmental partners in decision-making process throughout its program cycles. The DFID CA Regional Migration Program involved as main government

partners in Tajikistan the Ministry of Interior, Migration Service and Federal Migration Service in Russian Federation. The full-team of IOM and UNIFEM dedicated to the migration management program were located in Dushanbe and Moscow for the whole duration of the project. And the effective coordination between them was ensured through monthly jointly staff meetings of the Regional Project Manager and IOM Sub Regional Coordinator for Central Asia (on IOM side) and Project Coordinator and Regional Project Manager (on UNIFEM side).[139]

In April 2011, The World Bank Migration and Remittance Peer Assisted Learning (MIRPAL) network organized the first of its kind seminar to bring together high-ranking state representatives. The DFID, UK provided financial support under the Central Asia Regional Migration Program (CARMP) and Tajikistan migration policy network organizations discussed most challenging aspects and perspectives of R-migration issues. Based on the seminar discussions the World Bank MIRPAL Press Release on *Effective Regulation of Labor Migration – A key priority for social and economic development of Tajikistan* was published.[140] In addition, in 2011 MIRPAL carried out similar events on labor migration policymaking in other CIS migrant receiving and sending states.

---

[140] World Bank Press Release: Effective Regulation of Labor Migration – a Key Priority for Social and Economic Development of Tajikistan, April 2011: http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2011/11/23/effective-regulation-of-labor-migration-a-key-priority-for-social-and-economic-development-of-tajikistan

The WB MIRPAL and DFID organized seminar became an interaction platform as a professional forum for top officials of Tajikistan. The heads of the ministries and agencies, as well as regional authorities presented their interests and concerns regarding the issue of labor migration regulation in general. The key practical issue discussed very thoroughly in this seminar focused on improvement of labor migration management mechanisms via introduction of result-oriented and focused programs of 'organized recruitment' (MIRPAL Press Release 2011). These organized recruitment programs envision coordinated activities and approaches of the Tajikistan migration policy actors for the institutionalized integration of migration agenda into the national development programs, such as Poverty Reduction Strategic Paper and National Migration Concept Paper 2011-2015. The mechanism also includes improvement of professional and technical skills of migrants aligned with improvement of social protection of migrants via establishment of specialized funds.

Tomas Achacoso, who was hired and paid as an international consultant, advocated: "Tajikistan would have prospects for sustainable development as long as it learns to regulate labor migration flows, given the fact that annually over 180 thousand additional Tajik workers enter the labor market, which significantly surpasses the availability of jobs in the economy" (WB MIRPAL Press Relase 2011). Achacoso, who was the main guest speaker of the seminar, and a former Director of Ministry of Migration of the Philippines also highlighted that "by making migration a policy priority of the President and Cabinet, the Philippines transformed

its foreign labor force into a transformative tool for broad-based development. In addition, organized recruitment, provided it is properly managed and implemented, can make a significant contribution in decreasing the level of illegal migration and human trafficking, as demonstrated by the experience of Philippines" (WB MIRPAL Press Release 2011).[141]

The Country Manager of the World Bank Office in Tajikistan, Ms. Marsha Olive, which is also within the IOM and DFID advocacy coalition, advocated that "the Government has already made notable progress, including the establishment of a Migration Agency, development of a strategy, plan of action and draft law on migration. Now the task is to focus on creation of institutions and mechanisms to assist long-term development by supporting Tajikistan's most valuable asset – its people" (WB MIRPAL Press Release 2011). This professional forum resulted in the policy actors' consensus and they developed a range of policy proposals and improvement of coordination mechanisms of labor migration management of Tajikistan for further consideration and adoption by relevant state structures, which were later included in the National Strategy on Migration for 2011-2015.

---

[141] You can find the MIRPAL Press Release on the following link: http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2011/11/23/effective-regulation-of-labor-migration-a-key-priority-for-social-and-economic-development-of-tajikistan

5.5. Identifying degree of dominance of the central advocate

The network approach emphasizes that power is inherently relational and that actor "does not have power in abstract they have power because they can dominate and influence others – ego's power is alter's dependence." (Hanneman: ch.10). To identify the degree of dominance of the advocacy coalition for productive interaction, bargaining and cooperation, we will run cohesion measures for the whole Tajikistan migration policy network. The Tajikistan migration policy network's measures of fragmentation, connectivity and density will illustrate if the network is connected and concentrated enough to have highly dominant advocacy or it has more bargaining and symmetric cooperation. If the policy network is very loosely coupled – has low density – not much power can be exerted, whereas if the network has high density there is the potential for greater power for dominant organization to influence R-policy prioritization.

Figure 6: Tajikistan Migration Policy Network Fragmentation based on measure of policy actors' connectivity and network density
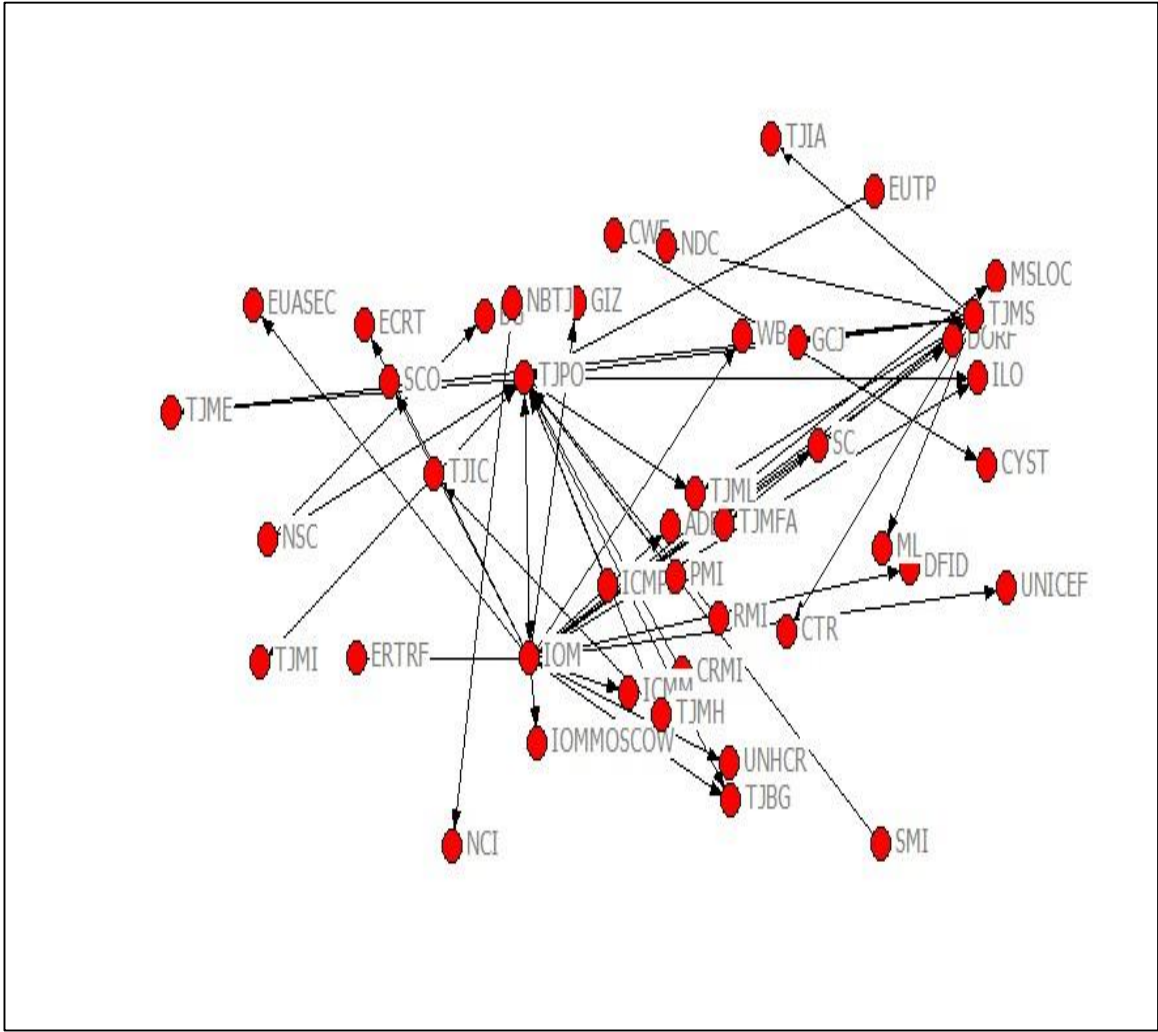
Tajikistan: 3R-MigrationPolicy Network Measures of centralization
Density (26%)
Fragmentation (80%)
Connectivity (20%)
In-degree-Centralization 0.2

The above migration policy network is moderately fragmented, which leads to the competition between different advocacy coalitions. It is most likely that the network does not have one most dominant organization that dictates R-policy to prioritize. The fragmentation level of the network is 80%, which means all the state and non-state regional/domestic organizations could be much better connected than they actually are. It is difficult to have highly dominant organizations that is connected to all others and connects all other organizations with each other. That single dominant organization would be the most influential in changing the R-policy for Tajikistan. The next step is to identify the powerful, influential organizations within the Tajik migration network that push for R-policy prioritization. For that the measures of centrality, such as degree, closeness, betwenness and eigenvector will be ranked to demonstrate the highest level of influence that one or more organizations present in the network.

5.6. High dominance of the IOM-advocacy coalition favoring recruitment policy

As it was hypothesized in Chapter 3, if the results of Tajikistan migration policy network centrality measures demonstrate the EU MRS as dominant and influential, then return/readmission will be prioritized, if the IOM and other MSSs, then recruitment are prioritized. Whereas if the TJPO and/or the World Bank are dominant and influential within its own migration policy network, then remittance will be a prioritized R-policy in Tajikistan national strategy. That implies that if organizations face fewer constraints and have more opportunities than other

organizations within the network, then they are in favorable structural positions. An organization that has greater influence will be a focus of deference and attention from those in less favored positions and extracts better bargains in communication and resource exchanges. The following graph was compiled using UCINET and Net Draw software.

Figure 7: Tajikistan 3R-migration Policy Network
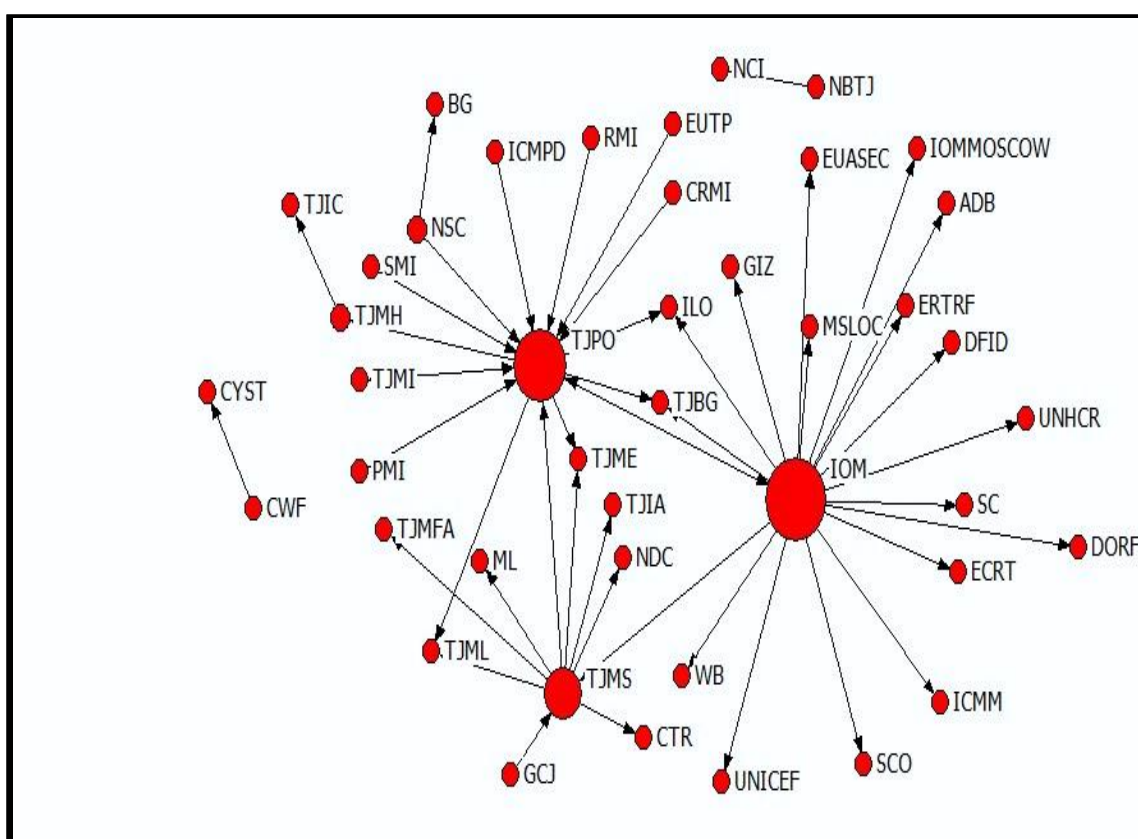
Measures of Centrality and Power - TJ	
Number of Advocacy Circles (5)	1-ILO IOM TJPO; 2-IOM TJBG TJPO; 3-IOM TJMS TJPO; 4-TJME TJMS TJPO; 5-TJMS TJML TJPO
# Organizations	43

There are five advocacy coalitions or cliques in Tajikistan migration policy network defined based on organizational interests, and resource and communication exchange ties among organizations. All coalitions consist of three formal organizations that communicate directly or indirectly among themselves about policy matters and who prefer the same outcome. These subsets are referred as 'advocacy circles'. The advocacy circles #1 and #5 can be called as such, as they have three member organizations where #1 advocacy circle members all support the 'pro' outcome for Recruitment-policy prioritization and, #5 advocacy circle prefers the 'con' outcome. When TJPO works with the ILO and IOM, the recruitment policy prioritization is agreed upon, but when TJPO takes that to the TJML and TJMS, there may be objections to introducing recruitment as the prioritized policy due to the fact that it requires institutional capacity building and reshuffling of the existing structure. The IOM can serve as a broker, which channels donors' funds for the capacity building of the TJPO, TJMS, TJML and other state organizations to accept recruitment-policy prioritization. Out of these five advocacy circles the smallest subset of organizations that has restricted scope and consciously coordinates their policy influence activities are IOM, TJMS and TJPO, which are considered to be the action set coalition (#3) in Tajikistan migration policy network.

The group cohesion or connectivity and strong ties between TJPO, TJMS, IOM is important, as if cohesion is weak and communication are disjointed, then more than one action set in favor of the same policy may emerge. For an action

set to be cohesive, all its members should be directly or indirectly linked together in communication of other networks, prefer the same migration policy outcomes for the event, and jointly engage in lobbying or other policy influencing activities/events. The power dimensions based on resource/information exchange and coalition-building capacity of these three action-set organizations are calculated using the centrality measures. The above discussion in this chapter on involvement of these organizations in financing, project funding, technical assistance, information sharing, provision of facilities was converted into relational data to generate above network graph. The TJPO, TJMS, and IOM occupy the center of the Tajikistan migration policymakers' network, in a sense that they send and receive valuable information and resources from other organizations. Although, whether these three central and influential organizations unified in their preferences over recruitment policy prioritization is not clear. They must negotiate compromises and concessions. The less powerful organizations, such as ILO and the TJML are in the middle of the powerful organizations, building coalitions to influence the outcome (coalition #1 for ILO and #5 for TJML). This analysis is based on Emerson and Cook's power dependence theory. The theory explains power of less influential organizations resting on the degree that powerful organizations depend on them - ILO and TJML - to supply desired resources and on each other for information and resource exchanges. The following table (8) ranks the centrality measures of the Tajikistan migration policymakers' network based on degree, betweenness, closeness and eigenvector.

Table 9: Centrality measures for Tajikistan migration policy network

ORG	Degree	Betweenness	Closeness	Eigenvector
IOM	**45**	**53**	**18**	**75.7**
TJPO	**35.7**	**44**	**18**	**65.7**
TJMS	**24**	**26**	**18**	**47**
NSC	4.8	4.3	15.7	14
TJMH	4.8	4.3	15.7	13.4
CWF	2.4	0	2.3	0
NBTJ	2.4	0	2.4	0
UNHCR	2.4	0	15.7	15
UNICEF	2.4	0	15.7	15
WB	2.4	0	15.7	15

Three organizations of the dominant action set coalition (highlighted in bold blue in the table and have larger circle sizes in the network graph) are the IOM, TJPO and TJMS in this order. They have a favored position, fewer constraints and more opportunities in R-policy prioritization decision-making. Different measures provided by network analysis explain different approaches to the notion of the power that attaches to these organizations positions within Tajikistan migration policy network. The degree centrality shows that some organizations have more opportunities and alternatives than others. This measure indicates the popularity of the organizations within the network. The IOM has 45 ties with other organizations in the network, and more ties means the more power they have. Degree centrality shows that IOM is autonomous and less dependent on any specific other organization in the network, as it is tied to most of other network's

organizations directly and does not require intermediary to connect it. TJPO has degree of 35.7, and TJMS – 24, while other organizations have less than 5 ties. Therefore IOM, TJMO, TJMS with more connections[142] have favored positions, hence are more powerful.

The closeness centrality of the IOM is 18, which is the same for TJPO and TJMS, making all three of them equally dominant in R-policy prioritization decision based on the shortest path they have to many other organizations. This measure indicates the number of other organizations that TJPO, IOM, TJMS can reach in one or two steps. That's important for spreading the information and resources to all.

The IOM 75, TJPO 65, TJMS 47 eigenvector indicates the connection with the neighboring organization with highest degree centrality compared to other organizations within the migration policy network. TJBG and ILO have connection to the strongest neighbors but they are not bridging. Their connection is one of communication, not control as the direction of the arrows shows. The communication direction is one sided. TJMS was established with the initiative and framework of the IOM and it looks like it is not necessarily subordinate to the TJPO, it can have opposite idea on migration management.

---

[142] 'Degree' indicates the *popularities* of certain or overall migration policy actors/organizations within a given MSS migration policy network; 'closeness' analyzes the *shortest path* or distance among certain or overall policy actors/organizations in migration policy network; and 'betweenness' indicates the *bridging power* of certain or group of policy actors in the network (Scott, 2007; Wasserman and Faust, 1994).

The size of the circles and labels of organizations in the network graph present the highest level of betweenness. IOM – 53, TJPO – 44, TJMS – 26 are measures of betweenness for the three most powerful and influential organizations within the policy network that were significant for change of the remittance prioritized policy to the recruitment policy. They indicate the bridging power of each of these three organizations. IOM has the highest measure of 53, which means that other organizations depend on it. IOM falls on the 53 geodesic paths between other pairs of organizations in the network. If IOM is removed from between any two organizations that it links, then those two lose their connection with each other. Based on the results of the cohesion and centrality measures provided for the Tajikistan migration policy network, we can infer that the IOM with degree =45, betweenness =53, closeness=18 and eigenvector = 75 is the most influential and dominant policy actor. This confirms Hypothesis 1 in Chapter 3, on the recruitment-policy prioritization by the migrant state, if the IOM is dominant in its migration policy network. That was inferred from the study of the IOM best practice being the migration policy directed for the increased number of organized recruited labor migrants abroad. The influence of the Philippines consultants as reputable migrant-sending state is obvious too. Though there are also other neighboring sending states with the Soviet past around Tajikistan that impacted its organized recruitment prioritization policy.

5.7. Recruitment-policy prioritization as a result of indirect coercive transfer

The IOM and the TJPO-led coalitions have certain level of conflict with regards on what R-policy to prioritize and provide all the information and resources they have to present their understanding of how mass emigration in Tajikistan should be addressed. This leads to their engagement in analytical debates for some time, as was discussed in section on organizations' interests.

Figure 8: Strategic Interaction between Tajik Presidential Office and IOM advocacy coalitions on recruitment-policy prioritization
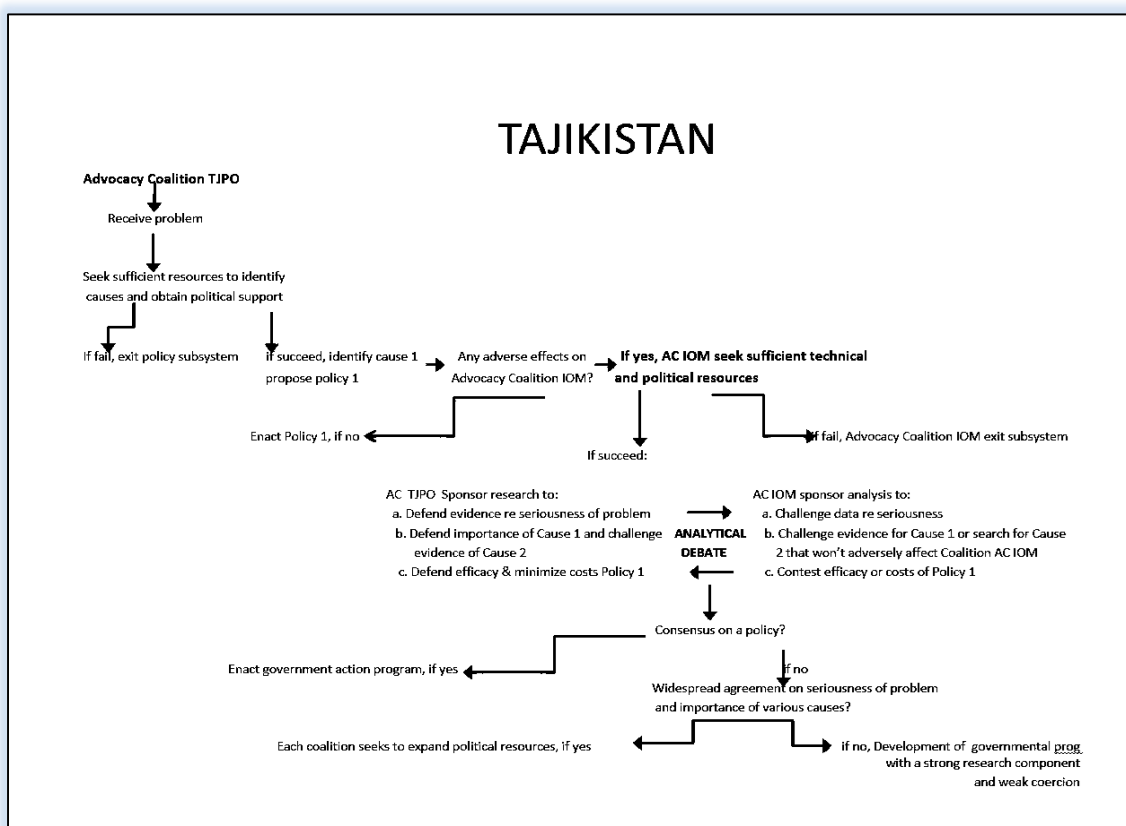
These debates took place in the open forums, seminars and other formal as well as informal settings and each coalition had the technical resources to engage in migration management debates. The above graph is the TJPO and IOM coalition strategic interactions on R-policy prioritization over several years. Over the first 10-12 years after independence, when Tajikistan faced the problem of mass outmigration, the TJPO did not have much outside support for development of the labor migration strategy based on the recruitment-policy prioritization. The only cause of more outmigration of the younger people en-masse and no termination of the migration was seen in economic hardships, wage differentials and inequality that the country faced. The only response was to develop measures for the cheaper and faster transfer of the remittances of the labor migrants and their use by the families of migrants for longer-term investments.

Some progress has been achieved in this area with mushrooming of the money transfer companies and providing micro-credits to families of migrants and women left behind in addition to the remittance money they could invest in small business. But this remittance investment related measures are negligible and the country is liberal in its approach to people's use of the remitted money. The private recruitment agencies emerged in the free market economy and mushroomed left without government regulation. The state migration agency was absent and state or national labor migrant recruitment organization was non-existent. The International Organization for Migration started working with the Tajik Government since 1992 when Tajikistan was an observer state. The IOM understood the

migration management problem being related to unorganized and irregularity of the phenomenon. Initially it worked on returning Tajik refugees from neighboring countries providing operational assistance to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees. Later, when many returned refugees and others who were in the country found themselves jobless without any social security, it proposed to adopt the Philippines model and work on prioritizing organized recruitment policy. The development of the recruitment-policy prioritized strategy was based on the process of transfer of knowledge about policies, institutions, administrative arrangements from the Philippines, Nepal and other migrant-sending states. The policy experts like Achacoso and the IOM used their international and regional networks as a source of ideas for the new programs to support recruitment policy. The recruitment prioritization is not necessarily a direct coercive policy transfer by the IOM in Tajikistan. Though the IOM can be consider a policy pusher, but it is the emergence of the international consensus within the CIS between migrant-sending states and Russia and Kazakhstan, as well as Tajik policy actors belief that their country is falling behind neighbors and competitors from Caucuses, Eastern Europe and other Central Asian countries that lead to indirect coercive transfer of recruitment by the IOM.

Tajikistan did not have a history of mass emigration before 1990s and voluntary learning from its past was not possible, due to non-existence of migration policies. IOM was not highly influential in terms of introducing the recruitment policy, until the DFID, USAID and other donor organizations funding and support

it received to be active in Tajikistan's migration policy network. The government officials' answers to the questionnaires reveal importance of such factors as image, perceptions, reputation and obligations that put international pressure on them to have an explicit policy strategy.

There is no much of a pressure and R-policy push from Russia or Kazakhstan, therefore the IOM filled that gap of the powerful policymaker providing that the 'right strategy' based on its best practice and reputation in the field of migration is an organized recruitment of labor abroad given poor employment conditions facing the country. Achacoso was hired by the IOM to work on Central Asian mass migration management issues and, in line with the IOM "best practice" of no barriers to migration, opened the doors of opportunities for Tajikistan civil servants to build their capacity through learning the experience of the Philippines, which helped Tajikistan to prioritize the recruitment and work on increasing the number of labor migrants considering it as a beneficial policy for the overall economic development of the country. Tajikistan would not mind to have organized labor migration recruitment regulated by the state, but lacked and still does capacity to work on the issue. As IOM is interested in promoting its best practice across the globe, while it becomes more and more influential with more than 150 countries becoming its members, it provides Tajik government with capacity building and empowerment resources to adopt and implement migration facilitation measures.

Conclusion

Tajikistan represents a migrant-sending state prioritizing the recruitment policy, which means to increase number of its labor emigrants in foreign labor markets, explore new markets, and provide pre-departure orientations, trainings, and legal information to potential labor migrants. But the there is no centralized state lead employment agency dealing with labor migrants and Tajik government regulates the activities of the private employment agencies, providing free market recruitment prioritized labor migration management. The International Organization for Migration and representative of other migrant-sending states - the Philippines – emerged as a dominant action set coalition in Tajik migration policy network, which opposed TJPO (Tajik government's) policy that initially focused on remittance transfer and investment, had a little experience on refugee resettlements, but no history of labor migration management. Through the resource exchanges, technical assistance and consultations, this advocacy coalition of IOM and MSS convinced Tajik government, based on its needs, to use its labor power as a resource to develop a comprehensive migrant-recruitment policy. This R-policy is prioritized in national migration concept paper and National Strategy of Labor Migrants of the Republic of Tajikistan 2011-2015. The new National Strategic Paper on Labor Migration, which is under consideration as of this writing, also prioritizes labor recruitment abroad with detailed concept paper and action-plan listing small and large programs for pre-departure preparation of the potential migrants.

In general, though the most developed area of national migration strategy of Tajikistan have been encouraging remittance transfers through formal channels, it never truly opposed the organized recruitment of labor migrants abroad. The IOM, later the Consultants from the Philippines Overseas Employment Agency and Kyrgyz Republic that began organized recruitment of labor abroad much earlier, reassured the Tajik Government about pursuance of the recruitment prioritized migration policy as the best approach to benefit country's development. They have done it through information exchange and some level of technical assistance and capacity building of the migration-policymaking officials. It was not purely voluntary policy transfer, but to certain degree it is based more on learning rather than conditionality-based direct coercive transfer.

CHAPTER 6

MOLDOVA: 3R migration policy network and return-policy prioritization

The current national migration strategy of Moldova regulates provision of services for returning migrants and stimulating conditions to prevent emigration of citizens. The large number of Moldovan migrants goes to Russia (63% of migrants) and out of 30% of Moldovan migrants in the EU almost 20% consider Italy their "dream migration country" (Mosneaga 2015:4).

Figure 9: Estimated number of Moldovan citizens in various MRS, end of 2012. in %
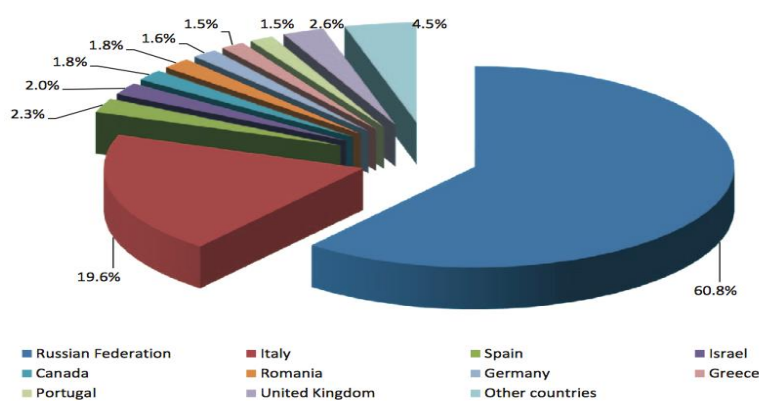
Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration (MFAEI) (data from diplomatic and consular missions of the Republic of Moldova in host countries).

Source: IOM Extended Migration Profile of Moldova 2007-2012:31

Moldova prioritizes return/readmission and pursues the co-development migration strategy, which focuses on controlled migration; border management; return from migrant-receiving states, and expert exchange programs. This migrant-sending state is located between the Eurasian (CIS) and Western (European Union) migration systems (CARIM 2013:65). Prior to development of the comprehensive migration policy the country had a more than a decade of the history of increased outmigration. There was no clear national labor migration strategy in place, though some attempts at attracting diaspora and channeling its funds for development of the home country have been in place.

6.1. Background information on migration from Moldova

The active outmigration of the Moldovans started in the mid-1990s and it continues till today when a significant number of them want to leave in order to earn money abroad. According to research, "almost 40% of the working age population of Moldova want to leave the country, but cannot carry out their intentions" (WB and ETF 2010; Mosneaga 2012). The labor migration has become a defining feature of socio-political life in Moldova over the last decade. Most of the Moldovan families were driven out of poverty and remittances fueled country's consumption-based economic growth. But, on the other side, the Moldovan economy became highly dependent on labor migrants' remittances, and the social fabric came under serious threat in addition to the pronounced labor shortages in all sectors of economy.

According to MRS statistics, 615171 Moldovan migrants resided abroad in 2012, which is about 17.3% of the total population of the country. Women represent one third of all Moldovan labor migrants and according to National Bureau of Statistics data, 78% of total of labor migrants are aged from 15 to 44 years old, 22% 15-24 years old and 34% are 25-34 years old. There is a disproportionate distribution of the migrants considered as qualified specialists, as having higher education, and secondary education. Nevertheless, the number of both female and male labor migrants with higher education is increasing (IOM EMP 2013:22). Remittances, according to the World Bank data amounted 1562 mln USD in 2011 forming 51% of FDI stock and 72.5% of earnings obtained from exports. The remittance transfers were slowing down and there was a reduction from 34.7% of GDP in 2006 to 22.3% in 2011. The Moldovan diaspora serves as a source of electoral support and financial capital to support investment.

There is an issue with reintegration of the returning migrants as they face problem of job placement in Moldova's domestic labor market, due to wage differentials, different specifics and content of work, lack of information about labor activity in domestic conditions, and lack or presence of qualifications and professional skills. Based on statistical and sociological data, the International Labor Organization concluded that private employment agencies inform the migrant workers and are involved in finding jobs in domestic and foreign labor markets (ILO 2013). According to the International Organization for Migration's Moldovan Migration Profile, as of the year 2013-14 "the return of Moldovan migrant

workers does not have a great amplitude" and during 2008 economic crisis they did not return in large numbers to Moldova (IOM EMP 2013:60). By 2007 the remittances sent by labor migrants reached one third of the country's GDP, about one quarter of labor force migrated abroad, and from 1999 to 2004, according to the World Bank 2011 Report, roughly 40 % of people moved out of poverty. Moldovan Diaspora abroad is often considered as a source of money, investment and entrepreneurship to spur development, as well as an important pool for votes.[143] Looking at the negative side of outmigration, one can observe same things that are present in all other migrant sending states: labor shortages, remittance-dependent economic growth, 'Dutch disease', and family stress. In the face of these enormous changes that outmigration brought into the social, political and economic landscapes of Moldova after its independence, the country has developed and still in process of finalizing government strategy on migration management.

6.2. Basic legal structure and key migration policy papers

Based on the inferences of the extensive research on migration policy developments, the Moldovan government for long time had no interest in the return/readmission and reintegration of its labor emigrants, as migration created no problems for the authorities. The mass emigration of the working age population

---

[143] For instance, in the last parliamentary elections of 2010 Diaspora votes (65500 overall) added two mandates to ruling coalition and helped it to defeat the Communists' opposition. As both development and electoral impact of impact of migration is set to grow it would be useful to see how stance of different parties on migration has evolved on programmatic level.

and multi-million dollar remittances minimized the sharpness of the social conflict. The priorities of the Moldovan officials have changed early to mid-2000s, which is reflected in their national migration policy.

National Migration Strategy (model) of Moldova, its legal framework, strictly divides competences between responsible bodies and works in favor of stronger relations with Moldovan citizens abroad, provides services to returning migrants, and stimulates conditions to prevent emigration of citizens (Bartolemeo et al. 2014: 65). Today Moldova is the only Eastern European state that signed the EU Mobility Partnership with the comprehensive portfolio of initiatives on migration policy. And it is also the only country specializing in legal framework on integration of returning migrants (Bartolemeo et al. 2014: 7). The Moldovan National Strategy in migration and asylum domain for 2011-2020 was approved, which provides the basis for comprehensive regulation of migration flows and stocks, harmonization of the national legal framework with international and EU laws. The following table summarizes general legal references, multilateral agreements within the framework of CIS and EU that Moldova is part of and the ratified international standards by Moldova (CARIM 2013:65- 67).

Table 10: General Legal References of Moldova

General legal references	**2013** Government Decision for Approval of Additional Measures to the National Program for the implementation of the Moldova – EU Action Plan in the field of visa liberalization regime **2013** Government Decision for the approval of the Regulation on issuing identity documents and evidence of the residents of the Republic of Moldova (second generation of identity documents) **2013** Government Decision on the approval of the Regulation regarding issuance of visas
	2011 Law on the Integration of Foreigners in the Republic of Moldova **2011** Law on the state border of the Republic of Moldova **2011** Law on the border police **2011** National Strategy in the Domain of Migration and Asylum (2011-2020) **2011** National Action Plan for the Implementation of the National Strategy in the Domain of Migration and Asylum (2011-2015)
	2008 Law on Labor Migration **2008** Law on Asylum in the Republic of Moldova **1994** Law on the Legal Status of Foreign Citizens and Stateless Persons **1994** Law on exit and entry in the Republic of Moldova **1994** Constitution of the Republic of Moldova
Multilateral agreements within the framework of CIS signed	**2011** Agreement regarding collaboration between ministries of internal affairs of the CIS countries in their fight against human trafficking **2008,** November 14. Convention on the legal status of migrant workers and their families, adopted by CIS Member States **2005**, November 25. Protocol on amendments to the Agreement on cooperation within the field of labor migration and social protection **1994**, April 15. Agreement on cooperation within the field of labor migration and social protection for migrant workers

Since its independence the migration policy of Moldova has undergone significant changes with the few clear policies in 1994 to more comprehensive national policies in 2008 and 2011. In early 1990s the concept of the 'migration and security' was in the basis of the national policy focusing on the protection of the Moldovan immigrants coming from the former Soviet Union territories, or of the

regular/irregular migrants (Moraru et al 2012). The concept has changed to 'protection of regular and irregular Moldovan labor migrants abroad' (Mosneaga MISMES 2015:8). The MISMES (Migrant Support Measures from an Employment and Skills Perspective) program funded by the European Training Foundation began projects on labor recruitment for an organized export. But according to the latest MISMES (2015) program implementation report:

> The recommendations of international organizations regarding the Filipino experience (early 2000s) in the organized exports of the labor force have not been accepted by Moldova: unlike the Philippines, Moldova is not isolated from the destination countries of Moldovan labor migrants by sea and hence, migration poses fewer geographic obstacles for Moldovan migrants (MISMES 2015: 8).

The migration management focusing on the 'migration and development' nexus began to emerge in the second half of the 2000s. The strategy was consideration of the importance of attracting migrant capital and diaspora capital for socio-economic development. The return and reintegration of Moldovan labor migrants was not in the interest of Moldova as migrants created no problems for the authorities. This is about to change with the interest of the EU MRS for regularization of the international labor migration diffused to the EU eastern neighborhood that affected Moldovan migration policy priorities immensely. As Moldova moved from a reactive to a proactive foreign policy, based on cooperation with the EU in 2007-2008, this included change in their migration policy too (Mosneaga, MISMES 2015:9). The Moldovan strategy is intended to contribute to state security, socio-economic development and achievement of European integration goals. The National Strategy on Migration Action Plan for 2011-2015

was approved in terms of the implementation of the Strategy encompassing cooperation with the CIS countries based on bilateral and regional agreements. The Moldova-EU Action Plan includes specific objectives regarding the migration domain. The National Programs were adopted by Moldova, in which the European vector has become a must for the public authorities in implementing the policies.

Recruitment of labor migrants is discussed in the Law on Labor Migration dated July 10, 2008, which regulates conditions for temporary employment of the citizens of Moldova abroad. The Law defines emigrant workers as "citizens of Moldova, with permanent domicile on its territory who voluntarily left the country to another country in order to perform a temporary labor activity" (Bartolomeo et al. 2014: 68). The migration cases are examined according to five criteria, namely, i) Moldovan citizenship, ii) permanent domicile in Moldova, iii) voluntary departure from the country, iv) a state of destination different from Moldova, and v) performance of temporary labor activity (MPC 2013:8). The Law defines two categories of workers: seasonal and border zone worker. The seasonal migrant worker is employed in another state based on individual employment contract within a certain period of the calendar year. The border zone labor migrant is employed in a border zone state, who returns at least once a week to Moldova. The Law provides for temporary employment in a voluntary basis, through private employment agencies and according to the provisions of bilateral agreements

(MPC 2013:9).[144]The Government of Moldova signed with the Government of Italy an Agreement on Labor Migration and an Implementation Protocol. The special entry quota is guaranteed by the Italian government to the citizens of Moldova based on this agreement and it especially specifies that 'the quarter of the quota will be managed by the relevant Moldovan Ministry" (Bartolemeo et al. 2014: 69). It provides for the development of circular migration schemes for Moldovan workers, joint projects for technical assistance, the implementation of common initiatives for Moldovans staying in Italy, organization of vocational training and Italian language courses, offered by Italian institutions in Moldova.

The draft bilateral agreement is completed for signing with the Russian Federation on cooperation in the labor migration domain and temporary labor activities of migrants on the territories of Moldova and Russia. The bilateral agreements on temporary employment of migrant workers from Moldova in certain sectors in Israel was signed in October 16, 2012, while other agreements with Belarus, Ukraine, Azerbaijan are still in force. The private employment agencies are not very active in Moldova and people use their own social networks. Due to the gap in the Moldova's law, general lack of trust in these services, lack of awareness of their activities, and weakness in attracting employers, the role of the

---

[144] The following forms of temporary employment abroad for Moldovan citizens is provided in the Law:
i)   employment based on an individual employment contract concluded with the employer before exiting the country
ii)   through private employment agencies, which have licenses
iii)   according to the provisions of bilateral agreements

private employment agencies is very negligible (Mosneaga, ETF MISMES 2015:24). According to the International Labor Organization (2013c), 20 private employment agencies function in Moldova and about 65 such agencies in migrant-receiving states are involved in international job matching. On the other hand, the National Employment Agency, which is the governmental agency, works much more closely with the foreign policy actors/partners. The private employment agencies are accountable to the NEA and provide statistical report on mediated employment abroad and number of persons. Mostly the job-matching services in Moldova for potential labor migrants are offered by different international policy interventions. The Targeted Initiative for Moldova (TIM) "Strengthening the Moldova capacity to manage labor and return migration" deals with the NEA since 2009 within Readmission Agreement framework (MISMES 2015:25).

In terms of *return/readmission agreements,* Moldova has signed the Readmission Agreement with the EU and some separate agreements with other EU and non-EU countries. This was done due to the belief that "the large-scale nature of labor emigration posing the threat of depletion for the country, which has had fewer human resources" (Mosneaga, MISMES 2015:8). The Agreement between the EU and Moldova on the readmission of persons residing without authorization was signed in 2007 and entered into force on January 1, 2008. The implementation protocols were signed under Article 19 of the Agreement, with the Czech Republic, Estonia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Hungary, Slovakia, Germany, Austria, Latvia, Bulgaria, Malta and Benelux. Moldova also signed

separate readmission agreements with Italy and Norway in July 3, 2002 and May 31, 2005 respectively (Bartolemeo et al. 2014: 68). Under the Readmission Agreement of 2007 and joint declaration, the implementation protocols were signed with Switzerland and Denmark. The readmission agreements with Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Montenegro, Albania, Serbia, Turkey and Ukraine are in place, apart from the EU. Moldova is currently negotiating a readmission agreement with Russia and main countries of origin. The Readmission Agreements are signed both in the EU and state-to-state levels.

As we observe the readmission agreements with EU member-states is very important part of migration legal framework in Moldova. This framework uses labor migrants recruitment abroad regulated by the state and to serve the goal of encouraging circular migration and prevention of emigration in the future. The impact of Readmission Agreements is enormous. The overall general government migration strategy is directed towards development of policies that stimulate the migrants' desire to return home, and creating visa-free regime between Moldova and the European Union. The right of free movement, the right to exit and enter the country was one of the first rights declared by the state, after its independence, in Law 'On Migration' (1990). And, according to official statistics over 210 thousand people left the country for permanent residence abroad during the first years of independence. But from the early twenty first century compared to the early 1990s, the number of emigrants leaving for permanent residence abroad stabilized at the level of 6-7 thousand persons per year.

6.3. Migration Policy Network

Moldova due to its geopolitical position and political course is closer to the EU and shapes the Western migration vector, while centuries of history, socio-economic and psychological-emotional ties with Russia contribute to its Eastern vector of migration. Its geopolitical location makes it part of both migration systems (Western and Eurasian) (Ivakhnyuk 2014:2). The geographic proximity to two significant migrant-receiving states/regions with two different migration systems pushes Moldova to have relationships with various organizations that function in both systems. The migration salience, as was mentioned above, is much more significant in Eurasian migration system, with more than 60% of Moldovans emigrating to Russia, but it has economic, cultural, and historical ties. 30% of Moldovans migrate to Europe, but its ties with Europe are less strong due to it being an isolated Soviet republic for several decades. This latter fact makes 30% of Moldovan migration to Europe a more salient in EU-Moldova foreign policy concerns, than 60% of them in Russia for shaping Moldova – Russia relationship. The geographic proximity and migration salience in combination determine the organizations active in Moldovan migration policy network for the last two decades as well as their conflicting interests. The Moldovan migration policy network has more than 77 organizations actively involved in R-policy decision-making. The following section lists main state and non-state regional and domestic organizations of Moldovan network.

6.4. 3R-policy network and organizations interests in return policy prioritization

Several governmental organizations are involved in migration policy network of Moldova, such as: Ministry of Labor, Social Protection and Family (MLSPF), the Department of Migration, Asylum and Border Police within the Ministry of Internal Affairs (DMABP-MIA), the Ministry of Economy (ME), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration (MFAEI), Ministry of Education (MoE), Ministry of Health (MH), the Bureau for Relations with Diaspora within the State Chancellery, Ministry of Information Technologies and Communication (MITC), etc. The number of international/regional and domestic non-governmental organizations involved in 3R-migration policymaking is much higher than in previous case: the World Bank (WB), the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the International Labor Organization (ILO), European Training Foundation (ETF), United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), Hilswerk Austria International, the Targeted Initiative for Moldova (TIM), Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC), International Agency for Source Country Information (IASCI), International Center for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD), World Health Organization (WHO), United Nations Development Program office in Moldova (UNDP-M), Center of International Migration and Development, Germany (GIZ), and etc. [145]

---

[145] The list of migration policy network actors/organizations is compiled from various reports of the IOM, ICMPD, ETF, and Moldovan governmental sources.

As in most of their parliamentary debates and discussions political parties invoke the issue of labor migration management, it would not be an error to include them as political organizations involved in communication exchanges within the migration policy network of Moldova. The existing coalition party consists of Democratic Party (DP, 15 mandates), Liberal Democratic Party (LDP, 31), and Liberal Party (LP, 12); and then there is the Communist Party (CP) of Moldova. There was a lot going on in terms of evolution of the Moldovan political landscape, during last 20 years. From most of the parties that were active in the 90's only one survived continuing its important role in the last decade. That's the Communist Party. Other significant parties were either established in the last five years or evolved and changed so much that do not have much in common to their legal predecessors.

The coalition government ruled Moldova since 2009 (based on 4 parties till the end of 2010 and 3 parties after that). Beginning of 2009 the Communist Party, which was the dominant party, became the only opposition party in country; it ruled Moldova from 2001 to 2009. There are many more extra parliamentary parties, though they have very limited power in the political discourse, especially in the migration domain. Thus with identification of influential organization on migration within the central government and distribution of their power, it makes sense to concentrate solely on parties represented in the Parliament. In 2001 the Communist Party came to power when economic situation was severely deteriorating and as a result of early elections stemming from political crisis. At this

time the outmigration exploded from Moldova and further there was no economic recovery towards growth. Interestingly there was little mentioning of the migration phenomenon in the Communist party's document, despite the fact that under its rule the labor emigration from Moldova became a fully-fledged trend (Oprunenko, CARIM-East 2013:392).[146] Nevertheless, we can observe significant evolution of the migration management in Moldova. The discourse of the Communist party and the actual work done on the ground do not match. The Party's rhetoric was somewhat negative towards labor emigration as it claimed that economic recovery was jobless and on the ground a lot have been accomplished with the involvement of international development community to lay foundation for the migration management framework (Oprunenko, CARIM-East 2013:392; Mosneaga 2007).

And it was during the ruling of the Communist Party in Moldova that extensive work has been accomplished on legalization of migration flows, and bilateral cooperation with the migrant receiving states both on the East and West migration vectors. There were various cooperation initiatives between EU and Moldova, followed by the Action Plan between both parties. Further in 2000s the efforts were directed in attraction of Moldovan migrants back (or their remittances) to support economic growth of the country. The Liberal Party's critique in opposition to the Communist Party was the consumption-led and jobless economic

---

[146] PCRM 2008 (The Communist Party Program) mentions migration once only, though the latest electoral platform – PCRM 2010 - omits the issue altogether (CARIM-EAST, Eastern Europe Migration Report 2013:392).

growth, due to CP's labor migration facilitation efforts. That might explain why the Liberal Party and coalitions' program documents reflect the labor outmigration issue to a larger extent. Nevertheless, there is significant convergence in the party documents of the opposition liberal party and communist party, as the program approved by both coalition members before and after 2009 underscores the following main goals (PDM 2010, LP 2010, and PLDM 2011):

1. Rural development and/or overall job creation as a method to make countryside more attractive place to return to and to live in for migrants (DP, LDP, LP)
2. To overcome 'brain-drain' attract migrants back (LDP)
3. Free movement through visa liberalization with the EU (LDP, LP)
4. Risks posed by migrants to the national pension system (DP)
5. Attracting remittances as investment (DP)

The coalition parties' approaches towards migration do not appear very comprehensive on the party programmatic level, however there are great deal of similarity and compatibility between them and this according to Oprunenko (CARIM EAST 2013) facilitated the migration policymaking process. All the Moldovan state parties' programmatic goals focus on the migration-development nexus and legalization of labor migrants in receiving states: namely, facilitate liberalization of visa regime for travelling to the EU countries, need for legalization and protection of migrants, attract migrants and remittances back home for development, etc.

After 2008, with the signing of the Mobility Partnership with the EU and closer cooperation, the following important legal document was enforced: the National Action plan to stimulate the return of Moldovan Migrant Workers (2008).

Especially important is the Governmental Regulation that formulated the decision to establish the Agency of Diaspora Affairs and develop Action plan for 2011-2014 to support Moldovan diaspora (2011). This Plan ought to supplement the Action plan to introduce the National Strategy in the field of migration and asylum (2011-2020). Moldovan migration policy covers a number of important areas. It includes ensuring the constitutional right of Moldovan citizens to freedom of movement (exit and return), for example the 'Law on Migration' (2008) regulates the activities of private employment agencies abroad and introduces certain restrictions on employment of Moldovan citizens associated with property and family obligations, custody over children of migrant workers. It also addresses issues of interaction with Moldovan diaspora and ethno-cultural communities abroad based on which the Coordination Council for Diaspora Affairs was formed (Mosneaga 2013: 369-370). The Moldovan communities abroad are attracted by the authorities at home in order to utilize their financial capital and intellectual potential for modernization and socio-economic development of the country as a whole, as well as small business, individual settlements etc.

Moldovan government collaborates with the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (this organization is an expert on return and resettlement) and the International Organization for Migration office in Moldova. To ensure the quality and efficiency of decision-making and acquisition of information from the country of origin, quarterly meetings and consultations with the legal advisor of the UNHCR office are carried out (Mosneaga, CARIM-EAST

2013:452). The Istanbul Protocol – a guide to efficient investigation and documentation of torture and other cruel treatment or punishment containing internationally recognized standards, was published in 2010, which serves as an instruction on how to identify and document the indicators of torture for physicians and lawyers in Moldova. Based on agreements and memorandums Moldova cooperates with many non-governmental organizations, such as UNHCR (the MoU with border service of Moldova, Migration and Asylum Bureau of the Moldovan Ministry of the Interior); NGO 'The Law Center of Advocates', Center for charity for refugees, Center of Consultations in Business, etc. there is also the network of NGOs supported by the Dutch Council for Refugees (MATRA Foundation) (Mosneaga, CARIM-EAST 2013:452).

The pilot program PARE 1+1 for 2010-2012 was carried out to attract financial transfers to the country's economy and state program 2009-2011 for small and medium business support. These programs mainly use information campaigns to teach population to use bank services, rely on official channels for financial transfers, and informing them about possibility of bank loans to start private business. Programs on Moldovan diaspora attraction include: i) work with Moldovan scientific diaspora; ii) stimulation of return of Moldovan migrants home and their reintegration; iii) consideration of migration problems in the context of social policies of the country; iv) international cooperation in the field of mobility and return migration; and v) achievement of visa-free regime with the European Union member states (Mosneaga 2013: 372). Another area of Moldovan diaspora

attraction is home country political life, where the government has become more and more active. The results of government's active diaspora attraction into the political life can be observed in growing political role and electoral activity of diaspora at 2010 parliamentary elections (Mosneaga 2013: 369-370). This government action is important as it is directly related, first of all to the national readmission/return and remittance strategies. Many projects have been carried out since early 2010 to attract researchers of Moldovan origins to develop country's research and technology potential. In this context the cooperation of Moldovan Academy of Sciences with the International Migration Organization and universities of the European Union member states is important. Temporary migration leads to emergence of Moldovan *diaspora* in many countries of the world, as well as it aggravates the problems of demographic security and supply of labor resources for the domestic market and presents a threat to sustainable economic development of the country.

In general, the significant influence of the international organizations and the European Union over the change of attitude of Moldovan authorities on emigration is very clear. For almost one and half decades the Moldovan authorities and political class were not very concerned about emigration. There were many benefits that it brought to the society, reducing acuteness of ethnic and social confrontation within the country, multimillion financial transfers helping the population and migrants' families to survive, absence of social conflicts and protests. This entire situation with rising number of stock of working population

abroad satisfied Moldovan establishment. All of it started changing under the influence of the EU, which convinced Moldovan government that it should undertake certain measures trying to minimize negative effects and risks associated with mass emigration. Nevertheless, this exceeds practically twice the aggregate annual inflow of immigrants and returnees to the Republic of Moldova (CARIM 2013:368). The mass process of international labor migration (temporary emigration) began from the second half of the 1990s, and at the present around 700 thousand persons is involved in temporary migration, which is about 50% of economically active population of Moldova. According to EUROSTAT, more than 240 thousand of the Moldovan citizens legally stay in the European Union (gaining permission to stay and work in 2009). [147]

During the first years of independence 'none of the governments and none of political parties supported the idea of abandoning the democratic principles of freedom of exit and entry, closing the borders and artificially restricting emigration' (Mosneaga 2013: 369). Unlike the case of Tajikistan, Moldova did not have any conceptual/strategic document in the field of labor emigration up to year of 2008. There was rather very close focus on channeling the remittances into the development through attracting the diaspora abroad. There was a legal basis (1 Presidential Decree, 7 Regulations and 1 Governmental Instruction in addition to Article 27 of the Constitution and five laws): i) Procedural Regulations of the

---

[147] Moraru V., Mosneaga V., Rusnyak G. Migration pendulum. Chisinau, "Tipografia-Sirius", 2012:34

Coordination Council for Diaspora Support (2005, starting from 2011 diaspora representatives are members of the Council); Action program of diaspora support (2006); ii) Procedural Regulations of financial support to preserve national and cultural identity of diaspora (2007); iii) National action plan of diaspora support (2008).

Government developed and is now implementing the action plan to stimulate the return of Moldovan labor migrants beginning of 2008. The action plan developed by the government aims at stimulating return of Moldovan migrants home and their reintegration, which envisages complex measures to inform migrants about employment opportunities at home, repatriation procedures, expanding employment opportunities for young people, founding their own business, etc. The Republic of Moldova is one of the first countries (along with Cape Verde), which in 2008 signed an agreement on mobility and return migration with the European Union. From January 1, 2012 financial incentives are provided to returned EU university alumni who found employment in Moldova. Moldovan authorities considered the existing visa regime as one of the obstacles on the path of migrant's return home. They developed national program and Moldova – EU Action Plan in the field of visa regime liberalization signed in March 2011. This is considered as a huge achievement in visa-free regime with the European Union member states.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration (MFAEI) of the Republic of Moldova publishes in its website the Mobility Partnership Scoreboard,

which focuses on the progress of the 124 projects implemented under EU-Moldova Mobility Partnership Agreement. As the following Table 8 (MISMES 2015:12 data extracted from the Scoreboard) shows almost 30% of the Moldovan MP projects fall under the "Consolidation of the National Migration Management System", 19% are projects under "Social protection of migrants and their families"; 10.7% under "Diaspora consolidation and co-development"; and "Development of the Moldovan Labor Market", "Labor Market Schemes", "Cooperation in border management, identity and travel documents, fight against illegal/irregular migration and trafficking in human beings" all make up 10% of projects (Mosneaga, MISMES 2015:12).

As the table demonstrates there are sufficient number of clearly identified projects on return/readmission and overall changing nature of the national migration management system in Moldova by the EU. The projects directed to labor market and labor migration schemes are designed in such a way that imply Moldova's encouragement of its nationals to return, as most of them target migrants in the "post-migration phase" (Mosneaga, MISMES 2015: 18).

Table 11: The EU-Moldova Mobility Partnership Projects by policy focus: 2008-2014 (Source: http://scoreboard.mfa.gov.md/projects and Mosneaga, MISMES 2015:13)

Policy Focus of Projects	Ongoing Projects	Completed Projects	Projects for Consideration	Total
Monitoring migration flows	2	0	0	2
Consolidation of the National Migration M-t System	3	25	2	30
Information on legal migration and assistance for returning migrants	2	3	0	5
Visa and readmission issues	1	3	0	4
Voluntary return and reintegration schemes	1	1	0	2
Cooperation in border management, identity and travel documents, fight against irregular migration and trafficking human beings	6	4	4	14
Social Protection of migrants and their families	3	14	0	17
Development of the Moldovan labor market	6	4	1	11
Labor migration schemes	3	6	0	9
Diaspora consolidation and co-development	7	3	2	12
Total	**34**	**63**	**9**	**106**

Regarding the return policy, there are several issues, such as, i) assisted voluntary return, and ii) forced return: removal, expulsion, and placement under public custody, legal safeguards, and legal assistance. Overall, in the context of Moldova readmission and return has a procedural content and reintegration is considered to be as a more socio-economic process. Two different central government organizations are involved in implementation, i.e. the Ministry of Internal Affairs in the former and the Ministry of Labor, Social Protection and Family is in the latter. The 10 of October 2007 Agreement which was signed in Brussels

between European Community and the Republic of Moldova on the readmission of people residing without authorization entered into force on the January 1, 2008 with the objective of strengthening cooperation in order to more effectively combat illegal immigration. According to the Agreement related to both the European Community and Moldova with regards to the readmission procedure for their own nationals, third-country nationals and stateless persons, transit, escort procedure, and responsible authorities, the Ministry of Internal Affairs via the Bureau of Migration and Asylum is in charge of conducting the readmission procedure of their own nationals and third-country nationals based on the readmission agreements signed by Moldova (Ciumas, CARIM EAST 2013:237). But here the competence of the authority stops and after readmission the competence of the Ministry of Labor, Social Protection and Family and other organizations, such as, the newly created Agency for Diaspora, Inter-ethnical relations Bureau are performed (Ciumas, CARIM East Report 2013:247).

The major player in implementation of the "Strategy for Migration and Asylum 2011-2020" is the Department of Migration and Asylum of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, though there is no a specialized agency/institution for coordination of the activities of the Mobility Partnership in Moldova. The Department of European Integration of MFAEI plays a coordinating role. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration carries out the monitoring of the Mobility Partnership' implementation. There is a biannual Extended Meetings of the Local Cooperation Platform of the EU-Moldova Mobility Partnership. The meetings

results came to the consensus on the need to expand cooperation within the Mobility Partnership especially in the field of migration and development, return and reintegration and support of the migrant workers in the society, and recognition of migrants qualifications (Mosneaga, MISMES 2015: 14).

The forums, where most of the decisions on the policy direction within the EU-Moldova Mobility Partnership are made, are closed and for the purposes of this study the materials were obtained from the second sources, because the special Scoreboard web site is open only for project stakeholders/counterparts, not for global and domestic public. The European Union member-states that signed the Mobility Partnership Declarations, European Commission, agencies of the European Union, and national authorities of Moldova have access to this information. The project priorities of the Moldovan authorities and international organizations most of the time do not coincide, with a lack of agreement in terms of new migration related policy proposals. There are plenty of duplications of the projects sponsored by different agencies leading to dis-coordination and completion between national institutions and agencies in Moldova (ETF, MISMES 2015). The experts working within migration policy network of Moldova note that 'certain international institutions hold monopoly over certain projects, which can lead to tensions with other implementing actors' (Mosneaga 2015:14). Overall, Moldova up to 2005-6 was on its own managing migration of its citizens, mainly relying on the programs of the political parties and few domestic non-governmental

NGOs. Next section turns into discussion of the degree to which advocates of certain R-policy can be dominant in the Moldovan migration policy network.

6.5. Identifying the degree of dominance of the central advocacy

As the previous section discussed the EU, IOM, UNHCR and many more regional and international organizations entered Moldovan migration policy network in early 2000s. The density and connectivity of this policy network leads to conclusions about the degree of dominance of one or more organizations in it. Below are the network graph and cohesion measures that shed light on the fragmentation of the Moldovan migration policy network. As was inferred in analytic framework, the highly fragmented network creates high likelihood of competition, symmetric bargaining and horizontal cooperation. The below graph, which is generated by the NetDraw and measures of whole network cohesion calculated in UCINET, demonstrates that migration policy network fragmentation is quite high, which leads to possible symmetric bargaining between opposing advocacy-coalitions, that are likely to emerge in such network.

Figure 10: The Moldova migration policy network structure based on fragmentation, density and organizations connectivity

Moldova 3R-Migration Policy Network-centralization measures
Density (1.6%)
Fragmentation (84%)
Connectivity (16%)

The perfectly cohesive network shows high percentages in density and connectivity, while low percentage in fragmentation. But this policy network's connectivity is 16%, which is moderately low. This result, first of all leads to emergence of multiple advocacy coalitions and action sets. The presence of the IOM and the World Bank can have its imprints on prioritization of the recruitment and remittance policies. There is possibility of change to return policy prioritization as a result of signing of Mobility Partnership and Readmission Agreement with the EU. Any of these organizations can have symmetric bargain and cooperation to influence prioritization of any R-policy. It depends on their information and resource exchanges and efficient influence tactics used targeting government of Moldova. The cohesion measures only point to the absence of the single powerful and dominant advocacy coalition for the whole network, but do not inform us what those coalition organizations are. Next section identify the powerful, influential actor within the Moldovan migration network that has capacity, considering the foreign policy value of Moldova, to advocate some R-policy prioritization. The measures of centrality - betwenness, degree, closeness, and eigenvector - will be calculated to demonstrate the highest level of influence that one or more organizations present in the Moldovan policy network.

6.6. High dominance of the EU advocacy coalition favoring return/readmission policy

Since signing of the EU Mobility Partnership and the Readmission

Agreements, Moldova resembles a laboratory for the migration-policy implementation. The initiation of the proposals to support migration-related programs lies with the governmental institutions of Moldova, international organizations, or migrant-receiving states of the European Union. They request funding from the main sponsor the European Union, or in less cases its partners/agents (IOM, ILO, ETF, ICMPD, etc.) and other MRS governmental institutions. There is variation in the model of interaction between foreign and Moldovan organizations on the migration program proposals initiation.

The program idea can be discussed informally focusing on objectives and funding possibilities and then drafted. If it belongs to the foreign side, then it usually is based on identified migration and labor market situation of the donor country and the development needs and ask Moldovan side to agree on cooperation and implementation. The international institutions transform an initial bilateral project into a regional one, including other countries with similar requirements like Moldova, in which case there is possibility of establishing a new migration entity to carry out the part of project in Moldova. The European Training Fund provides the inventory on MISMES program implementation within the Mobility Partnership and Readmission Agreement and analyzes successes and failures of the programs and their influence on R-policy prioritization in Moldova.

Analysis of the Moldovan migration policy network demonstrates that there are eight action-set coalitions. These are the most important social structural formation defined by organizational interests, specific events and

information/resource exchanges linking these organizations. These eight are advocacy circles that have three or more formal organizations communicating directly or indirectly among themselves about the 3R-policy matters and prefer the same outcome. Some advocacy circles' members all support the pro outcome for readmission policy, and some the pro outcome for remittance, others for recruitment, and still others for some mixture of 3R-policy.

Figure 11: Moldova 3R-Migration Policy Network
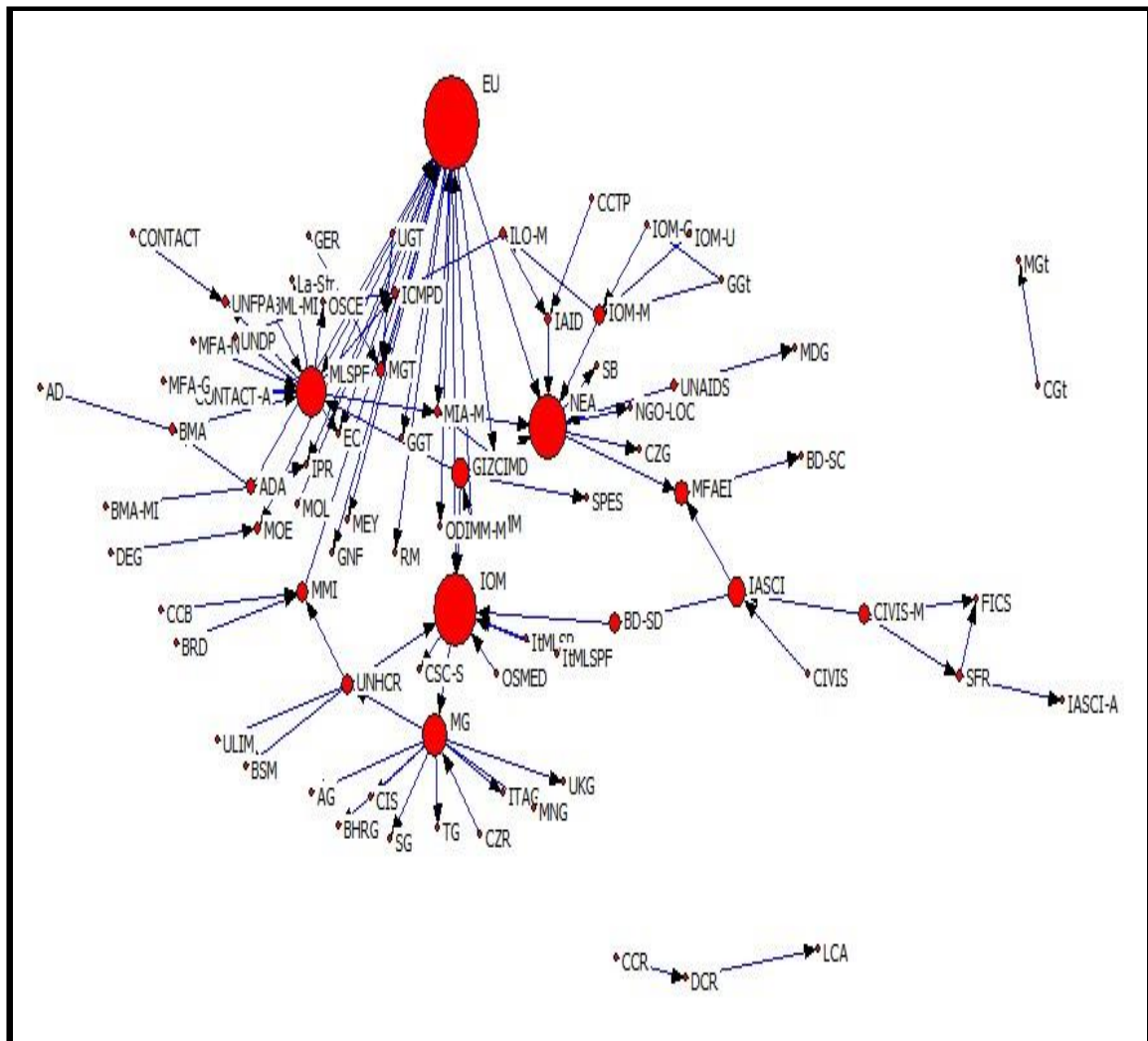
Measures of Centrality and Power - ML	
Number of Advocacy Circles (8)	**1-EU MIA-M MLSPF**; **2-EU MIA-M NEA**; 3-ADA EU IPR; 4-CIVIS-M FICS SFR; 5-GGt IOM-G IOM-M; 6 - MLSPF OSCE UNDP UNFPA; 7 – IOM MG UNHCR; 8 – ICMPD OSCE MLSPF
Organizations	77

In this type of network the interactions over time create the smallest subset of R-policy organizations that are restricted in scope and consists of the smaller number of organizations out of 8 advocacy circles. This small coalition is the action set coalition, who consciously coordinates their R-policy prioritization influence activities. The action set could be #1 EU-MIAM-MLSPF or #2 EU-MIAM-NEA, as the organizations should be strong in their betweenness measure or ability to connect two other organizations in such a way that if they are removed from that link, those two organizations loose contact. Running the centrality measures will help us with identifying the action-set coalition in Moldovan migration policy network.

Table 12: Moldova migration policy network measures of centrality and power

ORGANIZATION	Degree	Betweenness	Closeness	Eigenvector
EU	21	46.3	14	73.3
IOM	10.5	34.2	13.4	31
NEA	13	32	13.3	40
MLSPF	15.7	21	13	55.4
MG	14.4	20.8	12.4	13.7
GIZCIMD	6.6	13	13	30
IASCI	5.3	12.3	11.7	3.4
MFAEI	4	9	12	8.8
UNHCR	6.5	6.5	12.3	13.7
ADA	5.3	4	12.5	22.5

The above table shows that these three and other 7 organizations are quite influential with degrees ranging from 5 to 14.4 for that remaining, which gives them more opportunities and alternatives than the rest 66 organizations in the network. The degree centrality of the EU (21) is twice higher than for the IOM (10.5), but MLSPF's degree equals to 15.7 and NEA 13, which are higher than the IOM. The EU has 21 ties with other organizations in the network, and more ties means the more power it has than the IOM or Moldovan Ministry or government regarding changing the R-policy. This communication and resource connection leads us to decide that the action-set coalition that comes out of the 8 advocacy circles is EU-MLSPF-NEA. As IOM, despite its high betweenness does not fall in any of the coalitions with the most powerful organization of the network, i.e. the EU. The EU with the highest measure of connectedness (degree 21), ability to connect any two organizations in the network (betweenness 46), to reach any organizations in the network within the shortest 1-2 paths (closeness 14) is very little dependent on any other organizations within Moldovan policy network, which makes it the most powerful.

The other method of pinpointing the power and influence of the organizations for R-policy prioritization is looking at their measure of closeness centrality, which is 14 for EU, and 13 for IOM, NEA and MLSPF, while other 7 organizations have their closeness measure equal to 12-13 too. The closeness centrality measure indicates the number of other organizations that each organization can reach in one or two steps. That's important for spreading the

information and resources to all. This migration network seems to be very connected with high reachability with key advocacy circle. The eigenvector that measures the connection with the neighboring organization with highest degree centrality compared to other organizations within the migration policy network is 73 for the EU, 55 for MLSPF and 40 for NEA (Moldovan State National Employment Agency), and 31 for the IOM. The NEA is more connected with more neighbors with high degree centrality. Which makes it more powerful than the IOM in this network.

The size of the circles that indicates organizations is based on betweenness measure, as it points to the ability of the organization to connect as many other organizations in the network as possible having the bridging or brokerage role. The largest organizations/ node size is that of the European Union 46, and IOM 34, while MLSPF is 21 lagging behind NEA 32. The bigger size of the circles/nodes for organizations in the network presents the higher level of betweenness. The EU has the highest measure of 46, which means that other organizations depend on it. The EU and its influence through Mobility Partnership programs and resources fall on the 46 geodesic paths between other pairs of organizations in the network. If the EU is removed from between 2 organizations that it links then those two lose their connection with each other.

The reports explain the reasons why Moldova complies with the EU policy of readmission and return of its citizens including it in its national migration strategy. And the following analysis prove the hypothesis outlined in chapter 3 on

the 'best practice' of the EU being the readmission policy, which is pushed to Moldovan government and accepted. The facts point the prioritization of the return policy over remittance and labor recruitment comes mainly from the foreign side. First, the interviewed experts note in ETF MISMES report about 'preservation of the Soviet mentality by Moldovan authorities, fear of independent solutions unauthorized by superiors, frequent staff changeover and lack of staff professionalism, lack of communication between the higher and lower layers of Moldovan public servants, coordination between ministries and departments involved in the implementation of the migration policy and inability of to defend their own positions in front of foreign donors and partners' (Mosneaga, MISMES 2015:15). Second, foreign actors funded 80% of the migration related projects. Third, about two-thirds of migration related projects in the period when Mobility Partnership was signed consisted of Assisted Voluntary Return and Reintegration (AVRR) of migrants. The return of migrants is not a policy priority of the Moldovan authorities and it never was since the beginning of the mass migration. Fourth, the average length of the projects within the framework of Mobility Partnership and Migrant Support from an Employment and Skills Perspective is two years (23.7 months) and more than half of it is directed in post-migration phase. These observations lead to some tentative conclusions on the role of the major players in Moldovan migration policy network the nature of the R-migration policymaking.

One of the most significant programs that contributes to the return policy of Moldova is the Moldovan component of the regional project launched by

International Organization for Migration in July 7, 2011, which is called the Support for the Implementation of EC Readmission Agreements with the Republic of Moldova, the Russian Federation and Ukraine – Facilitation of Assisted Voluntary Return and Reintegration (SIREADA). The Project's goal is to respond to the Moldova and EU's desire to support the implementation of the bilateral Readmission Agreement through facilitation of reintegration of readmitted/voluntary returned Moldovans. It is a two-year project, which is funded by the EU and co-funded by the Austrian Development Agency with the budget of 467,652 Euros (Ciumas, CARIM EAST 2013:248). The implementing partners were the NGO 'Institute for Penal Reforms', Bureau of Migration and Asylum (of the Ministry of Interior), and the National Employment Agency (under the Ministry of Labor, Social Protection and Family). The project provides voluntary return assistance to readmitted/irregular third-country citizens and enhances the reception capacities, contributing to smooth transition to a sustainable return system in Moldova.

The National Strategy in the Migration and Asylum Domain (2011-2020) underlines the significance of reintegration, ensuring faster and effective reintegration process and maximizing the possible benefits and minimizing the negative consequences of migration. The main objectives with regards of importance of creating the conditions for reintegration of migrant workers are listed in Consortium for Applied Research in Migration-EAST Report 2013, which include facilitation of the migrant workers' return and their economic/social reintegration,

creation of the referral mechanism with regards to returned migrants, and strengthening of the legal framework on return and reintegration of migrants (voluntary returned or readmitted based on the Agreement between EU and Moldova) (Ciumas, CARIM EAST 2013:248). The 2011-2015 Action Plan on implementation of the National Strategy in the Migration and Asylum Domain (2011-2020) provides that the authorities of the Republic of Moldova will perform activities to reintegrate citizens. The reintegration activities of the state authorities include introduction and elaboration of various mechanisms for returned emigrants.

The state establishes mechanisms for the recognition of knowledge and professional experience of migrants obtained abroad by suing them in home country labor market upon return and elaborates the evidence mechanism of returned emigrants to the country with a view to facilitating their access to the Moldovan labor market. It also initiates and accomplishes joint activities with destination countries for facilitating the return and reintegration of migrant workers on the labor market in Moldova and develops projects with a view to knowledge transfer and new competencies upon return to Moldova. The state is also obliged to develop cooperation with international institutions and NGOs with a view to facilitating the voluntary return, readmission and reintegration of migrants of Moldovan origins and to elaborate programs for stimulating the return of Moldovan labor migrants from abroad and their reintegration. The authorities also monitor the

implementation of migrant workers' return programs from abroad and their reintegration (Ciumas, CARIM EAST 2013:248).

The Moldovan public authorities also received concrete tasks for execution regarding solving the current problems of the Republic of Moldova's citizens who are permanently abroad (diaspora). Their tasks are listed in a Disposal of the Government N 90 of September 26, 2011. According to the Disposal the authorities should provide conditions for entrance of low-cost companies on the market with a view to the liberalization of air passengers' traffic, accelerate the process of signing of bilateral agreements on social security with main destination countries, introduce state policy measures for the protection of children lacking parental care as a result of migration. They also have responsibilities on elaboration of specialized programs for the economic/social integration of Moldovan returned migrants and evaluation of possibilities with regards to the creation of one or several specialized institutions allowing the accumulation of funds for diaspora support (foreign assistance, budgetary funds, private sector). All these actions have an ultimate goal of channeling support from the diaspora to Moldova and the Bureau for Relations with the Diaspora was created in 2012.

6.7. Return-policy prioritization as a result of direct coercive transfer

Moldovan R-policy prioritization process is much more complicated with the much larger number of organizations involved in its policy network, its proximity to the European Union and more than one migrant destination countries. As

discussions in previous sections revealed return of its emigrants is the government strategy, which emerged as important issue considering its salience to the EU and the high foreign policy value that Moldova places towards EU. The return/readmission policy was transferred to Moldova by the most powerful organization in its network, the EU, through which the knowledge about administrative arrangements, institutions and return policy used by the EU in previous times are used. The process of the transfer reveals that Moldovan authority was not interested in return of their labor migrants, given the economic conditions and poor labor market in country. Therefore, we can infer that the EU used direct coercive transfer, where the EU, its member-states and regional organizations playing a role of 'policy-pushers' (Dolowitz 1996:345). The Moldovan authority is engaged in return/readmission policy learning for as long as the advocacy coalition present in its network is present and provides it with technical resources. It can reverse the course of return-prioritization only in case when there will be another powerful actor who can provide information and resources for support of recruitment (IOM, other MSS) or remittance (WB, Moldovan government itself). This depends on the external event and cannot be captured through the study of the internal dynamics of the network. Changes in resources and technical information over time translate into interests, beliefs and ultimately national strategies. The Budapest and Prague Regional Consultative Processes are also used to ensure compliance of Moldova to its obligations within the Mobility

Partnership and Readmission Agreements.[148]

MOLDOVA

Advocacy Coalition Moldovan Government (MLSPF)

↓

Receive problem (mass emigration 1990s)

↓

Seek sufficient resources to identify causes and obtain political support

If **FAIL**, exit policy subsystem   if **SUCCEED**, identify cause 1 (unempl, dev) → *Any adverse effects* on → If **YES**, AC EU seek sufficient technical
                                        propose Policy 1 (Rem)   Advocacy Coalition IOM, NEA, EU MRS?   and political resources (2008)

Enact Policy 1, if **NO** ←   if **FAIL**, AC EU exit subsystem

If **SUCCEED**:

AC MG Sponsor research to: →   AC IOM, EU MRS, MSS sponsor analysis to:
a. Defend evidence re seriousness of problem   a. Challenge data re seriousness of pr of dev, unemp-t
b. Defend importance of Cause 1 and challenge **ANALYTICAL**   b. Challenge evidence for Cause 1 or search for Cause 2 (lifestyle
   evidence of Cause 2   **DEBATE**   innovation) won't adversely affect AC EU
c. Defend efficacy & minimize costs Policy Rem ←   c. Contest efficacy or costs of Policy Rem suggest Pol Return

↓

Consensus on a policy of Return with aid for dev and visa-free?

Enact government action program, if **YES**   **If NO**
                                                                     Widespread *agreement on seriousness of problem*
                                                                     and importance of various *causes*?

Each coalition seeks to expand political resources, if yes ←   if no, Development of governmental prog with
                                                                     a strong research component and weak coercion

---

As the above graph demonstrates, the initial migration policy of the Government of Moldova (MG) since 1994 was focused solely on migration-development through attracting more remittances from diaspora and labor migrants abroad. The advocacy coalition with the leadership of the EU entered Moldovan migration policy network in 2007, as Romania and Bulgaria joined the EU in 2007 and Moldova became a direct neighbor of the EU. The shift in prioritization of remittance to the return/readmission/reintegration policy took place mostly due to the changes of in the foreign policy of Moldova to cooperate with the EU in late 2000s. There were changes in the many EU policies towards its immediate neighbors in the East and the South, to which Moldova belongs now. The policy transfer is influenced by the extent of engagement of Moldovan specialized migration institutions, their experience, competence and professionalism, intra-state cooperation between them, and clear and legally formalized distribution of competencies and functions.

As the policy of remittance increase had an adverse effects on the EU advocacy coalition, due to the fact of increasing number of both regular and irregular migrants in the EU member-states, it sought sufficient technical and political/financial resources within the EU, which lead to the development of the Mobility Partnership Agreement within the European Neighborhood Policy framework. As the previous observations demonstrate, this advocacy coalition sponsored research and analysis that challenge the Moldovan approach to its emigrants. The evidence that simple channeling of remittances was helping the

Moldovan economic development was challenged as well and contested the efficacy of the remittance prioritization policy of Moldova. This lead to the Moldovan government giving up on its indifference in terms of direction and volume of its labor migrants and focus on the negative impacts that mass emigration can have on migrant-sending state. With pouring of money through more than 100 of projects focusing on return, reintegration and prevention of depletion of human skills and capital in Moldova and the biggest amount spent for the changing the whole national system of migration management, the EU was successful to push with its own agenda on importance of the return/readmission to and organized labor emigration from Moldova. This advocacy coalition found consensus on return/readmission prioritization policy, due to several facts, including lack of professionalism, experience and Soviet mentality of fear of independent work by Moldovan authorities. The incentive of joining the EU also played a significant role.

The Global Approach to Migration and Mobility (GAMM) contributed to the EU approach to external migration policies since 2005 (EC 2005; EC2011a). In order to implement the GAMM the Mobility Partnership was created as one of the main tools and all relevant international organizations proposed a new concept of 'migration and mobility' in the context of the GAMM. The Mobility Partnership and the new concept were based on the close cooperation between migrant-receiving and sending states, as well as migrants themselves. This approach brought different and real opportunities for cooperation between migrant-receiving states and Moldova. The EU-Moldova Mobility Partnership Declaration that was signed

with the EU and 15 member-states was initially designed as an inter-state cooperation framework, but in 2010 it was open for other interested policy actors, such as domestic and international non-governmental organizations (Buracek 2012, EC 2014, Mosneaga MISMES 2015:9). Since 2008 within the Mobility Partnership context a total of 124 projects have been implemented in Moldova. Almost in all of the projects the role of Moldova as an active policy actor for proposals and projects development is negligible. The projects encompass specific priorities of the EU with its sources of financing (ENPI, EU Thematic Program for Cooperation with Third Countries in the Areas of Migration and Asylum, bilateral financial assistance from EU member-states, MRS national resources) directed on security and stability on the EU MRS external borders, mainly return/readmission of irregular migrants and human trafficking and cross-border crime (Mosneaga, MISMES 2015: 9). The aim of the Assisted Voluntary Return and Reintegration (AVRR) programs is defined as "to bring migrants back home, reintegrate them, and help them open businesses locally" (ETF 2015:32). The AVRR programs are implemented within the EU-Moldova Mobility Partnership framework with the main implementer in the national level is Moldovan governmental structures and NGOs and the IOM (Mosneaga, MISMES 2015). Among the methods of the implementation of the reintegration of migrants in the domestic labor market of the home country the pre-return and return employment information platforms play a significant role. The Swedish Employment Service implemented the Targeted Initiative for Moldova (TIM) supported by Swedish SIDA

in 2008. The TIM was implemented in two phases 2009-11 and 2011-14 with the main objective to "support the institutional capacities of the Moldovan Ministry of Labor and National Employment Agency (NEA) to manage labor migration" (Mosneaga, MISMES 2015:36).

Conclusion

This chapter focused on the Moldovan case of R-migration policy change from the remittance prioritization to the return prioritization. The basic migration policies and institutions were very weak or absent since early 1990s, despite the increasing volume of mass emigration of Moldovans. The migration policy network became much denser with more policy actors/organizations entering it with their R-policy proposals. The EU emerged as the most dominant supra-national organization that played the role of return/readmission policy-pusher. Through conditionality on Moldova-EU visa liberalization attached and enormous funding spent for empowerment of the government authority to realize the severity of the problem with mass emigration, it imposed return migration as a government strategy. Migration policy network of Moldova became densely populated with more than 77 organizations of different levels with their interests and preferences. The interests and preferences of both political parties and migration related organizations of Moldova was not in favor of returning their migrants back home as remittances were a significant part of the GDP.

The network is not highly fragmented; it is more concentrated than the Georgian network. The migration policy network analysis based on centrality measures of degree and betweenness centrality leads to infer that the EU with its highest result on betweenness is considered a broker and powerful actor in influencing the government strategy of Moldova as prioritizing return-migration policy. The change in the policy prioritization from the remittances to the recruitment has occurred over the last 4-5 years through coercive transfer.

CHAPTER 7

GEORGIA: 3R-migration policy network and remittance-policy prioritization

Georgia's national migration policy prioritizes remittance transfer regulation, use of remittances for investment, and attraction of its diaspora for economic development. This chapter provides the background information on the sudden mass emigration of population from Georgia after its independence. It also discusses basic legal structure and migration policy network organizations' interests that shape shift in migration policy. It identifies the degree of dominance of the action-set organizations affecting change from laissez-faire approach to R-policy prioritization. The process will be traced to demonstrate what makes Georgian government the most dominant migration policymaking organization in its own migration policy network. The facilitation of the labor outmigration or its systematic control was considered unnecessary in Georgia, due to the liberal approach of the government to migration and labor markets (Badurashvili, MISMES 2015:9). Though some slight changes in the last two years are observable, despite the fact that Georgian government is much less resource dependent and much more competitive than the governments in the previous cases. As of the year 2008, before Georgia began cooperation with the EU on readmission policy and with other organizations on recruitment and remittance

policy prioritizations, it had a very liberal stance on migration of people across its borders. The IOM 2008 Assessment Mission Report asserts that, "legal migration in Georgia is accessible to such an extent that illegal migration becomes almost a 'non-issue'" (IOM 2008:4). The factors that contributed to free movement approach in Georgia were its extremely liberal and open policy on migration following its free market policies, very liberal visa regime with visa issuance at the border available for practically every nationality (118 countries eligible for visa-free entry), and absence of inter-agency administrative structure and cooperation with clear allocation of competencies regarding migration management. There is also absence of work-permit system for foreigners, no limits for employment of aliens and its effect on employment of Georgians themselves, absence of system in place that would alert about over-stayers, irregular migrants and etc. This 'young' migration management scenario presented "opportunity to revise and create or strengthen a structure which is oriented towards EU requirements… and required a shift in policy" (IOM 2008:5).

7.1. Background information on migration from Georgia

Georgia faced challenges of the mass emigration of its nationals since its independence in 1991 and "the last 2002 population census in Georgia registered a 20% drop in comparison with the population registered in the 1989 census"

(Badurashvili MISMES 2015:6)[149]. The notably high index of migration in Georgia was in 2003 with 20% of its population emigrating as a response to problems with regards to employment (IOM 2011:12). The large part of this drop in population is due to emigration. Georgian migrant stock abroad is estimated to be more than one million people (total population of Georgia is 4.5 mln) and temporary migration involves almost 10% of the population annually (ETF 2013). The main destinations of the Georgian emigrants are Russia (though there was a deterioration of relationships after 2008 conflict and visa requirement afterwards), Turkey (visa free entry) and Greece (EU country) (Badurashvili, MISMES 2015:6).[150]

The process of labor migration has been ongoing in Georgia for many centuries and can be seen as a tradition, unlike the case of Tajikistan. People from some regions of the country travelled to Russia and Armenia for better paying jobs. And the Armenian population of the Javakheti region of Georgia "left on the large scale to work on the new building projects in the regions of 'virgin land' in the Soviet Union" (IOM 2003:7)[151]. Nevertheless, destination, volume and nature of the outmigration from Georgia in the last two decades present a completely new phenomenon regarding the labor resource mobility. When in late 1980s Greece

---

[149] MISMES is *Migrant support measures from an employment and skills perspective* project launched and carried out by the European Training Fund in 2014, which provides the report on its projects progress with the support of the Migration Policy Center at the European University Institute (EUI).

[150] Georgian citizens are exempted from the visa requirements in Mongolia, Turkey and CIS countries, except for Russia. Georgia and Israel signed an agreement on Visa Exemption for Holders on National Passports in November 18, 2013.

[151] See Report on Labor Migration from Georgia is prepared by the International Organization for Migration and Association for Economic Education, IOM 2003

offered residency to anyone who prove their Greek descent, almost one third of 100 000 ethnic Greeks of Georgia emigrated in 1993. These led to the expansion of the migration network linking Georgia with Greece. In early 1990s, ethnic minorities – Greeks, Jews, Germans, Ukrainians left Georgia to their historical homelands. The labor migration started with mass movements to Russia, due to absence of the language barriers, former economic relations and free movement. The first migration with en-masse movements started to Turkey in the mid-1990s as well. That was due to easier visa regime, proximity and possibility to reach with reasonable land transportation and travel expenses.

In 1995-1998 the labor migration and movement to foreign labor markets became one of the economic determinants of the country, when hundreds of thousands started emigrating due to the wars, difficult living conditions, new economic reforms leading to depreciation of public staff salaries, etc. (Shinjiashvili 2008:4). There are hardly any legal instruments present in Georgia to involve labor migrants abroad and it remains irregular and unmanaged. According to official data provided by the National Bank of Georgia as of 2012 'money transfer from foreign countries to Georgia exceeds 1 billion USD' (IOM Georgia 2011:12). In the early 1990s most of the migrants' destination was Russian Federation, but after conflict and a war of 2008 it reduced due to migrant-phobia and ethno-phobia towards Georgians (Shinjiashvili 2008:5). Turkey's labor market provides very low price for labor force, which also lead to diminishing numbers.

Now the main destination of many Georgians is ideally Greece and other European countries. Georgian labor migrants send money home to support their family's subsistence. The average amount of remittances sent by one migrants per month is about 167$ USD (Chelidze 2003). The total amount of remittances sent to Georgia is not clear, as money is sent through banks, money transfer services, relatives, bus drivers or brought by migrants themselves. In the initial wave of migration in 1990s, Gugushvili estimated the total amount to be around $720 million every year, which been increasing ever since (1999:246).[152] The bulk of migrants are circular and temporary male workers, who predominantly go to Russia. This new pattern of temporary and circular migration that emerged in late 1990s differs from the early 1990s permanent emigration due to territorial conflicts in Georgia. Georgia, despite changes in net migration over time, still is considered to remain a country of emigration, rather than immigration (CARIM 2013:3). [153]

The main characteristics of labor migrants from Georgia, according to the International Center for Migration Policy Development and the IOM 2011 reports, are that the two largest professional categories are teachers (18%) and doctors (11%), though they do not necessarily practice; almost a quarter of the potential migrants have no job preference abroad and ready to accept any work (11% would accept jobs in restaurants and hotels); and preferred countries of destination are

---

[152] See for more information on consequences of Georgian outmigration in T. Gugushvili, External Migration – Demographic Problems of Georgia, Tbilisi, 1999.
[153] Consortium for Applied Research in International Migration, *Regional Migration Report: South Caucuses 2013*. Ed. Bara Bartolomeo, Brunarska, Makaryan, Mananshvili, Weinar

much diversified (2011:58). The irregular migration data is limited to the stock and flow data from EUROSTAT, which reflects only migration of Georgian nationals to the European Union member-states. The main route of irregular migrants to the EU is transit through Turkey to Greece or Cyprus. The number of irregular migrants in the EU has increased both in general number (0.9% in 2008 and 1.3% in 2009) and as a share of total irregular migrants (Greece 33.5% - in 2008; 33% in 2009; Austria 9.3% - in 2008, 12.3% in 2009; Germany 8.7% in 2008 and 8.3% in 2009) (IOM 2011:65). With some small discrepancy in measures the World Bank (41%) and the IOM (50%) conclude that mostly migrant workers transfer remittances through informal channels. And the largest share of these unofficial money transfers comes from migrant-receiving states where Georgian migrants travelled intensively: Greece and Russia (IOM EMP 2011:71).

The results of the programs aiming at measuring remittance flows designed and sponsored by the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and conducted by Bendixen and Associates (B&A) in 2007 are illuminating. It shows that 9% of Georgian population on regular basis receives remittances and 1 million of population benefits from labor migrants' remittances. The 45% of total country remittances come from Russia, 32% from Western European countries, 8% from the U.S. and 8% from Eastern European countries (IOM EMP 2011:72). Georgia turned into the country of origin and trans-Eurasian traffic recently. In November 2003 the Rose Revolution occurred in country and in 2004 the return of the qualified workforce became notable with the increasing influx of foreign citizens

with the purpose of employment or movement to other MRS in the north and the west.

7.2. Basic Legal structure and Key Migration Policy Papers

Georgia's influence on the conditions for short and long-term migration is different as from other post-Soviet Caucasian states (Armenia, Azerbaijan), as well as from other Eastern European and Central Asian migrant-sending states. It has dynamically developed its migration legislation and is a latecomer to the international debate on migration policies, especially among other council of Europe members. Cooperation with the EU on migration evolved after Georgian government announced European integration as the economic and political goal of the country. The focus among other issues was also on managing return and readmission of migrants. EU Mobility Partnership was established in the country and readmission and visa-facilitation agreements were signed, which strengthened cooperation with the EU.

With regards to policy of the labor recruitment abroad numerous attempts to manage labor market and migration in Georgia have failed for various reasons. An unofficial, illegal migration industry strives due to the fact that all of the migrants rely on them. The private employment agencies and individuals are only suppliers of job matching services (ETF 2011). The legislation for regulation of private recruitment agencies and labor migration is absent, and the lack of bilateral employment agreements provide very few opportunities for Georgians to go legally

abroad for work (Badurashvili 2015:6). The simple way for the Georgian migrant is to enter foreign country with tourist visa and to overstay illegally to find a job there (ETF 2013). Most of them work in informal labor market, are undocumented and stay up to three years abroad. The proportion of beneficiaries from official return schemes is extremely low (ETF 2013:39).

Migration, in general, and the 3R-migration issues, in particular, was not a priority on the political agenda of the Georgian government until recently. The change is the result of the signing of the Mobility Partnership Agreement with the European Commission and 16 EU member-states in November 30, 2009 (Badurashvili, MISMES 2015:7). From 1991 to 2010 in Georgia there was no single agency responsible for migration management, though there were several government institutions dealing with migration. The State Commission on Migration (SCMI), responsible for coordinating the actions of all institutions related to migration management, was created. Since March 1, 2011 the EU-Georgia Visa Facilitation Agreement is in force (Gabrichidze CARIM – East-South Caucuses Report 2013:50). The following Table 8 summarizes General Legal References of Georgia (Gabrichidze 2013:49).[154]

---

[154] The information is provided by the Consortium of Applied Research on International Migration– East-South Caucuses Report

Table 13: Legal framework governing migration and mobility

Legal framework governing migration and mobility	Year
The Migration Strategy of Georgia (2013-2015)	2013
Law on the Refugee Status and Humanitarian Status Law on Compatriots Living Abroad and Diaspora Organizations	2011 2011
Law on the Rules of Georgian Citizens' Entry into and Exit from Georgia	2009 (1993)
Law on Combating Human Trafficking Law on the Legal Status of Foreigners	2006 2005
Law on the Rules of Registration of Georgian Citizens and Foreigners Residing in Georgia Constitution of Georgia	1996 1995

As the above table illustrates the legal framework on labor migration has literally been absent in Georgia. The legal bases developed since 1996 till 2013 were all on rules of registration in Georgia, human trafficking, refugee and humanitarian status and status of foreigners. None of them focus on the recruitment, remittances or return of Georgian labor migrants. The law on diaspora organizations adopted in 2011 is the only that deals with the attracting remittances of diaspora and migrants to the Georgian economy. The EU-Georgia Visa Dialogue has begun in June 2012 with a view to visa-free travel of Georgian nationals to the Schengen member-states. The relevant Visa Liberalization Action Plan was handed to Georgian government in February 2013, which needs to be implemented before visa requirement for its citizens is waved. In terms of

managing recruitment of Georgian emigrants abroad there some developments have been underway, though quite different from Moldovan and Tajikistan cases.

In the framework of EU-Georgia Mobility Partnership signed in 2009, Georgia signed an agreement on circular migration with France on November 2013 and it is in the process of negotiations of another labor migration agreement with Germany. Other legal measures have been also enacted by some individual EU member states in the framework of Mobility Partnership that support circular or temporary migration of Georgian nationals. The temporary employment of the Georgian labor migrants is possible without a work permit in Poland. Georgians who have legal residence permits in Germany can leave the country for longer periods (up to two years) than the usual six months and do not lose their residence titles. Georgia is a signatory of the International Labor Organization's Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention (signed in 1995) and to the ILO Convention on Private Employment Agencies (signed in 2002). As Article 20, EC-Georgia Partnership and Cooperation Agreement 1996 states:

> The Community and the Member States shall endeavor to ensure that the treatment accorded to Georgian nationals legally employed in the territory of a Member State shall be free from any discrimination based on nationality, as regards working conditions, remuneration or dismissal, as compared to its own nationals (Gabrichidze CARIM 2013:52).

Georgia ratified the Revised European Social Charter in 1996, but its application area is reduced due to the fact that the Revised Social Charter is not ratified by eleven EU member states, including Germany, Czech Republic and the United Kingdom.

7.3. Migration Policy Network

Migration from Georgia to other countries of the Eurasian system is limited due to political factors (Ivakhnyuk 2014:2). And Georgia belongs to the Budapest Regional Consultative Process on Migration and its organizations interact with Turkish, Russian, and the EU migrant-receiving states' organizations. It is located at the border between Europe and Asia and is an origin and transit country of trans-Eurasian and intercontinental route. Georgia borders with four countries – Azerbaijan, Russia, Armenia, and Turkey. As of 2008, the country had 19 official border crossings, 16 of which are international (IOM 2008: 10). State policy on migration in Georgia has not been formed in due respect, despite politicians being well aware of the potential economic and demographic consequences resulting from large-scale labor migration and remittances. Before the Rose Revolution there was no urgent need for migration regulation in the political priorities of the ruling party. Even if there were few legislative pieces on migration in the country at the time, they have been declared ineffective or amended substantially. The regulation of migration has become a significant part of international obligation undertaken by Georgia since 2004 as substantial institutional reforms were carried out and Georgia's foreign policy's strategic goals were defined. Part of these goals was to fight illegal migration and establish a solid policy base for legal employment of Georgian nationals. Especially for the cooperation between Georgia and the European Union, migration regulation is one of the priorities. The 'Partnership and Cooperation Agreement' was the first step, which was enforced on July 1, 1999.

There is a significant ground for cooperation that was established within the 'European Neighborhood Policy' and 'EU-Georgia Action Plan' worked out by the EU enforced on November 14, 2006. Migration is considered as an important sphere in the 'Joint Declaration of Prague Eastern Partnership Summit' signed on May 7, 2009. Joint Declaration on 'Mobility Partnership' signed by the representatives of 16 EU member states and the European Commission and Georgia on November 30, 2009. The main aim of the 'EU-Georgia Action Plan' is to gradually spread the "Four Freedoms" within Georgia, implying free movement of goods, services, capital and people.

Another document - the Joint Declaration of the Prague Eastern Partnership Summit - aims at getting Georgia closer to the European Union intending to increase the mobility of partner countries' citizens by means of agreements on visa application procedures' facilitation and readmission. If partner countries fully meet their obligations on security issues, it also considers visa liberalization as a long-term objective of the EU. The 'Partnership for Mobility' and within its framework an agreement was signed between Georgia and EU in November, 2009, which establishes a new form of temporary migration which is aimed in facilitating migrants' integration in the receiving country and reintegration in the sending state. It also takes into consideration legal employment of the Georgian citizens in the EU with the assistance of so called "Circular Migration", providing opportunity to the citizens to work temporarily in the EU countries, obtain education then return to their home state. As a result of the successful cooperation within the framework

of "Partnership for Mobility" and "Eastern Partnership" two agreements, namely, the "Agreement between the European Union and Georgia on the readmission of persons residing without authorization" and the "Visa facilitation agreement between EU and Georgia" were enforced on March 1, 2011. (CARIM –East-South 2013:362)[155]

7.4. 3R-policy network and interests in remittance prioritization

The total of 61 state and non-state organizations are observed in Georgian migration policy network. The following state agencies are involved in state regulation of migration in Georgia: The Ministry of Justice; the Ministry of Internally Displaced Persons from the Occupied Territories, Refugees and Accommodation; the Ministry of Internal Affairs; the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; the State Fund for Protecting and Supporting the Human Trafficking Victims; the Interagency Coordination Council for the Activities for Struggling Against Human Trafficking; the Interagency Coordination Council for Migration Issues; the Ministry of Labor, Health and Social Protection; the Office of the State Minister for Diaspora Issues; the Office of the State Minister for Integration into EU and Euro-Atlantic structures; the National Statistics Office; Public Service Development Agency; and State

---

[155] Data accessibility: Population Census (http://www.geostat.ge/), Registration of population at the place of residence (http://www.cra.gov.ge/) : available upon request;
Current registration of refugees: available at http://mra.gov.ge/main/GEO#section ; Current records of foreign students: available at http://mra.gov.ge/main/GEO#section; Current records of Georgian students leaving for abroad: available at http://www.geostat.ge/ ; Current records of remittances sent to Georgia (http://www.nbg.gov.ge) .

Commission on Migration Issues. There is no single centralized agency that deals with the issues of migration regulation (CARIM East, South Caucuses Report 2013:329). The non-state domestic and regional organizations include Caritas-Georgia, GIZ-Center for International Migration and Development, Danish Refugee Council, International Center for International Migration and Development (ICMPD) – Georgian office, Georgian Employers Association, International Organization for Migration (IOM) in Georgia, Caucasus Institute for Peace, Democracy and Development, private employment agency 'Key Management Solutions', NGO Civil Development Agency (CiDA), and International Labor Organization (ILO) in Georgia. In today's Georgia the following political parties have seats in the Parliament: United National Movement, Conservative party, the Labor Party, the Christian Democratic Party, the Republican Party, the New Rights, Chven Tviton, Kartuli Dasi, the Free Democrats and the National Democratic party. The majority of mandates are designated to the ruling party of the United National Movement and the Regions of Georgia (85%), while minority is represented by the Powerful Georgia, the Unity for Justice, the Christian Democrats.

The facilitation of labor migration by the state of Georgia is considered unnecessary, as the government argues to have a liberal approach and also due to the lack of relevant state structure (Badurashvili, MIMES 2015:9)[156]. It was only

---

[156] At this time (year of 2012) I observed variation in R migration policy mentioning that Georgia, due to its liberal approach, does not have any migration policy, but small number of remittance utilization policy strategies. With the involvement of other organizations in Georgian migration policy

in late 2013, when Georgian government "created a Labor and Employment Policy Department within the Ministry of Health, Labor and Social Affairs, with the task of labor market management, the registry of private employment agencies, and preparing proposals for the regulation of labor migration in Georgia (both internal and external)" (Badurashvili, MIMES 2015:9). The significant developments that happened after 2009 in Georgia include gradual set up of migration institutions and legal frameworks, creation of the State Ministry on Diaspora, the SCMI and its Secretariat within Ministry of Justice, and reorientation of the Ministry of Refugee and Accommodation from internally displaced persons to returnees from abroad. Signing of the EU-Georgia Mobility Partnership Agreement and many migrations related EU-funded projects have had a positive impact to push for these developments, as well as for the drafting the Labor Migration Law and development of Migration Strategy (Badurashvili, MISMES 2015:9).

There are some active discussions about the necessity to develop migration policy initiated by the ruling party, but within the scope of the work of the parliamentary factions the migration issues appear less. According to the Center for Strategic Research and Development of Georgia's Analysis of Socio Economic Programs of Political Parties, [157] none of the parties have socio-economic

---

network this approach began to change last year, though it does not falsify my initial observation on the fact that if the MSS itself is central in its policy network it response to mass migration is the use of remittances, prioritization of other Rs is advocated by outside organizations.

[157] Tbilisi 2010: http://www.csrdg.ge/index.php?module=multi&page=detals&multi_id=1&id=275

programs, and they have recorded similar programs merely as their verbal intentions. If we look at the migration actors in Georgia within the central government, i.e. political parties and their programs[158], it is obvious that migration issues have been covered scarcely in their agendas. After thorough analysis, CARIM South Caucasus Report 2013 states that 'the programs of parties in international affairs have not differed much from each other' (Chelidze, 353). Before the parliamentary elections of 2008, the Republican Party was first in emphasizing the necessity of migration regulation and legalization of labor migration in its party program.

---

[158] Political party system of Georgia during the last two decades, period of independence, has changed, as from one to another election; the number of political parties has increased steadily. During the first election the political alliance Round Table-Free Georgia was a dominant party. The second stage, from 1992 to 2003, was more prolonged as the rearrangement of political party system occurred after Eduard Shevardnadze's return to power in Georgia. Under Shevardnadze's rule most of the parties united under the Round Table alliance had almost disappeared from political arena. All of them have been replaced by different parties, including the Labor Party, the Democratic Revival Union, the Citizen's Union of Georgia, the Socialist party, etc. only few political parties survived, including the Republican Party, the Traditionalists and the National Democratic Party (from it later formed the People's Party) (Chelidze 2013:354). There was a new party- the New Rights-formed in 1990s; these were right-wing politicians that separated from the Citizens Union of Georgia. The Conservative Party was established in 2001 and two other new parties – the United National Movement and the United Democrats- were formed later in 2002. The political collation the Georgian Dream was formed in 2012 incorporating four political parties – the Georgian Dream – Democratic Georgia, the Republican Party, the Free Democrats and the National Forum. Another stage of change in the migration domain actors, particularly party system, is since November 2003 when there was the "Rose Revolution" the consequence of the socio-economic-political crisis in the country. The Citizens' Union of Georgia and the Union of Georgia's Revival stopped functioning on the political arena, though these were major parties. Since 2003 to present the United National Movement emerged as the dominant party.

And in 2008 during the pre-term parliamentary elections the Unified Opposition (National Council, Rights) uniting with political parties Chven Tvion (We On Our Own) and Kartuli Dasi (The Georgian Team, excluding the Republican, the Christian Democratic and the Labor parties), and almost all active political groups (the Freedom Party, the New Rights, the Movement for United Georgia, the National Forum, the People's Party, the Way of Georgia Party, the Conservative Party) went against the United National Movement of Georgia (Chelidze, CARIM–East-South Caucuses Report 2013: 355).

Recently we have observed how the cooperation between the EU and Georgia is transformed into partnership relationships of a new kind. The ruling party and opposition associations do not have migration as the main priority sector for development in their programs, though it is slowly emerging without necessarily specifying migration issues in details. In 2011 the Law on Compatriots Residing Abroad and Diaspora Organizations #5301 was adopted as a state policy towards Georgian emigrants and diaspora abroad (Chelidze, CARIM 2013:354). It also has approved legislative amendments regulating the departure and entering Georgia for Georgian citizens and issuing an identity card to foreign citizens permanently residing in country, as well as obtaining emigration permission and issues related to the obtaining of passport of a citizen of Georgia.

The Labor Party plans to eliminate illegal introduction of labor migrant from foreign countries into Georgia; facilitate visa regime with neighboring countries; stresses that every Georgian going abroad, as well as his/her family is a major concern for the state (Chelidze 2013: 356). The Party was also against the Readmission Agreement and called on the leaders of the EU member-states not to spring into action the Agreement, which legalizes the deportation of illegal migrants residing in the EU. The Labor Party welcomed the introduction of facilitated visa regime with the EU. Another political party – the Way of Georgia Party – program prioritizes the strengthening relationship with the Georgian diaspora. The Republican Party's pre-election program for the 2008 parliamentary elections taken into account the problems and the poverty level that the country

has been facing, elaborated 30 legislative initiatives dealing with fundamental changes within many spheres of the economy. And it included the elaboration of a law on labor migration. The draft law considered regulating the record of the citizens incoming from abroad and ongoing from Georgia; protecting the interests of labor migrants residing abroad; signing bilateral interstate agreements in employment sphere and issuing labor visas (Chelidze 2013:356). The National Council' program considers definition of new neighborhood policy, though it confirms full conformity of the current European Neighborhood Policy with Georgian prospective intention for development and integration with the European Union, the negative evaluation it gives to the mechanism of the Neighborhood policy's implementation.

The National Council presented its neighborhood policy, which emphasizes 'accelerated accomplishment of the EU recommendations and the follow-up irreversible process of the EU integration' (Chelidze 2013:357). The Christian Democratic Party highlights the need to support the agrarian sector development and the employment of a large portion of population in that sector, as it will help to encourage local inhabitants to stay in the rural areas, facilitating the improvement in a demographic situation and the internal migration management. In the activities of the Round Table and the Citizens' Union of Georgia parties, which seized to exist, the management of labor migration was not a priority. While Free Democrats and New Rights parties today set as their foreign policy priority, Georgia's worthy membership into the Euro-Atlantic organization and the strengthening of

relationships with its adjoining states (Chelidze 2013:358). Talking about the political platform of today's ruling party – the United National Movement – one can infer that *it is rather very poor in terms of migration regulation*, if one considers activities since 2006 taken by central authorities and the achievements gained today regarding international relationships maintained with neighboring countries.[159]

The EU-Georgia relations is based on legal foundation of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA), concluded in 1996 and enforced in 1999. Several partnership institutions were established based on PCA, namely, Cooperation Council, Cooperation Committee and Parliamentary Cooperation Committee. But the PCA has never focused closely on issues of migration, rather working on political, trade, investment, and economic, legislative and cultural cooperation. (IOM EMP Georgia 2011:89). The EU Special Representative for South Caucasus was appointed in 2003 with the mandate in assisting the Council in developing a comprehensive policy on conflict prevention, settlement and resolution in the region.

Georgia-EU Neighborhood Policy Action Plan developed under the Georgia-EU Neighborhood Policy defines number of activities: 'continuation of the work on the elaboration of a draft state strategy for migration and asylum by taking

---

[159] The platform of UNM contains a paragraph, which states: 'Integration of Georgia into NATO and the EU structures, the facilitation of the integration process and the development of respective legislative base for this purpose' Public Information Unit of the Organizational Department of the Parliament of Georgia

into consideration the new challenges the country is facing nowadays; the development of electronic data base of the returnees under the readmission agreements and potential migrants, also the improvement of an information base on Georgian diaspora organizations operating in foreign countries and Georgian citizens residing abroad; border management and illegal migration control; improvement of coordination among respective national agencies dealing with migration issues; information exchange and planned collaboration on transit migration issues; support to holding trainings on migration and asylum issues and qualification upgrade of the personnel of respective agencies, etc.' (Chelidze 2013:358).[160]

The Cooperation Council invited, on Commission's recommendation, Georgia to participate in European Neighborhood Policy in 2004. And Georgia signed the ENP Action Plan offering unprecedented close political, economic and cultural relations with the EU for conflict resolution and cross-border cooperation (ICMPD and IOM EMP Georgia 2011:89). This step took Georgia closer to making joint decision on migration issues with the EU. The ENP Action Plan focuses on justice, liberty and security (JLS) sector including border management, trans-border cooperation between Georgia, EU and neighboring states, migration management (readmission, asylum and visas). After establishing a JLS sub Committee on Georgia-EU cooperation in November 2007, Georgia was ready to

---

[160] See Consortium for Applied Research in Migration Regional Report: South Asia 2013 for more information.

sign the Mobility Partnership Agreement with the EU in November 2009. The goal of the Mobility partnership is management of migration considering the interest of parties. The successful cooperation between the EU and Georgia lead to signed agreement on Visa Facilitation and Readmission of Persons Residing without Authorization in June 2010.

The Visa facilitation agreement aims to provide reduced visa fee of 35 Euro, total exemption from the fee for certain applicants, simplification of the visa application required documents and 10 days for visa processing (IOM EMP Georgia 2011:90). This agreement is linked to the Readmission Agreement (RA). The EU-Georgia RA entered into force on March 1, 2011. Georgia is now negotiating possibility of concluding RAs with several EU member-states on bilateral basis. The Readmission agreement has similar clauses to the EU-Moldova RA and requires the migrant-sending and transit states to return and readmit their own and third-country nationals if they transited to Europe through their territory. The projects linked to the Mobility Partnership and Readmission Agreement emphasize the negative role of the large-scale emigration to the development of Georgia and the government should react to the situation. The reaction is described as "introduction of the migration mechanisms affecting migration through increasing job opportunities at the domestic labor market, facilitate the return of migrants and regulate labor immigration to Georgia which could replace the lost labor potential in the near future" (IOM EMP Georgia 2011:92).

7.5. Identifying the degree of dominance of the central advocacy coalition

To identify the degree to which the EU, IOM, ILO, WB or other international and supranational organizations can be dominant and influential in the Georgian migration policy network, we will look at the degree of fragmentation of the network.The following migration policy network graph illustrates existing organizations in the network and its density and connectedness.

Figure 13: Georgia Policy Network Fragmentation

Georgia- 3R-Migration Policy Network –centralization measures	
Density (18%)	
Fragmentation (87%)	
Connectivity (13%)	

The Georgian migration policy network is characterized by high fragmentation of 87%, which leads to the low level of cooperation, relative high level of conflict, and low to moderate probability that the initial liberal stance to migration management would be changed to specific return policy prioritization. With almost 90% fragmentation, it is less likely that there will be one single the most influential organization which has monopoly over its migration management. Georgian liberal approach to migration of its nationals will be slow to change and have any harder stance than just prioritizing optimal remittance utilization. The identification of the powerful, and influential actor within Georgian migration network that pushes for change of prioritized R-policy. As for other networks the measures of centrality - degree, closeness, betwenness and eigenvector - will be ranked to demonstrate the highest level of influence that one or more organizations present in the network.

As we have observed from previous discussions, the EU and the IOM and other organizations are becoming more and more active in Georgian migration policy network. Therefore we will look at how much they are influential to change its liberal policy to return/readmission or possible recruitment and remittance policy. Many organizations and local offices of IOM, ICMPD and DRC provide concrete measures to migrants and consult the government on necessary types of regulations and management tools (Badurashvili 2015:9). The Georgian state migration institutions and structures are still new in contrast to other migrant-

sending states with longer migration history. They have little knowledge and experience with no involvement in provision of concrete migrant support measures.

7.6. High dominance of the Georgian government favoring remittance policy

The centrality measures - closeness, degree, betweenness, and eigenvector were calculated for Georgian migration policy network to identify the number of dominant organizations and coalitions.

Figure 14: Georgia Migration Policy Network

Measures of Centrality and Power - GG	
Number Advocacy Coalition (10)	1-EU GG IOM SME; 2-CIPDD EU GG; 3-DRC EU GG; 4-EU GG MIDPG; 5-DRC GG ICMPD; 6 – GG IOMG JCP; 7 –CARG EU IOMG; 8-GDO NINA UNJMDI; 9-ICMPDG IOMG MRA; 10 – ILO IOMG SME
Organizations	61

The number of advocacy circles or cliques in Georgian migration policy network equals to 10. The Georgian government is present in 6 of these advocacy circles, which makes it the best organization to be included in the action-set coalition. These ten advocacy circles are the most important social structural formation in this policy network consisting of three or four formal organizations that communicate directly or indirectly among themselves about R-policy prioritization and who prefer the same outcome. The members of advocacy circles all support the 'pro' for specific R-policy prioritization outcome. One advocacy circle can be in favor of readmission policy to be prioritized, but if the member of that circle meets and works with other organizations it can develop the policy for another R-policy prioritization, liberal stance or mixture of policies. That is the case with the GG Georgian government. These 10 opposing advocacy circles interact for as long as they can establish an action-set organization with more restricted scope and consisting of smaller number of organizations. The action set coalition comes out of advocacy circles and consists of those who consciously coordinate their influence activities over R-policy prioritization. The emergence of action sets within the policy event (consultations, negotiations, meetings, technical assistance

provision, and training of the officials) is opposing sides arguing for prioritization of different R-migration policy issues for a given migrant-sending state.

The cohesiveness of the action-set coalition is essential, because with weak communication channels, more than one action set in favor of the same R-policy may emerge. If advocacy circle #1 EU-GG-IOM-SME emerge as an action set and are cohesive, i.e. are directly or indirectly linked together in communication and resource networks, prefer the same readmission policy prioritized as Georgian government strategy and jointly engage in lobbying, mobilizing or other policy influencing activities, then that readmission policy will be prioritized. But this #1 set is not cohesive then there will be more than one action sets, which is a barrier for policy prioritization to be decided.

Table 14: Georgia Migration policy network centrality measures

ORGANIZATION	Degree	Betweenness	Closeness	Eigenvector
GG	30	48.2	10.2	71.14
IOMG	25	33.3	10	59
EU	20	22.13	9.9	56.3
ICMPD	5	15.6	5	18.14
GIZ/CIM	6.7	13.8	9	3.6
GEA	3.3	10.9	9.5	13.3
UNJMDI	6.7	8.5	8.8	2.6
OSMDI	5	5.7	9.3	11.4

When one thinks of the GG, EU and IOMG which have the most favored positions, the much more opportunity than other organizations and fewer constraints one should realize the difficulty of pinpointing these features and their manifestation. The same measures will be used here to figure the powerful

organizations behavior. The degree centrality shows that organization has more alternatives and opportunities than other organizations to take care of its interests. Georgian Government has 30 ties with other organizations in the network, and more ties means the more power it has for choosing specific R-policy. Degree centrality shows that Georgian government is relatively autonomous and less dependent on any specific other organization in the network that's why it is powerful. IOMG has degree of 25, EU – 20 and other organizations have less than 6 ties and connections. Hence, the Georgian Government, IOMG and the EU with more connections have favored positions and are more influential. The closeness of all three organizations equals more or less to 10. So other 10 organizations could be reached by any one of them in one or two steps or the shortest path possible. As was mentioned reachability is important for spreading the information and resources to all other organizations in the network. The eigenvector, which the connection with the neighboring organization with highest degree centrality compared to other organizations within the migration policy network, is 71 for Georgian government, 59 for IOM Georgia and 56 for the EU

And as for other network graphs the size of the circles/nodes for organizations presents the highest level of betweeness for that organization. Georgian government – 48, IOMG – 33, EU – 22 are measures of betweenness for the three most powerful and influential organizations, and they undoubtedly are very significant for change of the remittance policy or no policy to return or recruitment policy. But as Georgian Governments all measures of centrality that

shows its dominance and influence are much higher than IOM and EU within its migration policy network, it will rather keep onto its policy of remittance utilization and liberal approach to migration for some time. Georgia falls on the 48 geodesic paths between other pairs of organizations in the network, the IOMG on 33 paths and the EU on 22. That means that number of pairs loses their connections if these brokers are removed from their path. The bigger size of the circles/nodes for organizations in the network presents the higher level of betweenness. The EU has the highest measure of 46, which means that other organizations depend on it. The EU and its influence through Mobility Partnership programs and resources fall on the 46 geodesic paths between other pairs of organizations in the network. If the EU is removed from between 2 organizations that it links then those two lose their connection with each other.

The power of the Georgian government despite some resource and information transfers happening with outside organizations is its domestic salience of migration and its vibrant political parties and organizations that weigh their options carefully. For instance the overall conclusion of the CARIM East Regional Migration Report and other governmental and IOM reports is that the interests of the Georgian political parties and organizations with respect to international relations in general is similar, but in terms of international migration regulation there is general accusation of the ruling party by opposition parties of its weaknesses and inconsistencies. Nevertheless, migration issues have not become a topic of debate in the parliament in the last two decades, despite their

enormous impact on the economy and society. There is more open debate, namely the weekly TV talk show "The European Choice" that has some programs dedicated to migration issues and radio program "The Routes of Migration" (twice a week), in which experts, scientists, politicians and representatives of NGOs discuss various important migration related issues (Chelidze, CARIM – East / South Caucuses Report 2013:359).The Ministry of the IDPs and Resettlement of Georgia comprises two main departments" the department of the issues of IDPS and the department of migration issues, resettlement and refugees. It was established in 1996 (CARIM EAST 2013:427). The special governmental commission set up in 2006 and work performed by it resulted in the adoption of the State Strategy for Internally Displaced Persons (Governmental Decree #47, 2007), which has identified major goals of the state.

The goals are: ensuring appropriate conditions for a dignified safe return and support for those IDPs who returned to the places of their permanent residence spontaneously; and ensuring the maintenance of living conditions of the displaced persons and assisting them in their integration. The Government of Georgia approved the Action Plan for Implementation of this State Strategy in July 2008, based on priority needs identified by United Nations and the World Bank. It is the subject of annual update. Most donors (GIZ, CARE, USAID, EU, SIDA, UNDP, DRC, UNHCR, TIKA) cooperate actively with the government to achieve the goals of the Action Plan (Chelidze 2013: 430). The International Organization for Migration provides data supplied by the Migration Department of the Ministry of

Internal Affairs of Georgia on readmission management in Georgia and its future trends. It states that immigration departments in major EU member states are making use of signed readmission agreement between Georgia and EU and regularly submitting requests for the readmission of Georgian nationals.

Both the strategy document and respective action plan on migration was finalized in 2012 and enforced in June 2014. The enactment of the Readmission Agreements and the simplified visa regime between the EU and Georgia are great achievements accomplished by the Georgian authorities. And the major step taken forward in EU- Georgia relationships is the dialogue on facilitating circular migration and movement liberalization. In the last two-three years the active involvement of Georgia in assisting the return and reintegration of migrants and implementation of socio-economic and cultural reintegration programs under donor organizations' financial support is underway. And many business conferences and economic forums are held to attract diaspora abroad and their investment in the sending state. Within the priorities identified in the Georgian Government's Basic Data and Directions Document for 2010-2013 major importance has been given to the *activities related to the development of an overall state policy on migration*. Legal labor migration capacities and regulation of migration process record is part of these activities.

7.7. Remittance-policy prioritization as a result of lesson-drawing

The liberal migration management strategy of Georgia till 2010 was a good

opportunity for various organizations to influence its migration policy and institutions. The most powerful is the IOM with its preference for the organized recruitment policy, the EU pushing for the readmission and return policy prioritization and the World Bank and Georgia itself preferring laissez faire approach or remittance management strategies to create conditions for people to voluntarily return and stay home. The mixture of all the policies present in Georgia with the emphasis on remittance management is the achievement of the Georgian government, which does not severely depend on information and resource exchanges and its foreign policy stance towards the EU integration policy and visa liberalization is not very clear.

The R-policy transfer manifests itself as more of a process of lesson-drawing and voluntary policy-oriented learning approach. Though if one considers the importance of the EU integration for Georgia due to its tensions with Russia after 2009 led it to accept any policy in place of laissez-faire approach, then the policy transfer looks more like indirect coercive transfer. The political parties and elected officials are very active in weighing which policies to adopt and cooperate in more or less equal level with their supranational and international partners. The voluntary learning takes place due to dissatisfaction with the current status quo that does not provide solution. That's not necessarily the case for the Georgian government. It does not consider migration across its borders an issue. It took the International Organization for Migration, the EU, the International Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration few years to present Georgian liberal

approach as causing problem and make it dissatisfied with the created uncertainty. The following graph demonstrates the strategic interaction of the Georgian government with the IOM, the EU and other migrant-sending states, like Moldova and their collective action towards readmission policy prioritization in Georgia.

Figure 15: Strategic Interaction between Georgian Government and EU, IOM, other MSS on R-policy prioritization
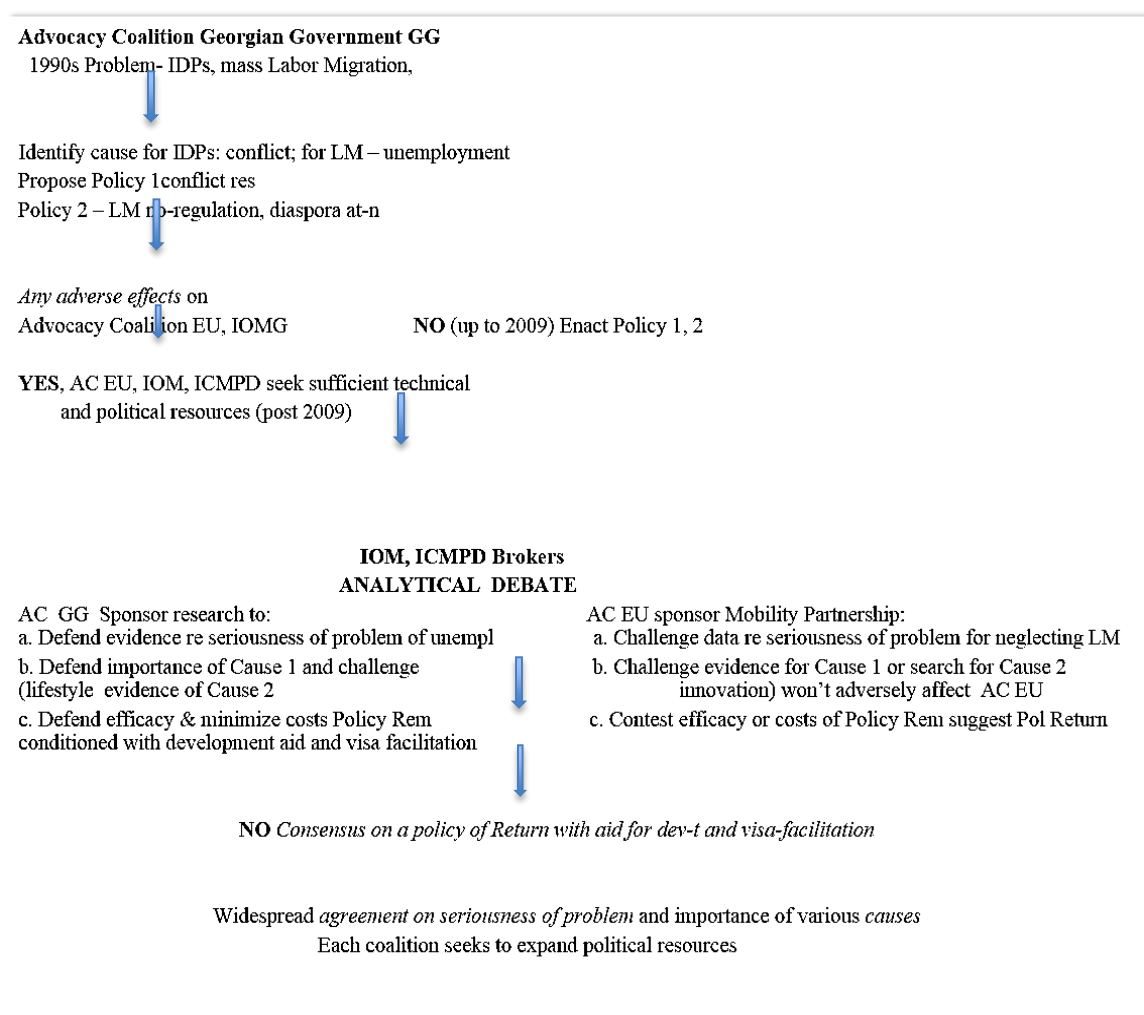
The case of voluntary learning from the past history is almost non-existent in the migration policy domain of Georgia, due to absence of international migration before 1990s. The interaction with organizations pushing for clear R-policy in

Georgia has actually actively began after singing of 2006 EU Neighborhood Policy and 2008 Mobility Partnership. Based on the information provided in Communication of the European Commission to the European Parliament, the EU cooperation with Georgia is built on the based on conditionality applied to migration issues "in order to encourage partner countries to prevent irregular migration flows, establish a viable migration policy, manage their borders efficiently and cooperate on the return and readmission of irregular migrants (Pataraia 2011:43). Georgia's membership in the Budapest and Prague Regional Consultative Processes in Migration also played a significant role in its realization of the importance of clear government migration strategy. The frequency of meetings between Georgia and other Mobility Partnership signatories, and intergovernmental cooperation structures and modalities, such as information exchanges, promotion of a common language, promise of EU acceptance and RCPs attempts to gradually organize convergence of perceptions regarding importance of migration management had their impacts on Georgia. These processes has changed its interests and ultimately its migration strategy and now Georgia has the National Migration Strategy, 64 Mobility Partnership related programs and emphasizes importance of attraction of diaspora remittances and domestic recruitment of its labor migrants in its strategy. These mixture methods of policy transfer used in the process of readmission policy prioritization by Georgia is still under way, but in contrast to Moldova most of the programs approved by Georgian government brought by outside organizations are directed for the use of remittances.

Conclusion

Georgia prioritizes remittance channeling to the development of the country and pursues the liberal approach to emigration of its citizens, despite signing of the Mobility Partnership Agreement and pressure from the EU and its member-states to tighten migration control and border crossings. The EU designed and funded many projects in the European Neighborhood Policy and Mobility Partnership framework, but the number of the projects are much less than in Moldovan case: Georgia-24 projects and Moldova- 124 projects. The total budget for Targeted Initiative for Moldova (TIM) is …and for Targeted Initiative for Georgia (TIG) is EUR 3.02 million. And the TIG was suspended abruptly without providing proper monitoring and evaluation reports on its progress. There are strong political parties within Georgia who oppose the Readmission Agreement with the EU calling for continuation of the liberal approach to freedom of movement of people and closer cooperation with Russia. The fragmentation of the Georgian migration policy network leads to the conclusion about the much less monopoly over R-policy prioritization that the EU and IOM exercise in other migrant-sending state. The new emphasis that has been placed in the migration policy development after the EU and ICMPD, IOM introduced migration related issues on the agenda of their cooperation. The EU cooperation framework is applied as a flexible tool for the development of the Georgian migration strategy complying with international standards. And Poland, one of the leading EU neighborhood policy developers

considers international experience showing that 'a migration policy should be aimed at decreasing emigration from a given country through improving state policies and social assistance, eliminating poverty and increasing migrants' contribution to sustainable development efforts' (Pataraia 2011:35).

The case of Georgia is different from Moldova in terms of strict implementation of the readmission agreement by the EU, because its territory is not a transit location for migration flows due to absence of very well developed regional transport network and direct routes to EU countries. It is not located in the shortest route connecting migration source and destination countries and has no land borders with any of the EU countries. With regards to the EU law compliance, it is noteworthy that Georgia took the responsibility to repatriate and reintegrate Meskhetians for 12 years. It was a condition of Council of Europe membership and started in 2007 with passing a Law of Georgia on Repatriation. Before upgrading the EU-Georgia cooperation in 2010 and signing of the Visa Facilitation and Readmission Agreements and development of its Action Plan, the Ukrainian and Moldovan served as a model and Georgia started reform of its migration regulations on that basis.

One key difference from Filipino model following Tajikistan for Georgia is that its migration policy makers and authorities claim that "they seeking to develop a liberal economic model in the country…. The country should follow Singapore's economic model" (Pataraia 2011:49). But Georgia should balance its laissez-faire and free-market economy preference to any economic sector, including labor

migration and investment with its aspirations and foreign policy values towards the EU. That's important, because EU experts suggest that "the migration legislation should be stricter", both in terms of letting people in and out (Pataraia 2011: 49). The international agreement regulating the outmigration of people that seek employment abroad and their return did not exist as of the year 2011. This includes absence of any legislative norms for protection of rights of migrants abroad and improving their conditions. Georgia did not sign any kind of bilateral labor migration agreements, for example with Russian Federation, UK, Italy, Greece, where most of migrants go. It has the only such agreement with Azerbaijan, which mostly regulates social status (Pataraia 2011:51). If migration is considered country's key component of economic development strategy, Georgia uses migration regulation potentially as a means to increase the country's revenue. Prospects for cooperation with these EU member states have been identified, and agreements are signed with France and Germany. The EU-Georgia Mobility Partnership cooperation launched in February 16, 2010 is first and foremost an important tool to increase Georgia's labor migration management capacity. The EU-Georgia Mobility Partnership initiative proposes: i) facilitations of labor migration, support returnees and circular migration, ii) support Georgia in its effort to implement a readmission agreement with the EU; ii) fight against illegal migration and human trafficking, and iv) strengthen state capacity to manage labor and return migration through experience exchange, conducting analysis and setting up a unified database.

As one of the first steps in capacity building for migration management was identified as establishment of the coordinating body, a state interagency commission, responsible for policy initiatives, recommendations and creating socio-economic conditions favorable for returnees in line with the EU NP. In Georgia the Governmental Commission on Migration Issues was established under the Decree N314 (2010) and N94 (2011), where eleven ministries are represented (Parataia 2011:56). Though this State Commission actively participates in EU financed projects mainly focusing on reintegration of returnees and the ICMPD and IOM are one of the key organizations carrying out the operational activities. But as the number of the projects (about 20) and resources allocated for Georgia does not ensure the same result to be achieved as in the case of Moldova. Therefore, it is most likely that Georgia will remain much more liberal with regards to the movement of people and will still target and implement projects directed for remittance transfer and investment, rather than focusing on return of emigrants back home.

The implementation of the Readmission Agreement, it is noteworthy that the Patrol Police Department of the MIA has been provided with the capacity and power to carry out routine checks of foreign citizens that want to enter Georgia via border checks. The police officer decides based on the check to allow or deny them entry. The MIA also is responsible for the monitoring and controlling of the implementation of readmission of the Georgian nationals. MFA, MJ and MIDPA cooperate with MIA in implementation of the agreement (Patraia 2011:65). Within

the EU MO framework Georgia also cooperates with FRONTEX, training, risk analysis and coordination of joint operational measures are provided to Georgian Border Police. The technical assistance and logistic support that was provided by FRONTEX in 2010 "supported deportation of illegal Georgian migrants from Poland, France, Austria and Germany" (Patraia 2011:66).

The national migration strategy is adopted in 2013 which includes readmission issue, but due to the long experience of the liberal stance to movement of people and more active involvement of the national politicians against policies brought from outside, the Georgian case is more complex than that is in Moldova.

CHAPTER 8

Cross-case comparison: Migration Policy Advocates and R-Policy Prioritization

This chapter uses structured focused comparison. The relationships between the *same* variables in different migrant-sending state's policy networks are compared (Tilly 1984:80; George and Bennet 2005). Each migrant-sending state's policy network is treated as context that includes a set of organizations with specific policy interests, advocacy coalitions, and a prioritized R-policy outcome. Migration policy networks exist at the transnational level (Adam and Kriesi 2007:137). Comparison of migration policy networks of three migrant sending states, with similar pre-independence political, economic, and institutional settings, helps to explore other factors that impact their varying R-policy prioritization. One of the important factors that this study reveals is the regional migration policy network that migrant sending states belong to. The inter-organizational interactions and power structure, as well as the degree of policy network fragmentation have a significant impact on the outcome. Migration policy network analysis identifies patterns on inter-organizational interests and collective decision-making in each state. This comparative analysis concentrates on five

dimensions: resource exchanges in shaping organizational political behavior; organizational interests regarding the migration strategy that should prioritize specific R-policy, the organizations occupying the most central network position, the emergence of advocacy coalitions, and the ways the R-policy is transferred to a given migrant sending state. Each dimension is analyzed with a specific set of theoretical and methodological tools, namely: process tracing and structured focused comparative application of organizational state, advocacy coalition, policy transfer, and policy network analytic models.

All three post-Soviet migrant sending states faced similar return and repatriation forms of migration flows across borders during the first wave of migration, when different ethnicities moved to their homelands across newly independent states. They all were highly educated and skilled people from urban and industrial areas of the countries. The composition of the migrants has changed over time, but again similarities can be observed on the causes of the second wave of migration when countries faced civil conflicts with opposing ethnic and regional groups against each other in the early and mid-1990s. All three states faced outmigration of 15% to 25% of their population turning them into nation of migrants in few years after independence.

In terms of the remittances of the migrants, the data shows that compared to Tajikistan, 25.1% people out-migrated from Georgia from total population, but Georgia is not in the ratings of first 30 countries neither on remittance level, nor the share of remittances of GDP. And Moldovan migrant remittances are about

25% of GDP, while the migrants are 21.5% of the total population. The remittance proportion of Tajikistan went to about 50% with the same number of people migrating abroad. Socioeconomic conditions and opportunities vary to certain degree across cases, as in 2007, expected foreign direct investments per capita was equal to $58 in Tajikistan, while it was $454 in Georgia. And, for example, in Albania and Tajikistan the large portion of remittances goes to rural areas (70%), while in Georgia and Armenia it is the opposite with 70% of remittances channeled to large metropolitan areas (WB 2006:70). Almost 90% of the Tajikistan migrants go to Russia, while the destination countries of Georgia is Russia, Greece, Turkey, and Moldovan movements are directed to both Russia and Italy.

All three countries had closely cooperated with the United Nations High Commission for Refugees during the earlier stages of people's movement as it fell under the jurisdiction of political and cultural migration, rather than economic. In the mid-1990s and early 2000s the migration turns into purely economic, and in terms of labor migration regulation, Tajikistan is a pioneer with its multiple executive acts providing measures to regulate external labor migration as early as 1994. Since early 2000s the migration policy networks of each of the studied migrant sending states began to be populated with more and more state and non-state organizations attempting to influence government grand strategy on migration. As of today the migration policy network of Tajikistan has at least 43 organizations, Georgia 61 and Moldova 77. The peak organizations preferring recruitment (IOM), return (EU) and remittances (World Bank) are present in all of

the cases. But their degree of influence and dominance varies, which is attributed to the geographic location of that state and level of fragmentation of its migration policy network. The IOM is present in all three cases, but only succeeded to push for recruitment-policy prioritization in Tajikistan. The EU is present in these cases too, but again has much higher influence in Moldova than in Georgia regarding compliance with the return/readmission prioritization.

In below graph of migration policy network of Tajikistan, which is less populated and more concentrated with 26% density, than Moldovan and Georgian networks, it is most likely for either IOM or TJPO to have high level of dominance and influence over R-policy preference.
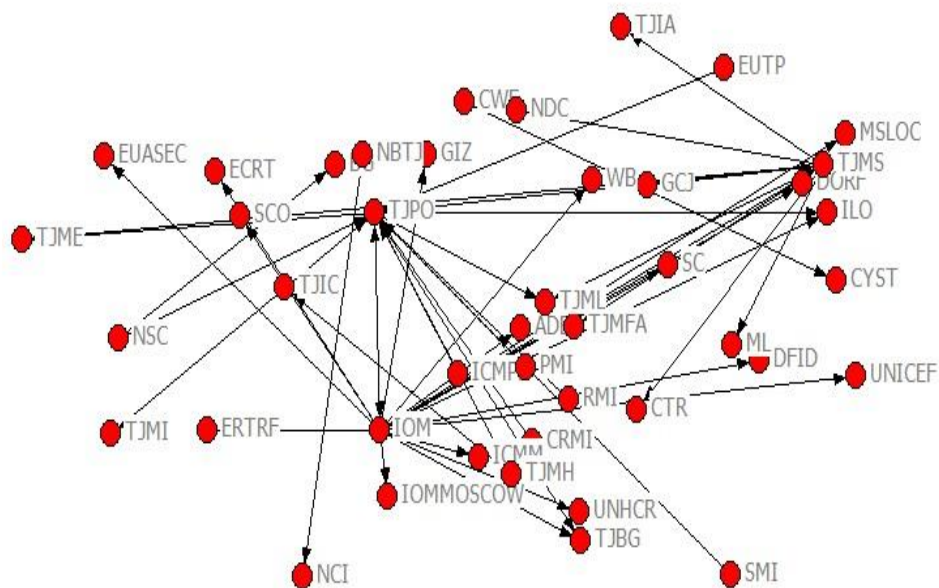
Georgian network below is moderately populated, much more fragmented

than other two networks and it has low likelihood of one organization having monopoly over R-policy prioritization. Its density is 13%. The advocates of R-policies are most likely to compete with each other to push for their preferred policy.
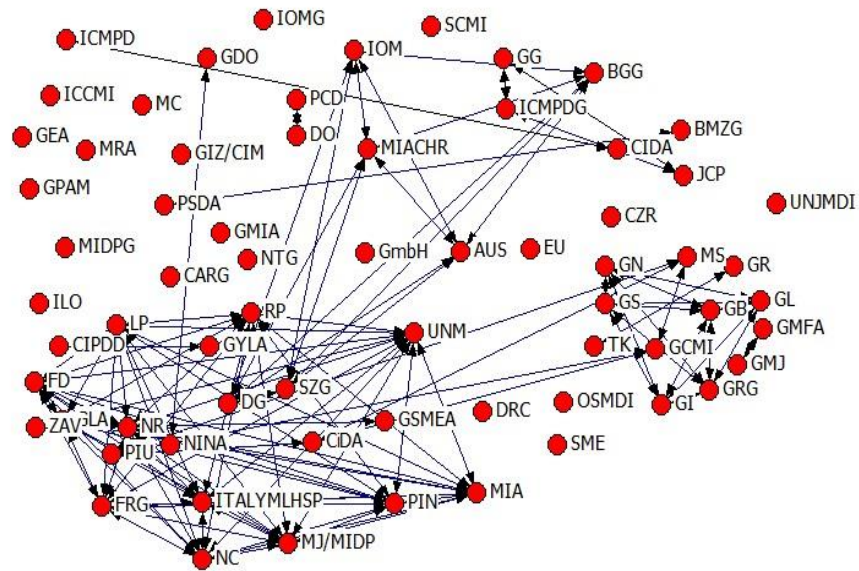
The below Moldovan network graph depicts the very populated (77 orgs) migration policy network, but which is much less fragmented (84%) than Georgian network, is more likely to have a central action-set advocacy coalition with higher degree of dominance and influence than in Georgia. In this type of network the asymmetric bargaining is the most likely case.
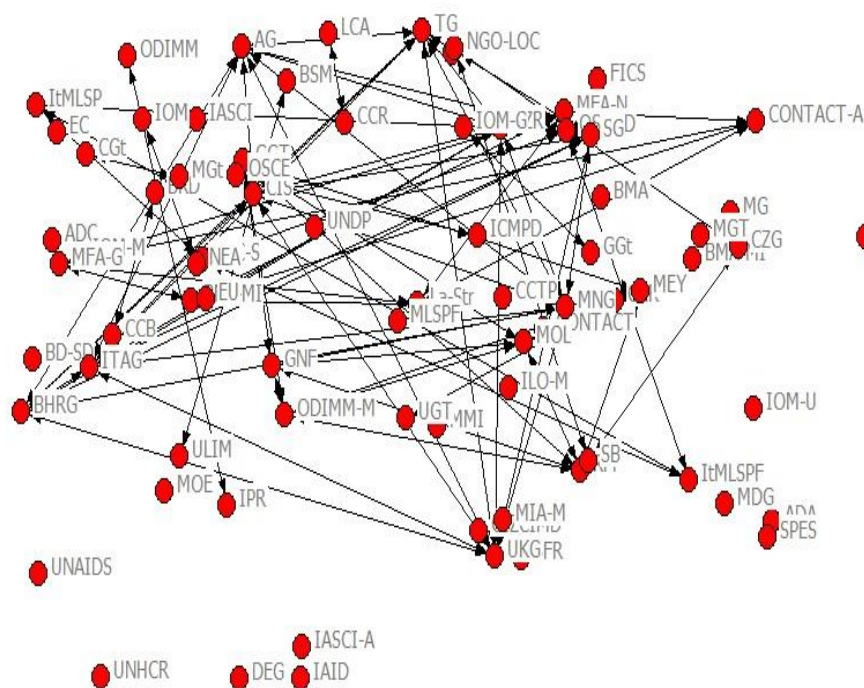
Table 15: Properties of 3R-Migration policy networks across three MSS cases

	3R-Migration Policy Network-centralization measures		
	Tajikistan	**Georgia**	**Moldova**
Density (%)	(2.6%)	(2%)	(1.6%)
Fragmentation (%)	(80%)	(87%)	(84%)
Connectivity (%)	(20%)	(13%)	(16%)

Focusing on the EU factor as a driving force for migrant-sending states to make prioritizations and precise choices regarding their national migration strategies, I hypothesized that the EU MRS powerful presence in a given MSS

network will lead to prioritization of the migrants' return/readmission policy (H2). And on the other hand, if the other migrant-sending states and/or the IOM, and/or other migrant-sending state play powerful central role within a given MSS network, it is more likely to lead to prioritization of the increasing number of the migrants' recruitment abroad as a national strategy (H1). When a given MSS is a powerful central policy actor in its own policy network and/or the World Bank, then it leads to prioritization of the issue of migrants' remittance use for investment (H3). The Table 3 in chapter 3 also proposed difference in the level of cooperation depending on the level of fragmentation or connectivity of a given migration policy network. All the networks could be much better connected than they are now and all show 80% or more level of fragmentation. As Table 7 illustrates the outcomes are competitions of domestic and regional organizations on R-issue prioritization, symmetric bargaining or horizontal cooperation.

The Georgian government is the powerful organization in its own migration policy network, which is very populated and highly fragmented. That leads to infer that there is a very strong competition between the IOM, the EU and Georgian government. Major advocacy coalitions enjoy access to their natural political coalition partners and all other major coalitions avoid becoming overly dependent on a single dominant power. That's why it is more practical for Georgia to follow the strategy of keeping the lines of communication open, of subduing antagonism, and when feasible of cooperating with opponent organizations. In Georgia we can observe more fluid and collaborative result. The IOM Georgia and the EU Mobility

Partnership and Neighborhood Policy are deeply involved in Georgian R-prioritization process. But Georgian government and its vibrant political parties have their influence in actual R-prioritization, which does not settle well with readmission policy and return programs presented by the EU. The below graph demonstrates ten advocacy coalitions that emerged in Georgian migration policy network.
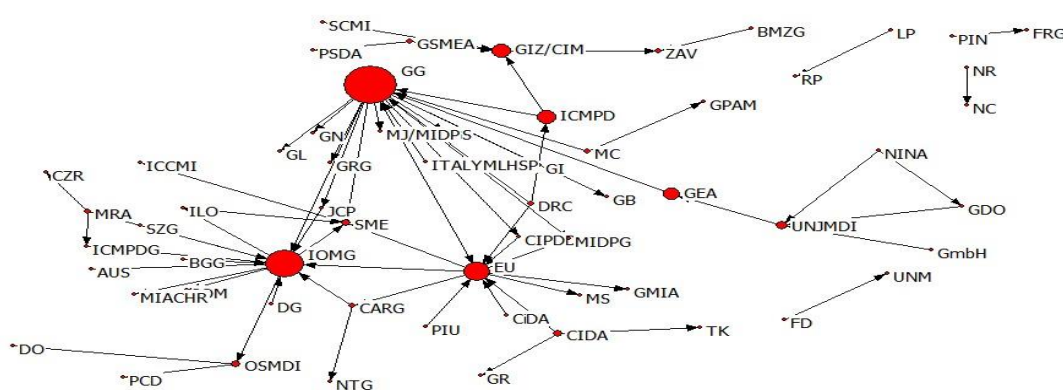
In contrast to Georgia, as both origin and transit country between many migrant destinations, Tajikistan migrants focus on one destination, Russia, and migration policy network below demonstrates absence of the influential receiving state, making it more or less free to develop a migration strategy. IOM and other migrant sending states' experts (Philippines) filled the gap, as Russia and Kazakhstan are not R-policy pushers. IOM works with Tajik government for the organized recruitment-policy prioritization over the last several years.
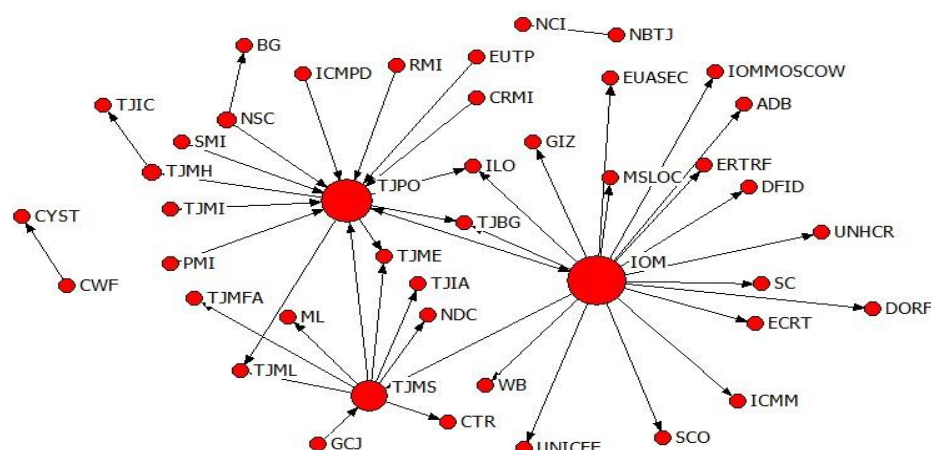
The similar regularization programs directed for remittance use or organized recruitment used by the EU with Georgia and Moldova are non-existent in Tajikistan. Russia does not channel any funds as a migrant-receiving state to tackle the issue of migration in migrant-sending state. It also does not push neither for organized recruitment, or return-prioritized national strategy for Tajikistan. The issue of remittance transfers and their use is not of a big concern too. It provides visa-free access to Russia for Tajik citizens, but then it has all the similar regulations applied to all the immigrants. Though there are some consultancy and information exchanges present between the Russian Federal Migration Service's official representatives in Russian Embassy in Dushanbe and the Tajik Government on organized recruitment of labor migration. Nevertheless, it was kept free for private recruitment agencies to deal with it, leaving government only with the licensing and regulation of those agencies. Such state based employment agencies as NEA in Moldova and GEA in Georgia could not function successfully.

And after liquidation of Tajikkhorijakor, Tajik Migration Service was not able to overtake that responsibility.

The less fragmented and more connected policy network of Moldova makes its central advocacy coalition under the EU leadership much more powerful, than in the case of Georgia. It is clear from the above network graph that the EU has very high degree and betweenness level, making it influential and dominant in terms of resource and communication exchanges.
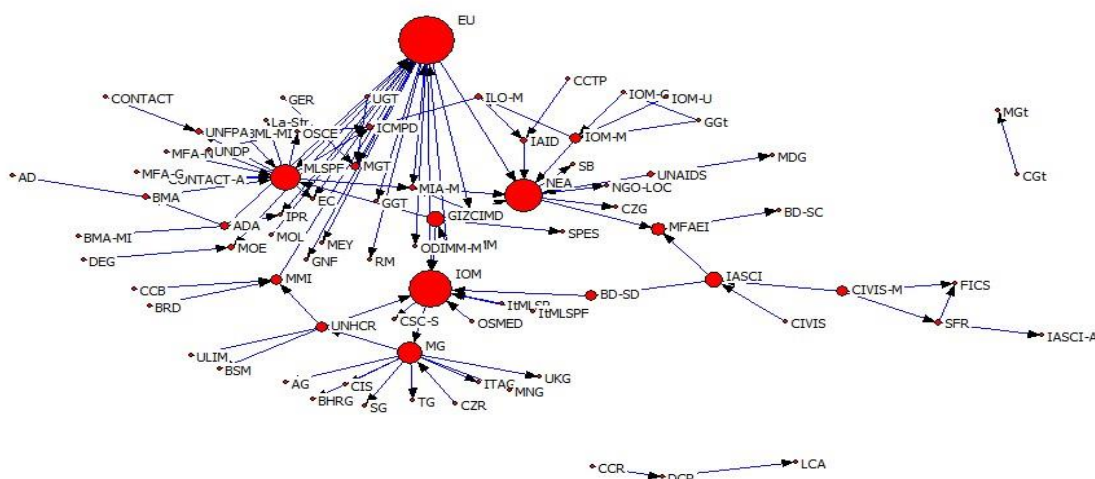
The IOM plays a significant role in each one of these three MSS policy networks. But as we know, the IOM is involved in operational activities, and has limited of its own funds, which it directs for its pro-recruitment advocacy activities. The following table compares the number of coalitions and organizations in each policy network. Though International Center for Migration Policy Development, which is EU based and is more of a regional organization than the IOM, is getting more and more active in promoting the EU Mobility Partnership Initiatives.

Table 16: Comparing Centrality measures

MOLDOVA Number of Cliques (8)	1-EU MIA-M MLSPF; 2-EU MIA-M NEA; 3-ADA EU IPR; 4-CIVIS-M FICS SFR; 5-GGt IOM-G IOM-M; 6 MLSPF OSCE UNDP UNFPA; 7 – IOM MG UNHCR; 8 – ICMPD OSCE MLSPF
Betweenness (EU)	46
Eigenvector (EU)	73
Organizations	77
GEORGIA Number of Cliques (10)	1-EU GG IOM SME; 2-CIPDD EU GG; 3-DRC EU GG; 4-EU GG MIDPG; 5-DRC GG ICMPD; 6 – GG IOMG JCP; 7 –CARG EU IOMG; 8-GDO NINA UNJMDI 9-ICMPDG IOMG MRA; 10 – ILO IOMG SME
Betweenness (GG)	48
Eigenvector (GG)	71
Organizations	61
TAJIKISTAN Number of Cliques (5)	1-ILO IOM TJPO; 2-IOM TJBG TJPO; 3-IOM TJMS TJPO 4-TJME TJMS TJPO; 5-TJMS TJML TJPO
Betweenness (IOM)	53
Eigenvector (IOM)	76
# Organizations	58

Comparing the most dominant organization in each of the migration policy networks, we observe that the IOM has the highest betweenness score of 53, Georgian government has 48 and the EU = 46. The betweenness score indicates about the bridging power of these organizations in their respected migration policy networks. The IOM falls between 53 geodesic paths of any of dyads in the network, GG in 48 and EU 46. Given the population of the networks we can infer that the IOM is the most dominant in Tajikistan network, than GG in Georgian and EU in

Moldovan. As if the IOM is removed from between any two organizations (53 dyads) that it links, then those two lose their connection with each other. As the above table illustrates the number of organizations vary in migrant-sending states' policy networks. Moldova has the most number of active organizations involved in R-prioritization policy development with the total of 77 and Georgia has 61, while Tajikistan's migration policy network is less populated with various state and non-state regional and domestic organizations.

Another important indicator for comparison is the eigenvector measure that implies about the power of the organization. IOM scores 76, again the highest, GG 71 and the EU in Moldovan case 73. The eigenvector indicates that the IOM, GG and EU have connection respectively with the 76, 71, and 73 neighboring organizations with highest degree centrality compared to other organizations within the migration policy network.

As was hypothesized, no matter if the R-policy is beneficial or not, if there are powerful organizations that migrant-sending states are dependent upon (based on their foreign policy values or interests) and the relevant domestic policy networks are fragmented, they end up adopting that R-policy. And variation in R-policy prioritization is not explained solely based on cost-benefit analysis of the domestic policymakers of the migrant-sending states as they rely on their national interest and benefit from migration. The variation is rather better explained based on the national interest advocated by others to be important for them, such as EU visa facilitation mechanism. The migrant sending state can be less dependent on

advocates of certain R-policy, if it has more options in terms of migration policy related resources and information distributed by various organizations across the Eurasian migration system, and if it is less dependent on the migrant-receiving state, particularly on the EU. As the EU factor looms large in changing national migration strategies drastically considering the value the migrant-sending states impose on their foreign policy towards the EU.

Studies also point on the existence of dominant frameworks of understanding pushed and reiterated by MRS and IOs in RCPs making them guiding principles that have 'branded readmission agreements as the only technical instruments able 'to combat illegal migration'' (Cassarino 2010:52). The argument: 'without the existence of an unquestioned scheme of understanding, based on the use of hegemonic language and sustained by the repetition of regional consultative processes neither the asymmetric costs inherent in the cooperation on readmission would have become less critical in the bargaining process, nor would the cobweb of agreements have developed simultaneously at the global level' (Cassarino 2010: 53). These institutions most of the time are set up by receiving countries to bring together only receiving countries (eg: OECD, ICMPD, IGC, and Bern Initiative) or bringing together sending, transit and receiving countries (IOM, Budapest and Soderkoping processes, and SPP). And solely MSS concerns are represented in other arrangements like Puebla and Colombo Process, which are not in Eurasian or European migration systems. The International Center for Migration Policy Development through the statistical

methods and analysis of legal data studied the regularization mechanism,

programs and policy making participants in Europe, based on comparative

analysis of the EU and non-EU member states' regularization policies. Odysseus

study (2000) on regularization practices in eight European MRS provides main

point of departure for much regularization policy research today. [161] The

concomitant resolution was also adopted by PACE on assisted voluntary return

(AVR) programs, which are viewed in the resolution 1742 (2010) as a 'much more

humane type of return' (unlike enforced return) giving persons who are served a

removal order "the possibility of returning home with dignity" (Cassarino 2010:43).

The humane dimension of AVR programs often repeated by the states and in the

RCPs to make them preferable option over enforced removal. AVR programs are

plausible given the overriding drive for operability and flexibility and presented as

form of voluntary return. They address both irregular migrants and rejected asylum

seekers, proving swift removal of any unauthorized aliens. Some case studies or

field investigations of AVR programs show how the voluntary dimension and the

'sustainability of return', which constitute key elements supporting the adoption of

AVR programs, have been addressed. In most cases 'the notion of return has

shifted from being a voluntary decision made by individuals to a policy option,

---

[161] Regularizations in Europe, Final Report Vienna 2009 Ref. JLS/B4/2007/05
A regularization mechanism is defined as any procedure other than specific regularization program
by which the state can grant legal status to illegally present third country nationals residing on its
territory. In contrast to regularization programs, mechanisms typically involve "earned" legalizations
(eg: by virtue of long term residence), or humanitarian considerations (eg: non-deportable rejected
asylum-seekers, health condition, family ties) and are likely to be longer term policies.
(Regularization in Europe, 2009: 9)

which is exercised by governments' (Blitz et al 2005: 196). As above discussion reveals it is not for the benefit of the migrant-sending states to sign readmission agreements and return their nationals, most of the time, involuntarily back home. It is the policy from which only EU migrant-receiving states benefit and push sending states to sign linking it with development, aid or visa facilitation conditions.

CONCLUSION

Migration is a transaction and it has a cost for acquiring information about employment opportunities, negotiating contracts, sending money home and legal rules. Migrant networks reduce transaction costs associated with mobility. It takes not that long before the network of migration policymakers emerge to complement or conflict with the migration networks within the regional migration system. The emergence of the Regional Consultation Processes on Migration (RCPs) that bring together various state and non-state actors to enhance migration management by states is the initial point of analysis for understanding of the migrant-sending states' R-policy making. The neoliberal institutionalism that combines political realist and transnationalist explanations of the international migration management is the best theoretical approach for analysis. Various theories contend that migration is linked not only to security issues but also to development, and in order to strengthen its positive effect on economic growth, migrant sending states focus on recruitment, return and remittances of migrants. For understanding of the migration – development nexus we should disintegrate the concept of national interest, which is based on issue linkages between various migration and non-migration related

policies of states. When it is about migration, which is a transnational issue, then supra-national, international and national interests are taken into account.

Though most of the studies on migration management focus on migrant receiving states' immigration policies, all the states have common objective in the migration management agenda as they want to introduce regulations which enhances their positions as legitimate managers of the mobility of their nationals and foreigners. The international migration governance in general is categorized as high/low skilled labor migration, irregular migration, international travel, environmental and forced migration, internally displaced people and diaspora and remittances (Betts 2011). Focusing on migration-development nexus this dissertation analyzed migrants' recruitment, return and remittance regulation, i.e. three R issues, derived from various categorizations provided in the literature. The migrant sending states, thus, focus on 3R-migration policies, namely on facilitating recruitment of labor migrants out of migrant-sending states, encouraging return and readmission of migrants, and remittance transfer and investment back to the migrant sending states. This dissertation classified emigration policies into 3Rs, based on the strategies employed by migrant sending states to incorporate emigration into the socio-economic development.

There are various state and non-state organizations that make up the network of policymakers where one can locate advocacy coalitions emerging from the most powerful organizations that negotiate migration policy transfer and learning from different contexts. The analytic framework used for identification of

the policy network and advocates are organizational state model and advocacy coalition framework (OSM and ACF) used within policy network theory. The largest migration policy networks are Regional Consultative Processes on Migration, while sub-networks emerge within and between them as a result of the constant cooperation between RCP members. For the Eurasian migration system the CIS, the Budapest and the Prague RCPs are the key policymakers' initial networks for resolving issues of the 3R policies. The collective actions of the dominant coalitions or advocacy circles are based on policy interests of the policy actors resulted from the information and resource exchanges. After studying these RCPs this dissertation proposed that there are networks that emerge in different forms for each migrant sending states.

The study of the migration policy networks requires mixture of the qualitative and quantitative approaches. The relational data was collected to analyze migration policy networks of the three separate country cases. The within and cross case analysis were done to trace the process of R-migration policy prioritization (DV) through understanding the power structure and advocacy coalition R-policy transfer capacity within each migration policy networks. Both email and face-to-face interviews were conducted with the policymakers, and in addition the secondary sources were used. The list of organizations relevant to migration policymaking and R-policy prioritization were compiled from different sources through method of snowballing. The websites of the CIS Process, as well as Budapest and Prague Regional Consultative Processes on migration were used

to get initial picture of the states and non-state organizations that were involved in larger regional networks cooperating on the migration management issues. After the network analyses results demonstrated the dominant and influential actors, the causal mechanism of the R-policy prioritization transfer by the advocacy coalition and action-set organizations was discussed. The methods of R-prioritized migration policy vary across cases as well. Mainly it is due to the degree of dominance of the central organization, its capacity to empower the authorities and foreign policy value of the migrant-sending state itself that Tajikistan adopts recruitment-prioritized policy through indirect coercive transfer, and Moldova adopts return/readmission prioritized strategy through direct coercive transfer. Georgian government competes with R-policy advocates in its policy network and leans towards diaspora attraction and remittance transfer and investment prioritization, despite signing the Readmission Agreement with the EU in 2009.

The Eurasian migration system, a group of states in former Soviet region linked by large scale and sustainable migration flows, is divided into various sub-systems with varying migration management approaches. The theories on causes of the mass migration across borders within this system were analyzed focusing on possible causal factors as wage differentials, segmented labor market, risk diversification strategy, and migration networks. The conclusion is that each one of the factors played role in initiating and perpetuating migration in the system at different times. The role of the states, particularly migrant sending states in migration management was analyzed looking at the state focus on migration-

development, migration-mobility and migration-security nexuses. In order to explain the 3R-migration policymaking process of the sending states, the migration-development approach and neoliberal institutionalist theory are found to be the most appropriate. The neoliberal institutionalist theory is especially relevant in explaining migrant-sending states' prioritized policy, as migration is transnational phenomenon by nature and its management by each state involves not just domestic, but regional and international actors/organizations.

Each migrant sending state finds itself within a migration policy network; therefore the policy network analysis helps to understand the structure of those policy networks for a given state. To explain the reasons behind prioritizing one R-policy over other as government migration management strategy the power relations between organizations within the migration policy networks are analyzed. The organizational state model and advocacy coalition framework are used as analytic frameworks to do an inter-organizational analysis and investigate advocacy coalition organizations impact on R-policy prioritization. This dissertation analyzed best practices and dominance of the peak organizations in migration management field and proposed that in case of the dominance of the EU in any of the migrant-sending state's policy network, the return and readmission policy will be prioritized. The IOM and other MSSs advocated prioritization of the organized recruitment and increased labor migration, while dominance of the migrant-sending state itself in its policy network lead to having the liberal stance or prioritizing remittances.

Bibliography

ACTED. (2009). *Trends of labor migration from Sughd and Khatlon Region, Republic of Tajikistan, under the impact of global financial crisis.* Dushanbe: ACTED.

Adolino, J. R. (2011). *Comparing Public Policies: Issues ad choices in industrialized countries.* Washington, DC: CQ Press.

Agustin Escobar Latapi and Susan Martin, e. (2008). *Mexico-US migration management: a binational approach.* Lanham: Lexington Books.

Alexander Betts, e. (2008). *Global Migration Governance.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Building Migration Partnerships. (2010). *Tajikistan: Extended Migration Profile.* International Center for Migration Policy Development.

Bader, V. (1995). Citizenships and exclusion . Radical democracy, community and justice. Or, what is wrong witrh communitarianism? *Political Theory* , 211-246.

Beach, D., & Pederson, R. B. (2013). *Process-tracing methods: Foundations and Guildelines.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan press.

Bonfiglio, A. (2011). New approaches for researching the determinants of migration processes: ESF strategic workshop on migration research. *European Science Foundation.* University of Oxford: University of Oxford.

Boswell, C. (2007, Spring). Theorizing Migration Policy: is there a third way? *International Migration Review , 41* (1), pp. 75-100.

Brubaker, R. (1995). Comments on 'Modes of immigration politics in liberal democratic states'. *International Migration Review 29, 4* , 903=908.

Brochmann, G. and T. Hammar (eds). (1999). *Mechanisms of immigration control. A comparative analysis of european regulation policies* . Oxford: Berg.

Calavita, K. (1989). Recent works on immigration policymaking: a review essay and agenda for the future. *Law and Society Review 23 (5)* , 799-820.

Castles, S. and Kossack, G . (1973). *Immigrant workers and class structure in Western Europe.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Carleto, C., Davis, B., Stampini, M., & Zezza, A. (2006, Winter). A country on the move: international migration in post-Communist Albania. *International Migration Review , 40*, pp. 767-785.

Chain, M. A. (2008). *The politics of Immigration in France, Britain and The United States: A comparative study.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Chelidze, N. (2012). *Migration in the agendas/ programs of political factions and political parties in the parliament of Georgia, 2011.* Consortium for Applied Research on International MIgration. CARIM East Project.

Chobanyan, H. (2012). *Emigration and Diaspora of the Republic of Armenia.* Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration. CARIM East Project.

Chobanyan, H. (2012). *Migration Rhetoric in Armenian Political Parties' Programs.* Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration. CARIM East Project.

Cornelius, W. a. (2004). Controlling immigration: the limits of government intervention. In C. W. al, *Controlling Immigration: a global perspective.* Standford: Stanford University Press.

Cornelius, W. A., Martin, P. L. and Hollifield, J.F. (ed). (1994/2004). *Controlling immigration: a global perspective.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Cornia Andrea, G. (2010). *Transition, structural divergence, and performance: Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union over 2000-2007.* United Nations University, UNU-WIDER. UNU-WIDER.

European Commission. (2015). *Implementation of the European Neighborhood Policy Eastern Partnership Implementation Report.* High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. Brussels: EC.

European Commission. (2015). *Implementation of the European Neighborhood Policy in Georgia Progress in 2014 and recommendations for actions.* High Repesentative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Social Policy. Brussels: European Commission.

European Commission. (2015). *Implementation of the European Neighborhood Policy in the Republic of Moldova Progress in 2014 and recommendations for actions.* High Representative of the European Union for the Foreign Affairs anfd Security Policy. Brussels: European Commission.

European Training Fund, I. B. (2015). *Migrant support measures from an employment and skills perspective (MISMES): Georgia.* Torino: European Training Fund.

European Training Foundation, V. M. (2015). *Migrant support measures from an employment and skills perspective (MISMES): Moldova.* Torino: European Training Foundation.

Esipova, N., Ray, J., & Pugliese, A. (2011). *Gallup World Poll: the many faces of global migration.* Geneva: International Organization for Migration.

Erlich, A. (2006). *Tajikistan: from refugee sender to labor exporter.* Florence: Migration Policy Institute.

D. Ratha, S. M. (2009). *Outlook for remittances flows 2009-2011: remittances expected to fall by 7-10 % in 2009.* World Bank.

De Haas, H. (2008). *Migration and Development: a theoretical perspective.* University of Oxford, International Migration Institute. Oxford: IMI.

De Haas, H. (2009). *MIgration System Formation and Decline: a theoretical inquiry into the self-perpetuating and self undermining dynamics of migration processes.* University of Oxford, Inernational Migration Institute. Oxford: IMI.

De Haas, H., & Vezzoli, S. (2011). *Leaving Matters: the nature, evolution and effects of emigration policies.* University of Oxford, International Migration Institute. Oxford: IMI.

Delano, A. (2009, Winter). From limited to active engagement: Mexico's emigration policies from a foreign policy perspective (2000-2006). *International Migration Review , 43* (4), pp. 764-814.

Dovelyn, A. (2009). *Guiding the invisible hand: making migration intermediaries work for development.* New York: United Nations Human Development Report.

Farrant, M., MacDonald, A., & Sriskandarajah, D. (2006). *Migration and Development: opportunities and challenges for policymakers.* Geneva: IOM.

Fitzgerald, D. (2009). *A Nation of Emigrants: How Mexico manages its migration.* London: University of California Press.

Freeman, G. (1995). Modes of Immigration Politics in Liberal Democratic States. *International Migration Review 29/4* , 881-902.

Geddes, A. (2008). *Immigration and European integration: beyond fortress Europe?* (Second edition ed.). Manchester: Manchester University press.

Geddes, A. (2010). *The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe.* London: SAGE Publications.

George, A. L., & Bennet, A. (2005). *Case studies and theory development in the social sciences.* Cambridge: MIT Press.

Glick Shiller, N., Basch L. and Blanc C.S. (1995). From immigrant to transmigrant: theorizing transnational migration. *Anthropological Quarterly 68/1* , 48-63.

Global Migration Group. (2010). *Mainstreaming Migration into Development Planning: A handbook for policy-makers and practitioners.* Geneva: International Organization for Migration.

Goldin, I., Geoffrey, C., & Meera, B. (2011). *Exceptional people: how migration shaped our world and will define our future.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Gomart, E. (2003). Between civil war and land reform among the poorest of the poor in Tajikistan. In E. Gomart, N. Dudwick, & K. Kuehnast, *When things fall apart: qualitative studies in poverty in the Former Soviet Union.* Washington: World Bank.

International Center for Migration Policy Development. (2007). *Regularzations in Europe: Study on practices in the area of regularization of illegally staying third-country nationals in the member-states of the EU.* Vienna: ICMPD.

International Organization for Migration. (2012). *International dialogue on migration: economic cycles, demographic change and migration.* Geneva: IOM.

Ionescu, D. (2006). *Engaging diasporas as development partners for home and destination countries: challenges for policymakers.* Geneva: IOM.

Iskander, N. (2010). *Creative state: forty years of migration and development policy in Morocco and Mexico.* Cornell University .

Hansen, R. (2010). *An assessment of principal regional consultative processes on migration.* Geneva: IOM.

Hammar T. et al. . (1985). *European Immigration Policy: A comparative study.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Howard, M. M. (2009). *The politics of citizenship in Europe.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hollifield, J. (1992). *Immigrants, markets and states: the political economy of post war Europe.* Cambridge: Harvard Universirty Press.

Hollifield, J. (2002). Migration and International Relations: the liberal paradox. *Migration and IR/Royal Society* .

Hollifield, J. (2005). The emerging migration state. *JCAS Symposium Series 22.* Osaka: The Japan Center for Area Studies.

Hollifield, J. (2000). The politics of international migration. How can we bring the state back in? In C. a. Brettell, *Migration Theory. Talking across disciplines.* New York: Routledge.

Joppke, C. (1998b). Why liberal states accept unwanted immigration? *World Politics 50/2* , 266-293.

Joppke, C. (1999). *Immigration and the nation-state. The United States, Germany and Great Britain.* Oxford : Oxford University Press.

Kubat, D. e. (1993). *The politics of migraiton policies: settlements and integration, the first world into the 1990s* (Second edition ed.). New York: The Center for MIgration Studies.

Kahanec, M., & Zimmermann, K. (2008). *Migration, the quality of the labor force and economic inequality.* Bonn: IZA.

King, R. e. (1993). *Mass migration in Europe: the legacy and the future.* London: Benhaven Press.

Kireyev, A. (2006). *The macroeconomics of remittances: the case of Tajikistan.* International Monetary Fund.

Korobkov, A. (2007). Migration trends in Central Eurasia: politics versus economics. *Communist and post-Communist Studies #40* .

Lucas, R. (2012). *International migration to the high income countries: some consequences for economic development in the sending countries.* World Bank.

L. Jones, R. B. (2007). *Migration and poverty reduction in Tajikistan.* Institute for Development Studies, Sussex Centre for Migration Research.

Laubenthal, B. (2007). The emergence of pro-regularization movements in Western Europe. *International Migration Review 45/3* , 101-133.

Laurelle, M. (2007, Volume 5 #3). Central Asian labor migrants to Russia: the "Diasporization" of the Central Asian States . *China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly* , pp. 101-119.

Laurelle, M. (2008). Russia's Central Asia Policy and the Role of Russian Nationalism. *Silk Road Studies* .

Lohr, E. (2012). *Russian Citizenship: from Empire to Soviet Union.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Naik, A., Koehler, J., & Laczko, F. (2008). *Migration and development: achieving policy coherence.* Geneva: IOM.

Nancy Green and Francois Weil, e. (2007). *Citizenship and those who leave: the politics of emigration and expatriation.* Chicago: University of Illinois press.

Mughal, A.-G. (2007). *Migration, Remittances, and living standards in Tajikistan: a report based on Khatlon Remittances and Living Standards Measurement Survey.* Dushanbe: IOM Tajikistan.

Mukolmel, V. (2012). *Migration rhetoric in program documents of Russian Political Parties.* CARIM East Explanatory Note 12/112, Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration.

Makaryan, S. (2013). *Migration rhetoric in political party programs: Comparative review of case-studies of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, MOldova, Russia and Ukraine.* Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration. CARIM EAST Project.

Manolo, A. (2004). The role of recruiters in international migration. In D. M. Taylor, *International Migration: prospects and policies in a global market* (pp. 201-211). London: Oxford University Press.

Massey, D. (1999). International migration at the dawn of the twenty first century: the role fo the state. *Population and Development Review 25/2* , 303-322.

Massey, D. J. (1998). *World in Motion: understanding international migration at the end of the millenium.* Oxford: Clarendon press.

Massey, D., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A., & Taylor, E. (1993, September). Theories of International Migration: a review and appraisal. *Population and Development Review , 19* (3), pp. 431-466.

Marat, E. (2009). Shrinking remittances increase labor migration from Central Asia. *CACI Analyst* , http://www.cacianalyst.org/q=node/5035.

Martin, P. and Teitelbaum M. (2001). The mirrage of Mexican guest workers. *Foreign Affairs 80/6* , 117-131.

Martin, P. (2000). Guest worker programs for the 21st century. *Backgrounder, Center for Immigration Studies* .

Martin, P., & Martin, S. a. (2006). *Managing migration: the promise of cooperation.* Lanham: Lexington Books.

Martin, P., Midgley, E., & Teiltelbaum, M. (2001). *Migration and Developments: Focus on Turkey.* Center for MIgration Studies. New York: IMR Volume 35 Number 2.

Menz, G. (2009). *The political economy of managed migration: Nonstate actors, Europeanization, and the politics of designing migration policies.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Mill, J. (1909). *Principles of Political Economy: with some of their applications to social philosophy.* London: Longmans.

Mongia, R. (2005). Abolition and free migration: on historicity and eurocentricity in migration studies. In I. a. Toshio, *Motion in Place/Place in Motion.* Osaka: The Japan Center for Area Studies.

Mosneaga V., B. E. (2012). *Problems of reintegration and return of labor migrants from the European Union to the neighborhood countries.* Vilius: Publishing House of the European Humanities University .

Mosneaga, V. (2011). Moldova in the context of international migrations. *International Migration of Population: Russia and contemporary world Volume 25* , Moscow State University Press.

Mosneaga, V. (2007). Regulation of labor migration in the Republic of Moldova: main strategies and their specific features . *Moldoscopie N1* , 33-48.

Moraru V., M. V. (2012). *Migration Pendulum Chisinau.* Chisinau: Tipographia Sirius.

Olimova, S. (2005). The economic impact of labor migration: the case of Tajikistan. *International Studies Association.*

Oprunenco, A. (2012). *Migration Issue in Programs and Platforms of Political Parties in Moldova.* Constortium for Applied Research on International Migration. EU: CARIM East Project.

Putnam, R. D. (1988). Diplomacy and domestic politics: the logic of two-level games. *International Organization 42, 3* , 427-460.

P. Khakimov, M. M. (2009). Economic Dynamics of Labor Migrants Remittances in Tajikistan. *IOM Tajikistan* , 38.

Papademetriou, D. (2015). *Rethinking Emigration: Turning Challenges into Opportunities.* Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.

Philip L. Martin, S. F. (2006). *Managing Migration: the promise of cooperation.* Oxford: Lexington Books.

Portes, A. a. (2007). *Rethinking migration: New theoretical and empirical perspective.* New york, Oxford: Berghan Books.

Salazar Parenas, R. (2000). Migrant Filipina domestic workers and the international division of reproductive labor. *Gender and Society 14/4* , 560-581.

Sassen, S. (1995). *Losing control? Sovereginty in an age of globalization.* New york: Columbia University Press.

Sassen, S. (1998). *The mobility of labor and capital: a study in international investment and labor flow.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Srinavasan, T. N. (2001). Outward orientation and Development: Are revisionists right? In D. L. ed., *Trade, Development and Political Economy: Essays in Honor of Anne Krueger* (pp. 112-154). London: Palgrave.

Ruhs, M. and Martin, P. (2006). *Numbers vs. rights: trade-offs and guest worker programs.* Oxford: University of Oxford.

Rumyantsev, S. (2012). *Political parties and problems of migration in Azerbaijan (rus).* Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration. CARIM East.

Riester, I. (2009). *Impact of the Global recession on international labor migration and remittances: implications for poverty reduction and development in Nepal, Philippines, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.* ADB.

Tukhashvili, M. (2006). Migration Concept Should be Drafted. *Social Economy Maganize #3* .

Torpey, J. (2000). *The invention of the passport: surveillance, citizenship and the state.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zolberg, A. (1999). Matters of state: theorizing immigration policy. *Handbook of International Migration* , pp. 71-93.

Zolberg, A. (1989). The next waves: migration theory for a changing world. *International Migration Review 23/3* , 403-430.

Walters, W. (2006). Border/Control. *European Journal of Social Theory 9/2* , 187-203.

Weinar, A. (2014). *Emigration Policies in contemporary Europe.* Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, Migration Policy Center. Florence: European University Institute.

Weiner, M. (1993). Security, Stability and International migration. *International Security , 17* (3), 91-126.

Wimmer, A., & Glick Shiller, N. (2003, Fall). Methodological nationalism, the social sciences, and the study of migration: an essay in historical epistemology. *International Migration Review , 37* (3), pp. 576-610.

Xenogiani, T. (2005). *Policy coherence for development: a background paper on migration policy and its interactions with policies on aid, trade and FDI.* OECD, Development Center.

Vremis, M., Craievschi-Toarta, V., & Eugeniu Burdelini, A. H. (2012). *Extended Migration Profile of the Republic of Moldova.* Chisinau: International Organization for Migration.

APPENDIX 1: Prague and Budapest Process Participant-States

The following is map of Prague Process Participants. Source: I-map on Migration

(http://www.imap-migration.org/index.php?id=37&L=3%27)
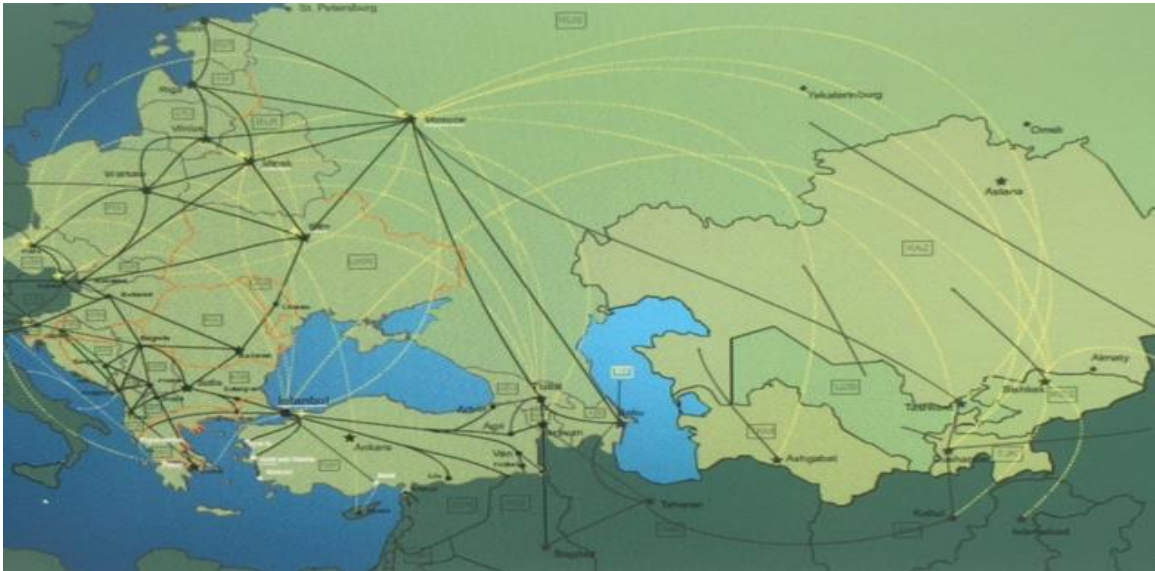
Map of Budapest Process participating countries: Source: I-Map on Migration

(http://www.imap-migration.org/index.php?id=512&L=%2F)

APPENDIX 2: Migration Policy Development Timeline

TAJIKISTAN

The national legislation on migration issues comprises of:

Act "On migration" of December 11, 1999 (No 882), amended on May 10, 2003 (No 31), December 28, 2005 (No145), December 31, 2008 (No 470), and January 12, 2010 (No 591);
Act "On refugees" of May 10, 2002 (No 50), amended on January 12, 2010 (No 590);
Act "On licensing certain types of activity" dated May 17, 2004, amended on April 3, 2007" (No 37), amended on March 01, 2005 (No 81), July 28, 2006 (No 195), June 13, 2007 (No 277),
January 05, 2008 (No 349), June 18, 2008 (No 399), October 6, 2008 (No 435);
Act "On assisting employment of the population" 44 dated August 1, 2003 (No 44), amended on
December 28, 2005 (No137) and July 30, 2007 (No 325);
Act "On counteracting trafficking in human beings" of 2004;
Act of the Republic of Tajikistan " On Citizenship"
Act of the Republic of Tajikistan "On legal status of foreign citizens", dated on February 1, 1996, No. 230, amended on December 3, 2009 (No 565).

The executive acts related to labor migration:

Decree of the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan "On measures to regulate external labor migration of Tajik nationals" No 15, dated January 24, 1994;
Decree by the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan "On the concept of labor migration abroad" No 242, dated June 09, 2001;
Decree by the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan "On approving the Regulation on State Employment Service" No 168, dated May 10, 2005;
Decree by the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan "On approving the Program of external labor migration of Tajik nationals for 2006-2010" (No 61), dated January 31, 2006;
Decree by the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan "On approving the Concept of Social Protection of the population of the Republic of Tajikistan" No 783, dated December 29, 2006;
Decree by the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Tajikistan "On approving the Regulation on Migration Service under the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Tajikistan" No 101, dated February 20, 2007
Decree by the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan "On the State agency for social protection, employment and migration" No 102, dated March 03, 2007;
Decree by the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan "On representative office of the

Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Tajikistan on migration in the Russian Federation" No 124,
dated March 29, 2007;
Decree by the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan "On approving the Regulation on licensing certain types of activities", amended on April 03, 2007 (No172), April 01, 2008 (No 179), and August 27, 2008 (No 443);
Decree by the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan "On regulating the issues of employment" No 531 dated December 04, 2003, amended on June 30, 2007 (No 362);
Decree by the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan "On approving the Program of assisting the employment in the Republic of Tajikistan for 2008-2009" No 632, dated December 30, 2007;
Decree by the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan "On approving the Concept of establishing and preserving jobs in Tajikistan for 2008-2015" #74, dated March 05, 2008;
Decree by the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan "On establishing State institution – Adult Education Center" No 115, dated March 05, 2008;
Decree by the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan "On accounting external labour migration of the Tajik nationals" No 378 dated August 01, 2008;
Decree of the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan "On approving the Protocol on amendments to the Agreement on cooperation in the area of labor migration and social protection of migrant workers of April 15, 1994" of June 11, 2009;

Other legal acts on migration related issues:

Regulation of the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan, "Types, procedures of processing and issuing of visas of the Republic of Tajikistan", January 26, 2008, No27;
Regulation of the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan, "On measures providing simplified processing and issuing of visas of the Republic of Tajikistan to citizens of some foreign countries", dated on April 3, 2006, No. 134;
Order of the President of the Republic of Tajikistan of 2001 "On strengthening the struggle against illegal migration in the Republic of Tajikistan";
Regulation on the Licensing Committee under the Migration Service of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Tajikistan, approved by the Decree of the Minister of Internal Affairs, dated June 4, 2008;
Decree of the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan "On approving the rules of issuing foreign passports containing electronic media and certificates for return to the Republic of Tajikistan for the citizens of the Republic of Tajikistan", dated April 2, 2009;
Decree of the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan "On approving the plan of additional anti-crisis measures by the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan for a short-term period" dated April 29, 2009.

GEORGIA

Legal framework governing migration and mobility	Year
Law on the Refugee Status and Humanitarian Status	2011
Law on Compatriots Living Abroad and Diaspora Organizations	2011
Law on the Rules of Georgian Citizens' Entry into and Exit from Georgia	2009
Law on Combating Human Trafficking	2006
Law on the Legal Status of Foreigners	2005
Law on the Rules of Registration of Georgian Citizens and Foreigners Residing in Georgia	1996
Constitution of Georgia	1995

MOLDOVA

2013 Government Decision for the approval of Additional Measures to the National Program for the implementation of the Moldova –EU Action Plan in the field of visa liberalization regime
2013 Government Decision for the approval of the Regulation regarding issuance of visas
2013 Government Decision for the approval of the Regulation on issuing identity documents and evidence of the residents of the Republic of Moldova (second generation of identity documents)
2013 Government Decision on the approval of the Regulation regarding issuance of visas
2011 Law on the Integration of Foreigners in the Republic of Moldova
2011 Law on the state border of the Republic of Moldova
2011 Law on the border police
2011 National Strategy in the Domain of Migration and Asylum (2011-2020)
2011 National Action Plan for the Implementation of the National Strategy in the Domain of
Migration and Asylum (2011-2015)
2010 Government Decision regarding the Commission for the Coordination of Certain Activities
Relating to Migration
2010 Law on the Regime of Foreigners in the Republic of Moldova
2008 Law on Labor Migration
2008 Law on Asylum in the Republic of Moldova
1994 Law on the Legal Status of Foreign Citizens and Stateless Persons
1994 Law on exit from and entry into the Republic of Moldova
1994 Constitution of the Republic of Moldova

APPENDIX 3: Questionnaire to identify migration policy networks of country X

1. Your organization's name

_____

2. Level of organization, tick: global ____regional_____ national_____

3. Position within the organization (you can leave blank if not willing to answer)_

4. From your perspective what are the most influential organizations in the migrant recruitment policy process in Georgia? Name them, please.

5. From your perspective what are the most influential organization in the migrant return policy process? Name them, please.

_____

6. From your point of view what are the most influential organization in the migrant remittance policy process? Name them, please.

_____

7. What is your organization's interest in migrant recruitment policy area?

8. What labor migrant recruitment events did you participate in?

9. What labor migrant return policy related events did you participate in?

_____

Contact

10.   Between 1996 and 2012, on average, how often did you have contact with the following organizations? Contacts can be meetings, phone calls, or emails.

List organ-s	Never	Annual	Biannual	Quarterly	Monthly	Weekly	Daily

International Organization for Migration							
Russian FMS							
Regional Consultative Processes (CIS)							
Regional Consultative Processes (Budapest)							

No Contact

11.   For organizations that you said you did not have contact with between 1996- 2013, please comment on those you would like to start a relationship with.

List subset organizations Where Question10 = 'Never'	

Relationship

12.   How would you describe your relationship with the following organizations between 1996-2013

Relationship type	Description of the relationship	Name of organization (can list several in each cell)
Not linked	We did not work together at all and have separate program goals	
Communication	We shared information only when it is advantageous to either or both programs	
Cooperation	We shared information and worked together when an opportunity arose	

Coordination	We worked side-by-side as separate organizations to achieve common program goals; efforts were coordinated to prevent overlap	
Collaboration	We worked side-by-side and actively pursued opportunities to work together, but did not establish a formal agreement	
Partnership	We worked together as a formal team with specified responsibilities to achieve common goals (had a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) or formal agreement)	
Fully linked	We mutually planned and shared staff and/or resources to accomplish common goals	

Refer to

13.　Between 1996 and 2013 which organizations did you refer TO for the issues of recruitment, return and remittance policy decisions? Feel free to be as detailed and specific as you can.

List subset organizations	
Where Question 10 not= 'Never'	

Refer From

14.　Between 1996 and 2013, which organizations did you get referrals FROM in issues of outgoing migrant recruitment, return and remittances policy and program decisions?

List subset organizations	
Where Question10 not = 'Never'	

Experts

15. During 1996-2014, which of the following organizations provided assistance and/or expertise to your migration recruitment, return and remittances policy-making activities?

List subset organizations	
Where Question10 not = 'Never'	

Fiscal

16. Between 1996 and 2013, how did the economic situation in your country affect your organization's relationship with other regional organizations?

List subset organizations where Question 10 is not=Never	Not Much A lot
	O………O………..O………..O………..O………..O
	O………O………..O………..O………..O………..O
	O………O………..O………..O………..O………..O
	O………O………..O………..O………..O………..O
	O………O………..O………..O………..O………..O

Resources

17. Listed below are some of the resources provided by the RCP, IOM or other international organizations. Please rate each resource on its usefulness to your organization. You may leave blank any resource that you have not used. And fill the empty cells with other resources that are not mentioned.

	Not Much A lot
	O………O………..O………..O………..O………..O
Access to data/software/information	O………O………..O………..O………..O………..O
Support groups	O………O………..O………..O………..O………..O
Professional Education opportunities	O………O………..O………..O………..O………..O

Training	O.........O...........O...........O...........O...........O
Technical assistance	O.........O...........O...........O...........O...........O

Misc.

18.   In a work situation it can happen that organizations belonging to the regional migration policymaking system do not get along with each other. It could be that your organization has a row with some other organization (s), it could be that you try to avoid contact with some of them, that you can't get on with some, etc. With which organization of the migration system can't your organization get along?

19. With which of the migration related organization do you have a rather superficial relation?

20.   How many years have you worked with your Regional Consultative Processes? (such as Budapest Process, Prague Process, CIS Conference)

21.   Please circle/highlight the answers to the following questions on your organization's relationships with other migration organizations.

RELATIONS WITH THE ORGANIZATION X

Please circle/highlight or underline the correct answer:

1: When your organization is confronted with a recruitment-related policy problem, for which it couldn't find a solution. How often did you go to the World Bank for advice?

daily –   some times a week – some times a month – sometimes a year – never -

2: Consider all situations of the past year in which you needed crucial information/data/software, etc. for your work, but you didn't possess it yourself. How often did you obtain this information with the help of the World Bank?

daily – some times a week –   some times a month – some times a year – never -

3: Consider all situation of the past year in which you cooperated with other organizations. With cooperation we mean: working together on the same project,

solving problems together, etc.. Occasional advice does not belong to this type of cooperation. How often have you cooperated with the World Bank migration research group during the past year?

daily – some times a week –some times a month–some times a year – never

4: Look at the following opposite adjectives: "distrust – trust". The more left you tick of a box, the more you associate your relation with the World Bank with "distrust". The more right you pick of a box, the more you associate you relation with "trust".

distrust (-3)-----(-2)-----(-1)-----(0)-----(1)-----(2)-----trust (+3)

5: Look at the following opposite adjectives: "hostile – friendly". The more left you tick of a box, the more you consider your relation with the WB as "hostile". The more right you pick of a box, the more you consider your relation as "friendly".

hostile (-3)-----(-2)-----(-1)-----(0)-----(1)-----(2)-----friendly(+3)

6: Look at the following opposite adjectives: "formal – informal". The more left you tick of a box, the more you consider your relation with the World Bank as "formal". The more right you pick of a box, the more you consider your relation as "informal".

formal (-3)-----(-2)-----(-1)-----(0)-----(1)-----(2)-----informal (+3)

APPENDIX 4: Advocacy Coalition Framework

Figure 16: Advocacy Coalition Framework used for analysis of the process of R-Policy Prioritization

COALITION A R- POLICY PRIORITIZATION RESOURCES	POLICY BROKERS	COALITION B R- POLICY PRIORITIZATION RESOURCES
STRATEGY A1 re Guidance Instruments		STRATEGY B1 re Guidance Instruments
	DECISIONS BY SOVEREIGNS	
	AGENCY RESOURCES AND GENERAL POLICY ORIENTATION	
	R-POLICY OUTPUT	
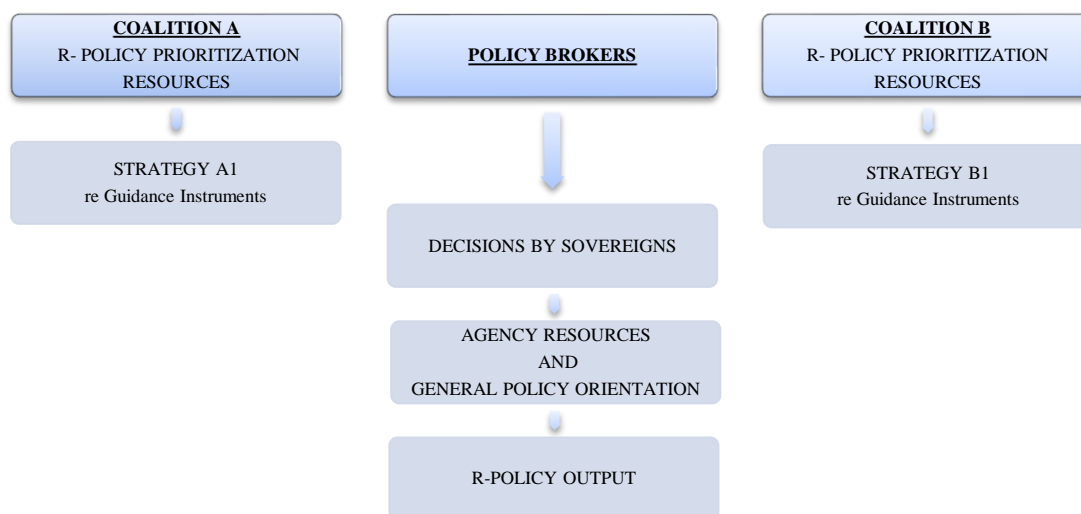
Derived from Sabatier 1993:18

APPENDIX 5: Centrality and cohesion measures of all three cases

TAJIKISTAN - MULTIPLE CENTRALITY MEASURES

		1	2	3	4
		Degree	Closeness	Betweenness	Eigenvector
1	ADB	2.381	15.672	0.000	14.750
2	BG	2.381	13.770	0.000	2.593
3	CRMI	2.381	15.556	0.000	12.809
4	CTR	2.381	15.162	0.000	9.101
5	CWF	2.381	2.381	0.000	0.000
6	CYST	2.381	2.381	0.000	0.000
7	DFID	2.381	15.672	0.000	14.750
8	DORF	2.381	15.672	0.000	14.750
9	ECRT	2.381	15.672	0.000	14.750
10	ERTRF	2.381	15.672	0.000	14.750
11	EUASEC	2.381	15.672	0.000	14.750
12	EUTP	2.381	15.556	0.000	12.809
13	GCJ	2.381	15.162	0.000	9.101
14	GIZ	2.381	15.672	0.000	14.750
15	ICMM	2.381	15.672	0.000	14.750
16	ICMPD	2.381	15.556	0.000	12.809
17	ILO	4.762	16.535	0.000	27.559
18	IOM	45.238	18.182	53.136	75.734
19	IOMMOSCOW	2.381	15.672	0.000	14.750
20	ML	2.381	15.162	0.000	9.101
21	MSLOC	2.381	15.672	0.000	14.750
22	NBTJ	2.381	2.381	0.000	0.000
23	NCI	2.381	2.381	0.000	0.000
24	NDC	2.381	15.162	0.000	9.101
25	NSC	4.762	15.672	4.297	13.314
26	PMI	2.381	15.556	0.000	12.809
27	RMI	2.381	15.556	0.000	12.809
28	SC	2.381	15.672	0.000	14.750
29	SCO	2.381	15.672	0.000	14.750
30	SMI	2.381	15.556	0.000	12.809

31	TJBG	4.762	16.535	0.000	27.559
32	TJIA	2.381	15.162	0.000	9.101
33	TJIC	2.381	13.770	0.000	2.593
34	TJME	4.762	15.970	0.000	21.909
35	TJMFA	2.381	15.162	0.000	9.101
36	TJMH	4.762	15.672	4.297	13.314
37	TJMI	2.381	15.556	0.000	12.809
38	TJML	4.762	15.970	0.000	21.909
39	TJMS	23.810	17.500	25.958	46.727
40	TJPO	35.714	18.026	43.902	65.767
41	UNHCR	2.381	15.672	0.000	14.750
42	UNICEF	2.381	15.672	0.000	14.750
43	WB	2.381	15.672	0.000	14.750

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS FOR EACH MEASURE (TAJIKISTAN)

		1 Degree	2 Closeness	3 Betweenness	4 Eigenvector
1	Mean	4.983	14.467	3.060	15.918
2	Std Dev	8.559	3.947	10.847	14.551
3	Sum	214.286	622.064	131.591	684.489
4	Variance	73.252	15.578	117.649	211.723
5	SSQ	4217.687	9669.014	5461.608	20000.006
6	MCSSQ	3149.818	669.863	5058.905	9104.078
7	Euc Norm	64.944	98.331	73.903	141.421
8	Minimum	2.381	2.381	0.000	0.000
9	Maximum	45.238	18.182	53.136	75.734
10	N of Obs	43.000	43.000	43.000	43.000

MOLDOVA - MULTIPLE CENTRALITY MEASURES

----

		1 Degree	2 Closeness	3 Betweenness	4 Eigenvector
1	AD	1.316	10.526	0.000	3.199
2	ADA	5.263	12.459	3.821	22.425
3	AG	1.316	11.127	0.000	2.738
4	BD-SC	1.316	10.920	0.000	1.751
5	BD-SD	2.632	12.238	7.189	6.844
6	BHRG	1.316	11.127	0.000	2.738
7	BMA	3.947	11.656	2.818	16.108
8	BMA-MI	1.316	11.176	0.000	4.453
9	BML-MI	1.316	11.533	0.000	11.019
10	BRD	1.316	11.394	0.000	3.727
11	BSM	1.316	11.063	0.000	2.724
12	CCB	1.316	11.394	0.000	3.727
13	CCR	1.316	1.333	0.000	0.000
14	CCTP	1.316	10.780	0.000	1.912
15	CGt	1.316	1.316	0.000	-0.000
16	CIS	1.316	11.127	0.000	2.738
17	CIVIS	1.316	10.556	0.000	0.674
18	CIVIS-M	3.947	10.644	7.158	0.749
19	CONTACT	1.316	10.468	0.000	3.116
20	CONTACT-A	1.316	11.533	0.000	11.019
21	CSC-S	1.316	11.931	0.000	6.170
22	CZG	1.316	11.838	0.000	7.794
23	CZR	1.316	11.127	0.000	2.738
24	DCR	2.632	1.333	0.035	0.000
25	DEG	1.316	11.095	0.000	3.011
26	EC	2.632	12.604	0.000	25.585
27	EU	21.053	13.894	46.367	73.349
28	FICS	2.632	9.719	0.000	0.187
29	GER	1.316	11.127	0.000	3.140
30	GGT	1.316	12.318	0.000	14.566
31	GGt	2.632	10.857	0.000	2.658
32	GIZCIMD	6.579	13.126	12.784	30.263
33	GNF	1.316	12.318	0.000	14.566
34	IAID	3.947	11.969	3.240	9.629
35	IASCI	5.263	11.692	12.319	3.392
36	IASCI-A	1.316	8.931	0.000	0.038
37	ICMPD	3.947	11.801	1.609	16.527

38	ILO-M	3.947	11.276	1.281	7.324
39	IOM	10.526	13.404	34.214	31.072
40	IOM-G	2.632	10.857	0.000	2.658
41	IOM-M	6.579	12.044	8.012	10.728
42	IOM-U	1.316	10.842	0.000	2.130
43	IPR	2.632	12.398	0.000	19.019
44	ITAG	1.316	11.127	0.000	2.738
45	ItMLSP	1.316	11.931	0.000	6.170
46	ItMLSPF	1.316	11.931	0.000	6.170
47	LCA	1.316	1.333	0.000	0.000
48	La-Str	1.316	11.533	0.000	11.019
49	MDG	1.316	10.704	0.000	1.611
50	MEY	1.316	12.318	0.000	14.566
51	MFAEI	3.947	12.141	9.059	8.816
52	MG	14.474	12.398	20.842	13.787
53	MGT	3.947	12.398	4.877	15.813
54	MGt	1.316	1.316	0.000	-0.000
55	MIA-M	3.947	13.036	1.793	33.380
56	MLSPF	15.789	12.903	21.268	55.492
57	MMI	5.263	12.730	6.663	18.770
58	MNG	1.316	11.127	0.000	2.738
59	MOE	2.632	12.358	2.456	15.164
60	MOL	1.316	12.318	0.000	14.566
61	NEA	13.158	13.287	31.834	39.251
62	NGO-LOC	1.316	11.838	0.000	7.794
63	ODIMM	2.632	12.398	0.281	20.575
64	OSCE	5.263	11.728	0.267	20.410
65	RM	1.316	12.318	0.000	14.566
66	SB	1.316	11.838	0.000	7.794
67	SFR	3.947	9.731	2.456	0.194
68	SG	1.316	11.127	0.000	2.738
69	SPES	1.316	11.710	0.000	6.010
70	TG	1.316	11.127	0.000	2.738
71	UGT	1.316	11.127	0.000	3.140
72	UKG	1.316	11.127	0.000	2.738
73	ULIM	1.316	11.063	0.000	2.724
74	UNAIDS	2.632	11.875	2.456	8.114
75	UNDP	2.632	11.550	0.000	15.072
76	UNFPA	3.947	11.585	2.456	15.691
77	UNHCR	6.579	12.318	6.446	13.717

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS FOR EACH MEASURE (MOLDOVA)

| | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
		Degree	Closeness	Betweenness	Eigenvector
1	Mean	3.144	10.964	3.299	10.289
2	Std Dev	3.556	2.675	8.156	12.405

3	Sum	242.105	844.223	254.000	792.272
4	Variance	12.643	7.154	66.514	153.872
5	SSQ	1734.765	9806.857	5959.438	20000.002
6	MCSSQ	973.531	550.860	5121.567	11848.129
7	Euc Norm	41.651	99.030	77.197	141.421
8	Minimum	1.316	1.316	0.000	-0.000
9	Maximum	21.053	13.894	46.367	73.349
10	N of Obs	77.000	77.000	77.000	77.000

GEORGIA – MULTIPLE CENTRALITY MEASURES

----

		1 Degree	2 Closeness	3 Betweenness	4 Eigenvector
1	AUS	1.667	9.217	0.000	10.644
2	BGG	1.667	9.217	0.000	10.644
3	BMZG	1.667	7.802	0.000	0.121
4	CARG	5.000	9.404	2.881	21.450
5	CIDA	5.000	9.217	5.706	10.812
6	CIPDD	3.333	9.509	0.000	22.901
7	CZR	1.667	8.584	0.000	2.413
8	CiDA	1.667	9.160	0.000	10.113
9	DG	1.667	9.217	0.000	10.644
10	DO	1.667	8.596	0.000	2.046
11	DRC	5.000	9.615	1.846	26.162
12	EU	20.000	9.934	22.137	56.255
13	FD	1.667	1.667	0.000	0.000
14	FRG	1.667	1.667	0.000	0.000
15	GB	1.667	9.360	0.000	12.788
16	GDO	3.333	8.242	0.000	0.588
17	GEA	3.333	9.479	10.847	13.270
18	GG	30.000	10.169	48.183	71.134
19	GI	1.667	9.360	0.000	12.788
20	GIZ/CIM	6.667	8.969	13.729	3.620
21	GL	1.667	9.360	0.000	12.788
22	GMIA	1.667	9.160	0.000	10.113
23	GN	1.667	9.360	0.000	12.788
24	GPAM	1.667	8.696	0.000	2.376

25	GR	1.667	8.547	0.000	1.944
26	GRG	1.667	9.360	0.000	12.788
27	GS	1.667	9.360	0.000	12.788
28	GSMEA	3.333	8.357	2.881	0.673
29	GmbH	1.667	8.230	0.000	0.482
30	ICCMI	1.667	9.023	0.000	6.815
31	ICMPD	5.000	9.554	15.593	18.142
32	ICMPDG	3.333	9.245	0.000	13.058
33	ILO	3.333	9.245	0.000	17.459
34	IOM	1.667	9.217	0.000	10.644
35	IOMG	25.000	10.000	33.315	59.210
36	ITALYMLHSP	1.667	9.360	0.000	12.788
37	JCP	3.333	9.600	0.000	23.432
38	LP	1.667	1.667	0.000	0.000
39	MC	3.333	9.390	2.881	13.215
40	MIACHR	1.667	9.217	0.000	10.644
41	MIDPG	3.333	9.509	0.000	22.901
42	MJ/MIDP	1.667	9.360	0.000	12.788
43	MRA	5.000	9.259	2.881	13.425
44	MS	1.667	9.160	0.000	10.113
45	NC	1.667	1.667	0.000	0.000
46	NINA	3.333	8.242	0.000	0.588
47	NR	1.667	1.667	0.000	-0.000
48	NTG	1.667	8.708	0.000	3.856
49	OSMDI	5.000	9.274	5.706	11.380
50	PCD	1.667	8.596	0.000	2.046
51	PIN	1.667	1.667	0.000	0.000
52	PIU	1.667	9.160	0.000	10.113
53	PSDA	1.667	7.802	0.000	0.121
54	RP	1.667	1.667	0.000	-0.000
55	SCMI	1.667	8.333	0.000	0.651
56	SME	8.333	9.772	3.842	37.908
57	SZG	1.667	9.217	0.000	10.644
58	TK	1.667	8.547	0.000	1.944
59	UNJMDI	6.667	8.850	8.418	2.684
60	UNM	1.667	1.667	0.000	0.000
61	ZAV	3.333	8.357	2.881	0.673

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS FOR EACH MEASURE (GEORGIA)

		1	2	3	4
		Degree	Closeness	Betweenness	Eigenvector
1	Mean	3.716	8.112	3.012	11.350
2	Std Dev	5.152	2.550	8.211	14.108
3	Sum	226.667	494.811	183.729	692.366

4	Variance	26.539	6.504	67.427	199.040
5	SSQ	2461.111	4410.489	4666.453	20000.000
6	MCSSQ	1618.852	396.755	4113.071	12141.459
7	Euc Norm	49.610	66.412	68.311	141.421
8	Minimum	1.667	1.667	0.000	-0.000
9	Maximum	30.000	10.169	48.183	71.134
10	N of Obs	61.000	61.000	61.000	61.000

APPENDIX 6: Three cases Node-Node-Relationship UCINET table

Georgia

```
Input dataset:                DL_GEORGIA (C:\Users\hp\Documents\UCINET data\DL_GEORGIA
Width:                        auto
Decimals:                     auto
Missings:                     blanks
Zeros
Rows:                         all
Columns:                      all
Levels/Matrices:              all


          1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54
55 56 57 58 59 60 61
             AU BG BM CA CI CI CZ Ci DG DO DR EU FD FR GB GD GE GG GI GI GL GM GN GP GR GR GS GS Gm IC IC IC IL IO IO IT JC LP MC MI MI MJ MR MS NC NI NR NT OS PC PI PI PS RP
SC SM SZ TK UN UN ZA
             S  G ZG RG DA PD  R DA      C        G     O  A       Z/    IA    AM     G    ME bH CM MP MP  O  M MG AL  P       AC DP /M  A        NA    G MD  D  N  U DA
MI  E  G   JM  M  V            D                             CI            A    I  D DG              YM        HR  G ID           I
DI                                                          M                                       LH                 P
                                                                                                    SP

          1   AUS
          2   BGG                                                                          1
          3   BMZG
1
          4   CARG                                                                         1                              1
          5   CIDA                         1                          1
1
          6   CIPOD                         1
          7   CZR
          8   CiDA                          1
          9   DG                                                                           1
         10   DO
         11   DRC          1                1                1           1
         12   EU           1                                3           1                   3                 1        1
1
         13   FD
1
         14   FRG
         15   GB
         16   GDO
1
         17   GEA                                              1
         18   GG           1                1           1    2  1    1        1  1          1     1           1  1
1
         19   GI
         20   GIZ/CIM
1
         21   GL
         22   GMIA
         23   GN
         24   GPAM
         25   GR
         26   GRG
         27   GS
         28   GSMEA                                      1                                                                          1
         29   GmbH
1
         30   ICCMI
         31   ICMPD                                      1  1
         32   ICMPDG
         33   ILO
1
         34   IOM
         35   IOMG  1                                                        1  1  1             1                 2
1
         36   ITALYMLHSP                                 1
         37   JCP                                                            1
         38   LP                                                                                                             1
         39   MC                                         1        1
         40   MIACHR
         41   MIDPG
         42   MJ/MIDP
         43   MRA          1                                                1     2
         44   MS
         45   NC
         46   NINA                              1
1
         47   NR                                                                                        1
         48   NTG
         49   OSMDI                      1                                                                  1
         50   PCD
         51   PIN                    1
         52   PIU                 1
         53   PSDA
         54   RP
         55   SCMI                                      1
         56   SME                                                1
         57   SZG                                                           1
         58   TK
         59   UNJMDI                          1
         60   UNM
         61   ZAV

61 rows, 61 columns, 1 levels.
```

Tajikistan

```
Input dataset:                dl_tj (C:\Users\hp\Documents\UCINET data\dl_tj
Width:                        auto
Decimals:                     auto
Missings:                     blanks
Zeros
Rows:                         all
Columns:                      all
Levels/Matrices:              all


            1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43
            AD BG CR CT CW CY DF DO EC ER EU EU GC GI IC IC IL IO IO ML MS NB NC ND NS PM RM SC SC SM TJ TJ TJ TJ TJ TJ TJ TJ TJ TJ UN UN WB
            B     MI R  F  ST ID RF RT TR AS TP  J  Z MM MP  O  M MM    LO TJ  I  C  C  I  I        O  I BG IA IC ME MF MH MI ML MS PO HC IC
                                    F EC                   D        OS     C                                                   A         R EF
                                                                    CO
                                                                    W
            -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- --
 1    ADB
 2     BG
 3   CRMI                                                                                                                            1
 4    CTR
 5    CWF            1
 6   CYST
 7   DFID
 8   DORF
 9   ECRT
10  ERTRF
11 EUASEC
12   EUTP                                                                                                                         1
13    GCJ                                                                                                                      1
14    GIZ
15   ICMM
16  ICMPD                                                                                                                          1
17    ILO
18    IOM  1              1  1  1  1  1        1  1     1     1        1              1  1     1              1  1  1  1  1
19 IOMMOSCOW
20     ML
21  MSLOC
22   NBTJ                                                        1
23    NCI
24    NDC
25    NSC  1                                                                                                                         1
26    PMI                                                                                                                            1
27    RMI                                                                                                                            1
28     SC
29    SCO
30    SMI                                                                                                                            1
31   TJBG
32   TJIA
33   TJIC
34   TJME
35  TJMFA
36   TJMH                                                                                              1
37   TJMI                                                                                                                            1
38   TJML
39   TJMS        1                                            1        1              1           1  1        1         1
40   TJPO                             1  1                                               1           1     1  1  1
41  UNHCR
42 UNICEF
43     WB

43 rows, 43 columns, 1 levels.
```

Moldova

```
Input dataset:        DL_MOLDOVA  (C:\Users\hp\Documents\UCINET data\DL_MOLDOVA)
Width:                auto
Decimals:             auto
Missings:             blanks
Zeros:
Rows:                 all
Columns:              all
Levels/Matrices:      all
```

77 rows, 77 columns, 1 levels.