

The International Conference “The Future of the Eurasian Migration System”

Center for Regional Studies, Turan University, Almaty, Kazakhstan

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LIST OF ABSTRACTS

Abubakr Rakhmonov:

Emigration from Tajikistan to the UK against the background of the economic deterioration of Russia

Tajikistan is one of the few countries in the world whose state budget is largely based on tax revenues from remittances from citizens working abroad. The deterioration of the economic situation in Russia due to the introduction of new economic sanctions by the EU and the United States after the beginning of the Ukrainian crisis, forced migrants to look for a new direction of labor migration. In particular, the Government of Tajikistan itself is interested in reorienting migrants to a new direction. In 2021, Tajikistan signed an employment agreement with the United Kingdom and the Republic of Korea to send seasonal migrants. In recent years, more than a thousand citizens of Tajikistan have expressed a desire to go to work in the UK. Mainly highly skilled migrants from Tajikistan migrated to European countries, including the UK, but the shortage of labor in European countries forced them to look for labor migrants in Central Asian countries. One of the first countries to pursue an active policy of attracting migrant workers from Tajikistan is the United Kingdom. After the UK left the EU, the country lost workers from other EU countries, primarily from Eastern Europe and the Baltic states. At the expense of migrant workers from Central Asian countries, the UK wants to cover the shortage of labor in the country. The UK is expecting the arrival of migrant workers from Tajikistan, who will be involved in seasonal work.

Rakhmonov Abubakr Khasanovich, Candidate of Science (Economy), senior researcher of the Institute for Demographic Research – Branch of the Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russia.

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Akylbek Tashbulatov:

Modern migration challenges for Kyrgyzstan

Given the geopolitical situation of Kyrgyzstan, external labor and internal migration carries serious challenges and risks for the national security, integrity and sovereignty of the country, incommensurable with positive factors of influence. The report is based on an analysis based on 20 years of experience in studying migration processes and direct participation in projects related

to external labor, internal, border pendulum and creeping migration, issues of refugees, asylum seekers and internally displaced persons, as well as issues of combating human trafficking.

Includes questions such as:

- The main reasons for migration in Kyrgyzstan over the past 30 years (Pushing, economic, social factors)
- Political factors (including demographic and other policies, interest, need for human and labor resources of the main receiving countries).
- Consequences of migration, negative aspects for Kyrgyzstan.
- Positive impact;
- Direct negative impact on national security (including depopulation, desertification of border areas/ Threat to the integrity and sovereignty of the country/political and economic dependence on the receiving countries/acquisition of citizenship of the receiving country, and the growth of separatist sentiments. Recruitment of citizens of Kyrgyzstan for war in Ukraine and criminal liability (Article 256 of the Criminal Code of the Kyrgyz Republic - “Participation of a citizen of the Kyrgyz Republic in armed conflicts or hostilities on the territory of a foreign state or training to commit a terrorist act”. Article 416 of the Criminal Code of the Kyrgyz Republic “Mercenary”).
- Negative impact on the economic, demographic, socio-cultural security of the country, the physical security of migrants themselves in the receiving countries.
- A broad discussion on the above issues.

Akylbek Tashbulatov: Master in Legal Education, Diplomatic Academy under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2002/4: studied at the Higher International Course on the Protection of Human Rights, (HFHR, Warsaw). Since 2000, lawyer, coordinator, director of human rights organizations, led network platforms on migration issues. Research activities on aspects of migration, published guides on various aspects of migration. Member of the Interdepartmental Group for the Development of the Concept of Migration Policy of the KR (2013 and 2019). In 2017-19, member of the Public Council of the State Migration Service of the KR. Since 2022, Member of the Expert Group under the Chairman of the Parliament on draft laws of the KR on the protection of the rights of migrant workers.

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Ablet Kamalov:

***Migration of Uyghurs from Xinjiang province of China at the turn of 21st century
[Co-organizer and Chair - Panel 3]***

The paper will discuss main directions of migration of Uyghurs from Xinjiang-Autonomous region of People’s Republic of China in the XXI century, which in early XXI century resulted in emergence of a network of Uyghur communities in western countries and Japan. While traditional directions of Uyghur migration from their homeland (East Turkistan or Xinjiang) included Central Asia (primarily Kazakhstan), Turkey, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, in the end of the XX century Uyghurs started migrating to European countries, North America and Japan. The paper will examine main channels of migration of Uyghurs to western countries, restriction policy of Chinese government and pressure on Uyghurs living abroad in the context of

repressions towards Muslim Turkic peoples in Xinjiang since 2017, role of Uyghur organizations in international relations, namely in attracting attention to violation of human rights in Xinjiang. The paper will also examine secondary migration of Uyghurs from Turkey and Central Asia to affluent countries - the USA, Canada and European countries. Termination of migration from homeland due to repressive policy of Chinese government towards local Muslim peoples made the secondary migration the only type of migration of Uyghurs in the world.

Ablet Kayumovich Kamalov is Doctor of History, expert in Uyghur and Xinjiang studies. He earned his academic degrees from St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental studies and Institute of Oriental studies in Almaty. He holds positions of Professor and Director of the Center for Regional studies at Turan University, Almaty, Kazakhstan . He is the author of several books including 'Uyghurs of Kazakhstan' and 'Dungans of Kazakhstan' (both 2016) and numerous articles on Uyghurs of Central Asia and China. In 2020-2022, he was the scientific supervisor of several projects on migration from China to Kazakhstan (2020-2025). President of ESCAS and CESS.

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Aleksandra Filatova [Chair – Panel 8]

Aleksandra Filatova is a researcher and art practitioner who currently resides at both Narxoz University (Almaty) and MoFA+ (Museum of Feminist and Queer Art) (Bishkek). Her research focuses on communities, their culture, and language. Her epistemological roots in political philosophy and visual language allow her to focus on agency, leadership, and solidarity within social movements, diasporas, and other groups considered minorities.

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Anastasia Blouchoutzi:

The future of labor migration from the Kyrgyz Republic and Tajikistan

The Kyrgyz Republic and Tajikistan are structurally dependent on the remittances labor migrants send back to their families. The majority of Kyrgyz and Tajik migrant workers are located in the Russian Federation. The remittances received by their families in the two Central Asian states haven't been negatively affected after the invasion of Russia in Ukraine due to the resilience of the Russian economy. However, the economic insecurity produced due to the war and its consequences renders the diversification of migration patterns necessary for the Kyrgyz Republic and Tajikistan. The current diplomatic effervescence offers the leaders of these countries the opportunity for negotiations on labor migration such as the facilitation of the admission of labor migrants and the protection of migrant workers against exploitation and abuse in the host countries. China, the United States, the European Union, Turkey are all looking for an enhanced role in Central Asia transforming the region in a battleground for influence. This paper intends to examine the alternative destinations for Kyrgyz and Tajik labor migrants against the dominance of the Russian Federation as the major host country. The conceptual framework upon which we

build our research lies on migrant labor market integration challenges and benefits for the host countries and the importance of migrant remittances for the developing countries. After reviewing the relevant literature and examining the main macroeconomic indicators of the Kyrgyz Republic and Tajikistan, we map their migration flows inside and outside the Eurasian migration system as well as their demographic and socio-economic characteristics. We also follow the remittances flows to the two countries to understand the migration-development nexus through the migration-remittances corridor. Finally, we analyze the abovementioned findings with regard to the migration policy of specific migrant host countries, seeking to identify the resilience potential the Kyrgyz Republic and Tajikistan could develop in their migration patterns through entering in international partnerships.

Anastasia Blouchoutzi is an Assistant Professor in the Department of International and European Studies at the University of Macedonia. She holds a BA in International and European Studies, an MSc in International Economics and a PhD in the Economics of International Migration. Her research interests include the Economics of International Migration, Labor Economics, Migration and Integration Policies. Anastasia teaches relevant courses in undergraduate and postgraduate level. She has published in international peer-reviewed journals and has participated in international peer-reviewed conferences about issues related to the abovementioned research fields. She has considerable research and project management experience in various Greek and EU-funded projects.

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Andrei Korobkov:

The New Wave of Elite Emigration from Russia

The war in Ukraine has changed both the internal situation in the Russia and its relationship with the outside world. In particular, the war has led to the formation of new migration flows, marked by the high shares of young people, males, and the representatives of various professional, business, academic, cultural, and athletic elites. Meanwhile, the new migration flow consisted essentially of two, separate and subsequent ones, subflows. The first one, following the developments of February 2022, was related primarily to the introduction of sanctions, the shrinking economic output, and the withdrawal of numerous transnational companies from the RF, threatened the jobs and livelihoods of a large segment of the Russian population, hurting first of all its elite segments, impacting first of all the representatives of various professional, business, academic, cultural, and athletic elites. This flow, mostly economically and professionally motivated, was also supplemented by the emigration of people opposing the war as a matter of principle. The second flow, significantly larger in scale, developed as a direct consequence of the declaration of a 300,000 strong “partial” mobilization by the Russian President Vladimir Putin on September 21. These developments and the subsequent mishandling of the mobilization process, marked by disorganization and numerous and widely reported instances of corruption and abuse, acted as additional push factors of migration that acquired an increasingly politicized character.

The presentation analyzes the internal structure and dynamics of the aforementioned flows, compares them with the earlier emigration from the RF in 1991-2021, and considers their impact on the socio-economic, demographic, and political situation in Russia and the receiving states.

***Andrei Korobkov** is Professor of Political Science and International Relations and Director of Russian Studies at Middle Tennessee State University. Korobkov graduated from Moscow State University and holds a Ph.D. in Economics from the Institute of International Economic and Political Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences and a Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Alabama. He worked previously as Research Fellow at the Institute of International Economic and Political Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences and taught at the University of Alabama.*

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Anna Prokhorova:

Eurasian migration system through financial integration dimension

Eurasian migration system: what makes it sustainable? Traditionally, migration systems are characterized by stable associations between origin and recipient countries which persists over time. These associations are mostly referred to the flows of people, however, there's another sustainable flow present in the migration systems that is the flow of money. In other words, remittance flows can be considered as one of the migration system indicators. Dynamics of these flows reflects the existing links and level of integration between the countries and thus, sustainability of the migration system. Money flows in the Eurasian migration system after February 2022 tell us about strong financial integration between the countries of the Eurasian migration system. The remittance infrastructure developed in the past 20 years, and national payment systems integration which start on the eve of COVID-19 pandemic: these two factors helped to subdue the effects of the financial sanctions on people moving between the countries – both labour migrants from Central Asia and Russian emigrants. At the micro level, financial integration can be assessed through a set of financial inclusion indicators, such as accessibility, affordability and availability of financial services for non-residents. In my presentation, I would like to illustrate these based on the findings of the two research projects implemented by IOM where I participated as a remittance expert and research team leader. As a point for discussion, I would suggest reflecting on the question: what disrupts and what keeps together a migration system from inside? In my view, the critical issue here is migrants' integration policies, which had barely been studied in Eurasia (e.g., Kazakhstan was assessed through MIPEX methodology, but assessment results were never publicly available).

***Anna Prokhorova:** Migration and remittances data and policy analyst. For over 10 years, has been extensively working in migration and remittances research projects across CIS region, including with the World Bank, UNECE, UN Women, UNESCAP, etc. She specializes in remittance data collection methods and remittance data analysis in post-Soviet space. In 2021, co-authored IOM publication on digital remittance uptake in Russia and Central Asia countries after the COVID -19 pandemic. Holds an MA degree in sociology from the Higher School of*

Economics, Moscow, and a PhD in political sciences (ABD) from the European University at St. Petersburg. Currently based in Estonia, Tallinn.

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António Eduardo Mendonça
[Co-organizer, Chair – Panel 8]

António Eduardo Mendonça: *I'm a Portuguese senior anthropologist, researcher at the IGOT (Institute of Geography and Spatial Planning of the University of Lisbon) in the field of Migrations. I've been studying post-soviet migrations for the last two decades. My current research projects deal with Central Asian migrants in Portugal. Before the Covid-19 pandemic, I organized in Portugal two International Conferences on Post-Soviet Diaspora(s) in Western Europe (2017 and 2019) and one on Central Asian Migrants in Western Europe (2020). Previously, I taught at the Universities of the Algarve and Lusófona, in Portugal, and of Ankara, in Türkiye (as lecturer of the Instituto Camões/ Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs), and at the School of Heritage Sciences of Lisbon.*

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Aysem Biriz Karaçay:

On the Sphere of the Eurasian Migration System: Reflections from Russians and Ukrainians in İstanbul

Consistently, this research aims to deepen the knowledge about the dynamics of the Ukrainian refugee crisis, in the context of the unique case of Turkey where both Ukrainian refugees and Russian exiles bond in İstanbul, on the sphere of the Eurasian migration system. Since the Russian invasion of Ukraine on February 2022, nearly one-third of the population of Ukraine remain forcibly displaced from their homes, fleeing to neighbouring countries, mostly to the EU, but also Russia and Turkey. The Turkish government has pursued an open-door policy for Ukrainian nationals and announced that it will make their entry and stay of them in Turkey easier. On the other hand, Turkey has been also a destination for thousands of Russians that have fled the country since the invasion of Ukraine. According to several accounts, the current migration wave mostly consists of middle-class representatives, and politicized citizens, or oligarchs. As a result, İstanbul turned into a popular choice, both for Ukrainian forced migrants as well as Russian exiles as the closure of European airspace to Russian flights makes Turkey one of the few remaining hubs left. The research tries to figure out volume of current migration flows from Ukraine and Russia to Türkiye. Furthermore, contributing to Turkey's diversity, these communities may also build up social and cultural networks/bridges between three countries (Turkey, Russia, and Ukraine). Therefore, it aims at providing long-term strategy/perspective that may be an effective tool for the sizable Ukrainian and Russian communities laying down socioeconomic roots in Turkey on the sphere of the Eurasian migration system.

Ayşem Biriz Karaçay *is an Assistant Professor at the Department of Political Science and International Relations, İstanbul Commerce University. Senior Research Associate and*

Administrator at the Migration Research Center at Koç University (MiReKoc), 2003/15, where she took part in EU-funded research projects on irregular migration and human smuggling, and organized international conferences, workshops, and trainings. Ph.D in political science and international relations (Social Science Institute, Marmara University, Istanbul), on labour mobility from Turkey to post-Soviet countries. Co-authored three volumes on migration and asylum in Turkey. Interest areas: project-tied migration, human smuggling, irregular migration, migration policy and border management.

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Botagoz Rakisheva:

Modern trends in the formation of the Kazakh diaspora: new countries, motives, expectations [Chair – Panel 7]

This report will analyze the main trends in the formation of the Kazakh diaspora: new countries for migration, new motives and reasons. These changes require conceptualization, clarification of definitions and terms. The author has been studying Kazakhs living abroad since 2005 and has the opportunity to identify the main trends in the formation of the Kazakh diaspora relying on her own field research. The presentation will describe the current processes of formation of the Kazakh diaspora in a number of countries around the world - United States of America, Türkiye, South Korea, European countries, Russian Federation and other countries. Kazakhstan is a migrant-receiving country (ethnic repatriation, labor, educational migration, refugees, etc.) and also a country from which migration flows were formed – educational, labor, marriage, residence permit, permanent residence and others. The formation of the Kazakh diaspora can be divided into two waves: before 1991 and after independence. The first wave is the Kazakh diaspora of border countries (Russian Federation, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, China), Türkiye. The process of formation of the Kazakh diaspora in the countries of Western Europe continued in the 50-60s of the XX century, when as part of labor migration, having the status of guest worker and a passport of the Republic of Türkiye, young Kazakhs got a job in Germany and France, and later in other European countries. There are more than 50 countries in which Kazakhs live. The second wave – from 1991 to the present. Migration flows have been very active over the past 5-10 years. During this period, new groups of the Kazakh diaspora formed in the USA, Canada, Türkiye, South Korea, and a number of European countries. In South Korea, the Kazakh diaspora was formed on the basis of labor (undocumented) migration. About 10,000 Kazakhstanis, mostly young people, work in the country. A number of neighborhoods with Kazakhstani population have been formed in Türkiye (Mahmutlar, Alanya). And the number of Kazakhstani participants in the annual Green Card migration lottery held by the U.S. Department of State is growing every year.

Botagoz Rakisheva, Candidate of Sociological Sciences, Scientific Consultant / Project Director of the Public Opinion Research Institute. Principal Investigator of the World Values Survey-7 project in Kazakhstan. WAPOR National Representative in Kazakhstan. Research interests: sociological research, methodology, comparative cross-country sociological research, Kazakh diaspora, ethnic identity, interethnic and interfaith relations, migration, demography. Work experience in the sociological field: 25 years. Proficient in conducting in-depth interviews,

expert interviews, narrative biographical interviews, focus groups, surveys. Has been studying the Kazakh diaspora since 2005. Conducted field research in Central Asia (Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan), Russia, China, Türkiye, Saudi Arabia, France, Germany, Austria, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, USA, Mongolia, etc.

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Caress Schenk, Nikita Mishakov, Aleksandr Motin and Yuri Slinko:

***Uncertainty in theory and lived experience: Russian migrants in the midst of war
[Chair – Panel 4]***

Almost exactly seven months after the initial invasion of Ukraine, Russian president Vladimir Putin announced the mobilization of additional soldiers on September 21, 2022. This partial draft caused a mass exodus of military aged men and their families from Russia into neighboring countries. Overnight, plane tickets sold out and lines of cars at land borders stretched kilometers in length. Those who left had no idea whether or not they'd ever be able to return. They were also cast, in some cases, as unwanted representatives of Russian imperial ideas and draft dodgers only motivated by their existential safety. As a result, their mere presence in neighboring countries catalyzed conversations about identity and post-coloniality, leading to a complicated reception. This wave of migrants represents an important opportunity to not only understand how migrants and host societies adapt to an uncertain situation, but what uncertainty contributes to our theorizing about migration. Migration theory, especially those that focus on push-pull factors that explain migration flows and pathways, typically focuses on outlining regular, or predictable, patterns of migrant behavior and decision-making (Garelli and Tazzioli 2020). While this orientation fits well with a positivist orientation towards social science, it is less effective at actually predicting outcomes. While it may outline patterns of relatively reliable behavior, it fails to help us know when unexpected events, such as the mobilization migration wave, may occur and what to do with them. Instead of trying to understand why we failed to predict the Russian emigration, as a corrective to this positivist endeavor, in this paper we lean into the concept of uncertainty both theoretically and analytically as a way of charting the human factors that are intertwined with migration processes. Instead of conceiving of the Russian mobilization migration as a rupture, exogenous shock, or critical juncture, all of which are ways of trying to explain exceptions to what might otherwise seem predictable, we use the lens of uncertainty to explore how we know who these migrants are, and how they think about their mobility and their own agency.

Caress Schenk is an Associate Professor of political science at Nazarbayev University (Astana, Kazakhstan) with teaching and research expertise in the politics of immigration and national identity in Eurasia. Her new book, published with the University of Toronto Press, is called *Why Control Immigration? Strategic Uses of Migration Management in Russia*. Current and previous research funded by the American Councils for International Education, Nazarbayev University and the Fulbright Scholar Program, and published in *Demokratizatsiya*, *Europe-Asia Studies*, and *Nationalities Papers* and in edited volumes published by Edinburgh University Press and

Oxford University Press. Member of the Program on New Approaches to Research and Security in Eurasia (PONARS Eurasia).

***Nikita Mishakov** is a PhD student at the Eurasian Studies program, Nazarbayev University, (Astana, Kazakhstan). His research areas are migration and border studies, bureaucracy studies and economic sociology. His last project focused on street-level bureaucracies in public Russian social services, emphasizing citizen classification and paperwork's role. His current project focuses on migration patterns from Russia to Kazakhstan after the announcement of partial mobilization by Vladimir Putin in September 2022.*

***Yury Slinko** is a junior researcher at the Centre for Advanced Social Research of the Russian Academy of National Economy (RANEPA). He is studying for a Master's degree in Politics and International Relations at Moscow School of Social and Economic Sciences (Russia) and University of Auckland (New Zealand).*

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Cynthia Buckley:

***Central Asia's demographic dividend: age, education, and human capital: perspectives on development and future labour migration patterns in Eurasia**
[Chair – Panel 1]*

Given shifts in population growth across the countries of the Eurasian Migration System, how stable is the migrant supply in the central sending regions of Central Asia? What are the implications of these shifts for sending states, roundly identified as failing to capitalize on earlier demographic dividends due to scant attention to human capital development? Incorporating recent work on development in Central Asia, and the growing focus on how best to capitalized on demographic dividends in Latin America and Africa, I focus on documenting change over time and across countries to illustrate the destabilizing effect of these changes for the Eurasian Migration System. I employ population data from national statistical agencies, the US Census International Database, World Bank bilateral migration and remittance data, MICS and DHS data, and select human capital indicators from Caucasus Barometer surveys to explore changing youth and elder dependency ratios from 1991 to the present and forecasted changes across the next two decades, partitioning shifting population age composition into declining fertility, and rising urbanization and highlighting the declining number of inhabitants in the working ages relative to youth and elder populations in the years to come. Findings highlight the persistente dependence on Russia as a destination state, despite the gaining inflows to Kazakhstan. Linking patterns to previous studies on the missing dependency dividend in the region, I expand human capital (educational) approaches to include the systemic migration dependence of sending states including Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan. Demographic projections question for the stability of Central Asia as a source of labor migration in the near future, while indicating the deepening of a low-level development trap for migrant sending countries in the region.

***Cynthia Buckley:** Professor of Sociology (University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign) and Adjunct Research Professor (University of Michigan (PSC-ISR), She is a social demographer;*

her work explores how individual demographic choices are structured by social context, and in turn impact social stability. Publications include Finding Home; Migration and Belonging in Eurasia (Ed. John Hopkins Press 2008) and articles, chapters, and reports on migration, health, conflict, and aging. Current projects (supported by MINERVA and the Norwegian Research Council) focus on how armed conflict influences population health migration flows. She has a manuscript and population and social stability in Central Asia in development.

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Farkhad Alimukhamedov:

Shifting emigration patterns in Central Asian countries

[Chair – Panel 6]

The objective of this proposal is to explore the different emigration policies and measures pursued by Central Asian states. The study of legislation and regulations on emigration (including "diaspora" policies) will enable us to question the goals of such measures. Except for Turkmenistan, the countries initially adopted very restrictive policies (exit visas) and have progressively shifted their discourse and perception of emigration, leading to its "normalization". Moreover, the recognition of political leaders about labor migrants and how these emigrants are just like heroic citizens in that respect is becoming more popular. For the moment, in practice, the majority of countries seem to be opting for a "laissez-faire" or minimal intervention phase in related to emigration. However, approaches to emigration still differ depending on the situation (for example, in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, there is a consensus on the importance the significance of their financial input), but also depending on the political regime and the role of non-governmental organizations (e.g., in Kyrgyzstan, "institutional memory" is stronger among NGOs compared to government institutions).

Farkhad Alimukhamedov is currently postdoc researcher at LaSSP, Sciences Po Toulouse. Prior to that he also worked as assistant professor in Turkey and as lecturer in Kazakhstan. His main areas of research are the politics of migration and internationalization of higher education. Farkhad is also involved in diverse projects in Central Asia related to migration, and regularly provides language support to migrants to access their rights in France.

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Florian Muehlfried:

Uncanny resonances: Russian citizens and the Georgian intelligentsia

Shortly after the Russian attack on Ukraine, about 100.000 citizens of the Russian Federation left their home country for Georgia, most of them members of the intelligentsia and middle-class stemming from big cities such as Moscow. Many Georgians perceived the newcomers primarily as economic migrants who had to relocate their well-paid working place in the IT business due to the sanctions imposed on Russia. This first wave of war related migration from the Russian Federation to Georgia was added by a second one triggered by the declaration of a "partial

mobilisation” on 21 September 2022. This time, the group of migrants was more diverse, as the threat of fighting and dying in a war affected just about any male Russian citizen between 18 and 50. In addition to well-situated digital nomads, people from the periphery of the Russian Federation also left for Georgia, especially those from the North Caucasus due to spatial proximity. More than 200.000 people spent several days before the only official Russian border to Georgia high up in the mountains. How many of them have remained in Georgia is unclear; the government expects their number to be around 60.000, other expectations moves their number up to 100.000. In my presentation, I will argue that the encounter with certain types of Russian newcomers produces uncanny resonances among members of the Georgian intelligentsia. On the one hand, these uncanny resonances are captured in feelings of unwanted similarities with cosmopolitan Russian citizens from the big cities and with well-filled wallets frequenting wine wars and other places that are also popular among Georgian hipsters. On the other hand, they result from a shared feeling of political dissidence intersected by a desire to know better.

*Florian Mühlfried is a Professor of Social Anthropology at Ilia State University. His publications include the monographs *Mistrust: A Global Perspective* (2019) and *Being a State and States of Being in Highland Georgia* (2014), the edited volume *Mistrust: Ethnographic Approximations* (2018), as well as the co-edited volumes *Sacred Places, Emerging Spaces: Religious Pluralism in the Post-Soviet Caucasus* (2018) and *Exploring the Edge of Empire: Soviet Era Anthropology in the Caucasus and Central Asia* (2011).*

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Franck Düvell:

The Russian war against Ukraine: Do we need a post-colonial perspective of migration in the ‘Global East’? [Chair – Panel 5]

The Russian invasion of Ukraine has dramatic effects not only on Ukraine, its people and the foreign residents and refugees it hosted but also the wider region and thus also its migration order. This requires more than an analysis of migration but also some critical reflection of the underlying concepts and epistemologies. First, I will demonstrate that the war against Ukraine is in several ways an exception causing some exceptional migratory movements not only characterised by large numbers and open borders but also quick return and transnational mobility. I will also suggest elements of scenarios for future migrations; notably, I will look into the need for future labour (im)migration to Ukraine on course of reconstruction efforts. Second, I will query the concept migration system and ask whether migration order, a concept that depicts better the unequal power relations at play, might be a more appropriate concept. And third, I will show that mainstream ‘western’ scholarship has for long neglected migration and specifically forced migration east of the EU, discuss whether the concept of a ‘Global East’ complementing the Global North/Global South binary is required to challenge this shortcoming and trigger more research on the region. However, I will argue that in order to avoid yet another version of orientalisation it would need to be combined with the post-colonial approach acknowledging the power disparities between Russia and the other countries in the region.

***Franck Düvell**, PhD, sociologist, senior researcher at Institute for Migration Research and Intercultural Studies (IMIS), Osnabruck University, coordinator of force migration and refugee research programme (FFVT). Previously, Franck was head of the migration department at the German Institute for Integrations and Migration Research (DeZIM), associate professor at the Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS), University of Oxford, senior contract researcher at ICMPD and Amsterdam Economics. He also consulted the British, German, Austrian and Turkish governments as well as IOM, UNHCR, OSCE/ODIHR, HRW and many others. He conducted about 25 research projects, published 10 books and about 40 journal articles and was keynote speaker at IMISCOE, Metropolis, EMN, ICMPD, OSCD and many others.*

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Irina Ivakhnyuk:

The Eurasian Migration System: Recent Trends and Prospects

When conceptualized within the frames of the migration systems theory, migration flows between the post-Soviet countries frame the Eurasian migration system (EAMS), which is, on the one hand, a closely interrelated migration space of the former Soviet republics and, on the other hand, a part of global migration nexus. The lecture focuses on factors of appearance and further development of the EAMS many of which are rooted in the common history of the CIS countries and are still in force while the others have appeared recently. During the last two decades, the EAMS has faced shifts in nature of migration flows from ethnic-based to employment-driven; diversification of migration patterns in terms of motivations, skills, gender, and geography; formation of migration sub-systems; and transformation of labour migration into a vital factor of development for both sending and receiving countries of the region. Theoretical background of the lecture supported by statistical data proves existence of migration interdependence between the countries of the region. A number of sectors in major receiving countries, namely Russia and Kazakhstan, are strongly dependent on attraction of foreign workers. At the same time, poor economies of demographically ‘young’ Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan are not able to cope with labour surplus: this makes them top migrants’ donors who benefit from outflow of a part of their labour resources return inflow of remittances. Special attention is paid to the prospects of further transformation of the EAMS in the context of economic uncertainty in Russia caused by the Western sanctions and the ongoing war in Ukraine. The factors which entrench intra-regional migration flows, on the one hand, and those which turn them outwards the region, on the other hand, are analyzed.

***Irina Ivakhnyuk** is an expert in international migration trends and governance with special focus on the post-Soviet area. She is the author of the monograph “The Eurasian Migration System: Theory and Politics” (2008) and over 80 other publications on migration issues in the post-Soviet region. For over 20 years she was Professor at the Lomonosov Moscow State University. Nowadays, she is an independent expert and the member of the Global Migration Policy Associates (GMPA).*

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Irina Molodikova:

The Eurasian Migration System: Directions of Transformations in a Time of post-Soviet Independence

This paper deals with the process of transformations in post-Soviet period of Eurasian migration system, emergence of new subsystems, new players that influence the relations of former Soviet republics. The nation-building process of the former Soviet republics continues. These countries have formed new political and economic unions that spurred different types of migration influenced by new sub-regional migration centre notwithstanding Russian efforts to maintain a dominant position in relations with them. Ukraine and Moldova choices the countries' further integration with the Europe and inclusion in to the EU migration system has been influenced both by many factors. These countries, located between the two centres of major migration subsystems in Eurasia (Eurasian and European, or, in other words, between the Russian Federation and the core of the EU), are subject to their strong influence and 'competitive gravitation'. Belarus, Central Asian and South Caucasus countries form very specific relations as between them and with Russia and other neighbours as well, accompanied as labour and forced migration flows. What are the main factors for the resilience of former Eurasian system and possible directions for its transformation nowadays? To what extent and ways migration policy of Russia, the EU and some other new players is able to transform Eurasian migration system? Do they have interests for formation of their own subsystems?

***Molodikova Irina** works in Central European University in Budapest; She is member of IMISCOE network of experts in migration and was member of Council on Migration research in CIS countries and Baltic States. Irina Molodikova is author of numerous books, reports and articles like as Eurasian Migration Towards Russia: Old and New Regional Dynamics in the Era of Globalization (2022), A. Triandafyllidou (second edition), Handbook on Migration and Globalisation, Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, UK, as editor and author of "Transit migration in the European Space" (with Franck Duvell and Michael Collyer) AUP, 2014. Combating irregular migration and human trafficking in the CIS countries. Analytical report (2020) ICMPD.*

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Iryna Lapshyna:

Ukrainian diaspora's response to the war in Ukraine. Case of Germany

Throughout Europe, local Ukrainian communities are playing a fundamental role in the reception of those fleeing the war. This paper focuses on the immediate response of Ukrainians in Germany following Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine on 24 February 2022, which triggered a fresh surge of diasporic activities that has been unique in scale and creativity, displaying new ways of engagement. It considers three central issues: What was Ukrainian diaspora's response to the war in Ukraine? Who are the relevant actors and what are their roles? What are the social and political functions of diaspora? It is based on research which used qualitative method. The empirical data were collected in various locations in Germany by the

author in 2022- 2023. The data collected consist of semi-structured interviews and participant observation. 23 in-depth interviews with representatives of Ukrainian diaspora have been conducted in Ukrainian language. On the basis of this analysis, it is concluded that the Ukrainian diaspora became both frontline responders providing first aid, medium term supporters and an important medium and long-term bridge between the German institutions and the refugee community. Ukrainian diaspora engagement in immediate response to the war intensified the participation of people with a Ukrainian background in the public life of Germany. This engagement led to empowerment of the Ukrainian diaspora in Germany, strengthening their sense of agency on the one hand and to engaged-exhausted community that manifests in tiredness, exhaustion and in some case burnout on the other hand. However, there were also important shifts over time in the demand and supply structure of diasporic engagement.

Iryna Lapshyna has a Phd in International Economics. She is a lecturer at the Ukrainian Catholic University (Lviv), and a research fellow at the Institut für Migrationsforschung und Interkulturelle Studien (IMIS), University of Osnabrück, since 2022. She received a research grant from the Volkswagen Foundation to conduct research of the drivers of forced displacement from Ukraine in Germany. Previously, Iryna was a Senior Researcher at COMPAS, University of Oxford. She was also a grant holder of the British Academy (2015-16) and completed a project on the Ukrainian Diaspora in the UK and Poland. From 2002 to 2014, she was Associate Professor at Lviv Academy of Commerce, Ukraine. Her research focuses on labour migration, irregular migration, individual perceptions and aspirations, diaspora, corruption, and human capital development.

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Jade Cemre Erciyes and Anastasia Christou:

Transformational Potential of Categories in the Eurasian Outmigration: Ukrainian and Russian Migration to Turkey

Since the start of the Ukrainian crisis almost 8 million refugees from Ukraine were recorded in Europe (UNHCR 2022) and those arriving in Turkey during the first few months of 2022 were about 85 thousand from Ukraine (Aktan 2022) and 24 percent of all migrants leaving Russia in the past year were coming to Turkey (Yeni Akit 2022). The only suitable types of residence permits these recent migrants can get to stay in Turkey (for more than 90 days for Ukrainian citizens and for more than 60 days for Russian citizens) are short-term residence permits (including long term tourists and permit to stay up to 2 years) family, student, long-term, humanitarian and permits for victims of human trafficking. The constant change in the required documents for any type of residence permit, rejection of access of refugee rights' NGOs in the application process, limitation on the places of residence accepted for residence permit application – 1169 neighbourhoods being banned for migrants due to 20% foreigner residency rule – makes it very hard for migrants to apply for temporary residence permit in Turkey. The lack of a temporary protection scheme for the refugees of the current crisis limits their chances to stay in Turkey in the long term, making them feel unsafe and in limbo and motivating further mobility and further uncertainty in relation to Eurasian migration system in the near future. Within this context, various services and support networks in relation to Russian speakers'

migration and settlement in Turkey are appearing, both as shops and as Facebook or other social media groups. This paper draws on recent research in Turkey exploring current migrations of Ukrainians and Russians as a result of the war in Ukraine and ongoing displacement of populations to focus on the entangled phenomena of mobilities and governance. In this regard we deconstruct the fluidity of conceptual categories in situating the spatio-temporal context, involving the contested and transformational potential for migrants, while theorising enmeshed concepts of war and trauma with human mobility, policy and institutions.

***Jade Cemre Erciyes** is the Editor of the Journal of Caucasian Studies (JOCAS). She is a sociologist with a master's degree in Eurasian Studies (Turkey) and a PhD in Migration Studies (UK), working in the areas of migration studies, gender studies and urban transformation. Her previous research experience is interdisciplinary, multi-sited and multi-method focusing in Turkey and the Post-Soviet geography.*

***Anastasia Christou**, Professor of Sociology and Social Justice, Middlesex University, is Senior Fellow of the Higher Education Academy.. An interdisciplinary critical scholar who extensively researches on issues of identity, emotion, inequality, intersectionality, ethics, decolonial and feminist pedagogies, social justice and exclusions as regards gender, class, sexuality, race and ethnicity in migrant, minority, youth and ageing groups.*

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Leila Delovarova:

Migration in Eurasia: key trends and coordination patterns through the prism of Kazakhstan

Migration processes in Eurasia are carried out in new geopolitical and geo-economic realities. The main migration exchange in this space is carried out between the countries of Central Asia and Russia. Kazakhstan is a country of primary and alternative destination in the Central Asia region, a transit corridor. Volume migration is increasing and becoming more diversified, and this requires better coordination. Economic migration remains the main trend, but political instability in Eurasia has led to new waves of migrants. Russian relocators circulate in almost all countries of Central Asia due to mobilization, but most of all relocators arrive in Kazakhstan. This is also a challenge for migrants from Central Asia. Migration here is mixed and requires new approaches to regulation. Due to the migration status of Kazakhstan, the potential for cooperation should be considered through the prism of the potential of this country. Kazakhstan has basic migration legislation, a new concept of migration policy has been adopted, and the country is a member of organizations that are involved in regulating migration processes in the Eurasian space. Issues of cooperation in the field of migration are primarily addressed at the national level and then at the bilateral level. Bilateral agreements between the countries of Central Asia are today the key mechanism for regulation. There is a visa-free regime between all countries of the region, with the exception of Turkmenistan. Kazakhstan has basic migration agreements with each of the CA countries. The foundations of sustainable migration cooperation in the Eurasian space for the countries of Central Asia are seen within the framework of the activities of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), the Eurasian Economic Union

(EEU), the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and the Almaty process (AP). All this potential should be considered for improving coordination and regulation mechanisms.

***Leila F. Delovarova** is a faculty member of the International Relations Department of al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Kazakhstan since 2007. She got her BA, MA and PhD in International Relations. The field of scientific interests of Delovarova L.F covers issues of Migration, Migration coordination, Regional Cooperation in Central Asia, Refugees, Statelessness, Sustainable Development and role of China in the modern International Relations. Main publications cover migration, development, and security issues of the modern International Relations.*

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Marta Jaroszewicz:

Contemporary Belarus between Eurasian migration system and individual struggling

After the Russian full-scale aggression against Ukraine, many scholars started to question the premises of the present scholarship on Eastern Europe or more widely post-Soviet area, pointing out to the biased, post-colonial entrenched perspectivists on the region, to a great extend shaped by the Russia's visions and ideas about the region. In migration studies, Düvell, Lapshyna ask whether introduction of a "global East" as an epistemological concept could be solution to the biased perspectives and also negligence of migration studies to Eastern Europe, Caucasus and Central Asia. In this context, a question arises to which extend the concept of Eurasian migration system is relevant to study the migration dynamics and policies in the region. Originally, the concept studied the rural-urban migration, yet afterwards it was developed to study a system of countries that due to intense political, economic and cultural ties at the structural level, are also characterized by intense migration flows (Kritz and Zlotnik, 1992). Yet one could ask whether shared historical and cultural past automatically influence the development of further migration links, especially if this is an imperial past and why migration system theory is ignorant about forced migration. One can ask whether migration system theory is relevant for studying both "normal" peaceful times and times of conflicts and wars. Finally, based on the official statistics, it may overlook the reality of labour migration or politically motivated migration. The paper shows the case of Belarus recognised by the literature as a country within "internal sub-system" of the Eurasian migration system closely interlinked with Russia). Despite all the structural factors aims at facilitating further migration movement within the "sub-system", Belarus is actually transforming into a country of long-term migration to the EU and Georgia and before 24.02.2022 also Ukraine Despite a tendency of the Belarusian authorities to harshen emigration rules and suppress emigrants' families, emigration outside Belarus and Russia is treated as main individual coping strategy in a multiplied crisis situation Belarus remains.

***Marta Jaroszewicz** is an assistant professor at the Centre of Migration Research, University of Warsaw, head of Migration Policies Unit and principal investigator in two projects studying links between migration and security in Eastern and Central Europe. Her main areas of expertise include Eastern European studies, migration, international security and critical security studies.*

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Milana Nikolko:

Diasporas' collective strategies: Interethnic Collaboration among Crimean Tatar and Ukrainian Diasporic Communities in Canada and Turkey

This paper examines the dynamics and fluctuations of symbolic boundaries within diasporas, focusing on the collaboration between Ukrainian and Crimean Tatar diaspora groups in Canada and Turkey. The comparative analysis draws upon representative instances of reactions and collective actions by diaspora groups from 2014 to the present day. Commencing with an exploration of the history of these diaspora groups in Turkey and Canada during the 20th century, particularly in the 21st century, our argument contends that distinct trajectories were pursued by each diaspora group until a critical juncture occurred in their homeland, Ukraine. The unfolding of the war in Ukraine compelled these diasporas to converge in their activism, cooperate towards shared objectives, and extend institutional support to one another. Recent challenges within their home country impelled these diaspora groups to unite their fronts and forge bonds between their institutions and the burgeoning Ukrainian communities. The intricate tapestry of collective ethnic traumas, stemming from the actions of Tsarist Russia, the Soviet Union, and the recent war escalation, has compelled these diasporas to reassess their individual objectives and temporarily pursue a common agenda. By transcending traditional ethnic boundaries, diaspora groups are embarking on new collective strategies aimed at achieving shared objectives in response to the crisis in their homeland. The paper delves into migration patterns, state-influenced migration regimes, and diaspora activities, drawing upon substantial theoretical scholarship and case analysis.

Milana Nikolko, PhD, is an adjunct professor at the Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian Studies (EURUS), Carleton University (Canada). From 2005 to 2014 Nikolko was associate Professor of Political Science (Docent) at V. Vernadsky Taurida National University (Ukraine), in 2008 she was appointed as visiting professor at the Political Science Department of Valdosta State University (USA), from 2009 to 2010 she was a visiting professor at the Chair of Ukrainian Studies, University of Ottawa (Canada). Her current field of interests includes research on Ukraine's nation-building process, a study on political narratives of victimization in the Ukrainian Canadian diaspora, migration and diaspora groups in the post-Soviet space and research on social capital and diaspora networks in comparative perspective.

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Mira Kuzhakhmetova:

Labor and Educational Migration from Kazakhstan to South Korea

Due to its history of Soviet deportations and its position as a global oil and gas state, Kazakhstan today is a country with many economic and political transnational ties. In some cases of soft power, such as the country's relationship with South Korea, these ties are further conditioned by factors such as ethnicity and nationality. Kazakhstan is home to a sizeable Korean population. This community is now exploring its economic, social, and cultural ties to South Korea through

educational exchange and labor migration. In my research on these topics, I found that Koreans from Kazakhstan migrating to South Korea might consider themselves part of a global Korean diaspora and view South Korea as a “homeland.” However, in reality, they face various forms of social and economic exclusion and instead find more commonality with other post-Soviet migrants in South Korea, regardless of ethnicity. The interviews within my research suggest that low-skilled labor migrants mostly live and work in Incheon, Ansan, and Gimhae cities. They work and dwell at factories with little to no socialization due to long working hours and language limitations—restricted opportunities to integrate encourage circular migration among Central Asian Koreans and non-Koreans alike. As most of these workers (non-Koreans) stay and work in South Korea as undocumented migrants, their voices are silenced. The lack of agency places them in a precarious position, with many experiencing difficulties addressing their basic needs. Since the regularization of migrants’ flows from Kazakhstan to South Korea is still under negotiations, it is essential to address the issues migrants face in the receiving state, such as labor and residential segmentation, access to healthcare, childcare, and primary/secondary education.

Mira Kuzhakhmetova: *I’m a second-year PhD student in the Central Eurasian Studies Department and Sociology Department, Indiana University. I obtained my MA in Eurasian Studies at Nazarbayev University, Kazakhstan. My research interests include labor migration, diasporas, race and ethnicity, organizations, inequality, and transborder membership politics.*

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Norio Horie:

Migration and food security dilemmas on the eastern borderlands in Russia, before and after the COVID-19

This study focuses on soybean production in the Sino-Russian border agricultural area in the Russian Far East, which is highly dependent on Chinese migrant workers and capital. The border closure by COVID-19 resulted in a significant reduction in the sowing area in 2020. The supply of migrant workers since March 2021 has returned to the trend before the spread of the new coronavirus in Russia. However, the sown area for soybeans did not recover enough. The experience in 2020 raised their vulnerability to sustain agriculture in the borderlands without migrant workers. And now they faced migration security dilemma; the need to introduce Chinese migrant workers to sustain soybeans production versus the need to sustain agriculture without Chinese migrants or with Central Asian migrants. At the same time, they face food security; the need to provide food for domestic market versus the need to export soybeans. This study provides an opportunity to reconsider these dilemmas in the eastern borderlands in Russia.

Noiro Horie *is a professor, Vice-director of the Global Research Centre for Advanced Sustainability Science (GRASS), University of Toyama. He authored “Chinese Land Deals and Migration in the Russian Far East,” A. Iwashita, Y. Ha and E. Boyle (eds.), Geo-Politics in Northeast Asia, Routledge, 2022, pp. 120-138, and co-authored “Returns to schooling in European emerging markets: a meta-analysis,” Education Economics, 31(1), 2022, pp. 102-128, and “GATS Mode 4 in Russia’s migration policy: liberalization and its limitation,” Sergei*

Sutyurin, Olga Trofimenko and Alexandra Koval (eds.), Russian Trade Policy: Achievements, Challenges and Prospects, Routledge, pp. 264-282.

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Oksana Morgunova:

Central Asia-UAE labour migration nexus: short-term benefits and long-term consequences

The paper explores the new and dynamic phenomenon of labour migration from Central Asian countries to the United Arab Emirates. I argue that Central Asian migrants in the UAE find themselves in a comparatively privileged position, even though this migration flow is statistically modest when compared to both labour migration from Central Asian countries to Russia on the one hand and the mass employment of Indian, Pakistani or Bangladeshi workers in the UAE on the other. The reasons for this relative advantage/privilege are numerous and multifaceted, most significant of which will be explored in the paper. The work will discuss the emerging Middle Asia-UAE model of mobility juxtaposed against the British postcolonial model of “invitations to come and work”. I will also attempt to hypothesise the potential impact of such employment and business experiences on the sending countries of the Central Asian region using the theory of multiple modernities of S.N. Eisenstadt.

Oksana Morgunova holds a PhD from the University of Edinburgh and teaches at RUDN and Higher School of Economics. As migration scholar she took part or lead several international projects including ‘Migration on the Internet’ (mig@net EU), ‘Atlas of digital diasporas’ and ‘Russian Presence in Britain’. Former Project Co-ordinator at the International Migration and Gender Studies Institute (Brussels). She worked as an international journalist before embarking on her academic career and continues contributing to British and Russian media as an expert on migration.

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Olga Gulina:

New Russia’s émigrés in Germany

Over centuries and decades, people left Russia, and the presence of Russia’s émigrés in the capitals of Western Europe remained a source of the continual question. While the October revolution of 1917 was one of the major reasons among the push factors leaving Russia – it is by far not the only one. After Bolsheviks came into power, thousands of Russians were forced to leave the country. And after the collapse of the Soviet Union, a mass exodus took place. Russian nationals, including intellectuals en masse left country in search for better paid jobs and positions in the West (Naumova 2005). Throughout different historical periods, diverse factors pushing Russians to emigrate were political instability, economic challenges, and ever search for a better life and of knowledge. Modern emigration from Russia has its own specifics, albeit it emerges the same phenomenon of “no-returns”, that was well known in Soviet and Tsarist Russia, usually because of current Russia’s invasion of Ukraine, harmful political persecution, human rights

violation, religious/sexual intolerance, and fear to be oppressed and persecuted at home. Nowadays the question to leave or not to leave Russia remains an urgent issue for diverse social groups in the country. Current research examines today's Russian émigré in German metropolis, in particular in Berlin. Berlin was and remains to be "the first capital of Russian emigration" (Marten-Finnis 2021), one of the centers of Russia's exile activity (Williams 1966), and the place where "... everyone met each traveler toured between Moscow and the West" (Roditi 1961). Modern Russian émigrés in Berlin can be roughly divided into five groups by their legal status within the country: (1) Russia's emigres residing with a Schengen visa (type C) or with a German national visa (type "D"); (2) newcomers submitting an asylum application within the territory of Germany; (3) high qualified Russians with blue card status; (4) those with a legal permit according § 19-21 Immigration Law (AufenthG), i.e. specialists from creative industries and freelancers, and their family members.

***Olga R. Gulina** is an independent consultant and an expert in migration management and its law enforcement practice in European and Eurasian countries. She holds a PhD in Migration Studies from the University of Potsdam (2010) and a PhD in Law from Bashkir State University (2002). She publishes expensively on: *Emigration from Russia after 24 February 2022: main patterns and developments*; *Migration as a (Geo-)Political Challenge in the Post-Soviet Space. Border Regimes, Policy Choices, Visa Agendas* (Ibidem & Columbia Press, 2019). She is the Founder & CEO of the RUSMPI – Institute on Migration Policy.*

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Paolo Ruspini:

Borders and new conflicts in contemporary migration from Eastern Europe

The scope of this paper is to elaborate on a topical issue that is current migration from Eastern Europe whose origin dates to the end of the Cold War, but whose intensity has shown significantly again following the recent conflict between Russia and Ukraine. Primary and secondary sources collected over the last twenty years, are the reference materials for this presentation. The paper is structured in two parts: a historical reconstruction and a contemporary perspective. The starting point is an analysis of the migration system of Central-Eastern Europe and its origins. After this excursus, there follows a brief description of two more recent case studies. The first is the conflict which took place in Autumn 2021 on Middle Eastern and African migrants transferred at the border between Poland and Belarus. The second case study analyses the causes and contradictions in the governance of the large flows of refugees and displaced persons generated by the ongoing war between Russia and Ukraine which broke out at the end of February 2022. The current dilemmas of the evolving Central-Eastern European migration system characterized by changing labour markets, border closures and temporary humanitarian protection are presented.

***Paolo Ruspini** has been researching international migrations since 1997 with a comparative study approach and a qualitative survey methodology. He is currently an associate professor at the Department of Education Sciences of the Roma Tre University and an associate researcher at*

the Institute of Sociological Research (IRS) of the University of Geneva. He is the author and editor of several essays and publications on migration (including, for Palgrave-Macmillan, Migration in the New Europe: East-West Revisited, 2004; for Springer, Prostitution and Human Trafficking. Focus on Clients, 2009 and Migration and Transnationalism between Switzerland and Bulgaria, 2017; for Transnational Press London, Migrants Unbound, 2019).

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Rano Turaeva:

Capitalising precarity: Central Asian labour in Russia

This contribution aims to introduce the concept of capitalization of precarity to analyse the situation of precarious migration in migrant unfriendly contexts (Russia, Kazakhstan, Turkey). The material analysed in this paper concerns welfare and health inequalities in the example of Russian migration regime. Welfare of labour migrants is de facto non-existent and largely self-organised by migrants themselves. State migration policies in many migrant destinations (Russia, Turkey) as well as welfare policies in the destination countries (Central Asia) are formulated in papers but in practice do not function to ensure some kind of wellbeing and social protection. Working conditions both at home (in Central Asia) and in destination countries (Russia and Kazakhstan) do not comply with average requirements of wellbeing of the workers. Accidents at work must be very high which one cannot even count as those are not only not registered or reported but also are not taken care of such as financial support of the victim. The paper analyses the situation of intermixing of legal and informal practices which have a direct implication for migrant wellbeing in Russia. The paper also shows that even citizenship (mainly in post-Soviet context where propiska still operates) does not automatically provide direct access to social welfare where the latter is bound to the permanent registration (propiska). Continuous precarity is capital for other actors such as those who can profit from it such as police officers or other migrants themselves. The findings of this research contribute to the broader literature of labour and welfare in terms challenging the boundaries between citizenship and mobility.

Rano Turaeva is a habilitating candidate and lecturer at the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich, Germany. She finalised her second single authored monograph on *Migration and Islam in Russia*; her first book was published with Routledge (2016): *Migration and Identity: the Uzbek Experience*. She co-edited two books: *“Labour, Mobility and Informal practices in Russia: Power, Institutions and Mobile Actors in Transnational Space”* (Routledge, 2021), and *“Halal markets in secular context”* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2023). She has been writing on debt relations, migrations, informality and urban transformations in post-Soviet cities, informal economies, entrepreneurship, border studies, identity and inter-ethnic relations, published in *Extreme Anthropology, Cities, Nationalities Papers, Inner Asia, Asian Ethnicity, Sociology of Islam, Central Asian Affairs*, among others.

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Saltanat Liebert:

Fleeing Putin's Russia: Emigration of Russians to Georgia

As Russia increasingly became authoritarian and crackdown of dissidents intensified under the regime of Vladimir Putin, the opposition members began to flee in the last decade fearing for their safety. After the Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, other dissidents who disagree with the war and are anxious about the economic sanctions that left Russia isolated from the world economy began to leave their home country in large numbers. Those who have family ties and/or valid visas or permanent residence in Western countries have been relocating there. Others have fled to neighboring countries that do not require an entry visa for Russian citizens. One such country is the Republic of Georgia, presently experiencing unprecedented inflows of migrants from Ukraine, Belorussia, and Russia as a result, of the invasion of Ukraine by Russia. It is estimated that 250,000-300,000 Russians arrived in Georgia as of August 2022. Media reports that Russians leaving their country tend to be educated white-collar professionals, some of whom are able to work remotely. Recent estimates suggest that during the 20 years of Putin's rule, 5 million Russians have left their country. The proposed paper presents the findings of 30 in-depth, semi-structured qualitative interviews with Russian citizens who relocated to Georgia in the aftermath of Russia's invasion of Ukraine. Among other factors, the study explored the push and pull factors for Russian nationals emigrating from Russia to Georgia as well their return intentions.

Saltanat Liebert, Ph.D., is Associate Professor at the L. Douglas Wilder School of Government and Public Affairs at Virginia Commonwealth University (VCU) in the United States. Prior to joining VCU, she taught at the American University in Washington, D.C., and worked for the World Bank, U.N. and the I.O.M. in Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Austria and the U.S. She has served as a consultant on governance, migration and human trafficking issues, working with institutions as the Protection Project of Johns Hopkins University and the International Research and Exchanges Board. She has been interviewed by media outlets such as Voice of America, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty and BBC World Service.

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Savalat Abylkalikov:

Demography and migration in Russia in the next decade

The prospects for demographic and socio-economic development in Russia in the next decade, prior to the war against Ukraine, were perceived as highly unfavorable. Since February 24, 2022, the impact of negative factors has intensified due to increased emigration from the country, reduced immigration, declining birth rates, and a slowdown in life expectancy growth, all of which will significantly complicate the coming decade. The main factors that could potentially cause severe damage to the Russian economy are as follows:

- Negative demographic trends, such as declining birth rates and stagnant life expectancy.
- A sharp reduction in the number of young people within the working-age population.
- An increase in the number of pre-pensioners and elderly individuals.
- Waves of emigration from the country.

- Reduced migration growth and a decline in the number of labor migrants.
- Economic stagnation.
- International isolation.
- Growing technological backwardness.

According to the medium version of the Rosstat forecast, Russia will experience significant shifts in its age structure. The population aged 65 and above is projected to increase by 5.84 million people, while the number of young individuals aged 20-35 is expected to decrease by 6.54 million people. This significant growth in the elderly population will place a demographic burden on the working-age population. Since the war, there have been at least two bursts of emigration, primarily involving young people. The precise number of people who have permanently emigrated is yet to be determined, relying on statistics from the destination countries, which might take some time. However, preliminary estimates suggest that around 400,000 to 500,000 people have emigrated, including those who have returned. While Russia's economy has been stagnant for over a decade, many Central Asian countries have been experiencing annual growth rates of about 5-6%. Moving forward, this economic gap may continue to narrow, making migration to Russia less appealing. Migration is the most economically linked of all demographic processes.

Savalat Abylkalikov: *PhD in Sociology (Demography). Postdoctoral researcher at the Department of Humanities, Northumbria University, UK. Previously, senior lecturer at the Department of Demography, Vishnevsky Institute of Demography, HSE University, Moscow, and senior research fellow at the Research Laboratory of Social and Demographic Studies, University of Science and Technology (formerly Bashkir State University), Ufa. 37 scientific papers on demography, population migration, and related sciences, including publications in peer-reviewed journals listed by Scopus and Web of Science. I have co-authored the annual demographic reports "Population of Russia" and contributed to the fifth issue of the Demographic Report of the Republic of Bashkortostan.*

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Sergey Ryazantsev:

Latin America as a new destinations of post~soviet migrants: new connections in the Eurasian migratory system

The Eurasian migration system was formed after the collapse of the USSR and was characterized by the following features: a) Russia as the main “migrant-attractive” economy, b) Kazakhstan as a new growing pole of the economy; d) Central Asia as the main reservoir of migrants for Russia and Kazakhstan; c) the growth of Chinese migration following China’s investments in Central Asia. However, the military conflict of 2022 radically changed migration trends. Russia and Ukraine have become major sources of emigration. About 1.5 million people left Russia in 2022-2023. In Ukraine, more than 8 million people became forced migrants. Central Asian migrants, facing the threat of being drawn into armed conflict and economic recession in Russia, are gradually reorienting themselves to new labor markets. Latin America has become a new, but “well-forgotten old” direction of post-Soviet migration. Many countries have announced humanitarian visas for Ukrainian citizens. Russian emigrants flocked to Latin America in the

face of visa restrictions and the closure of borders in Europe in the hope of getting a job and citizenship.

Modern emigration from the countries of former USSR to LATAM is due to three groups of factors: a) the social factor of migration determines marriage, fertility, educational, academic forms of migration; b) the economic factor of migration determines labor, investment, commercial forms of migration; c) political migration from the former USSR also intensified in the 2000s, it was represented by people who could not stay in their countries due to conflict with the official authorities, opposition activities, persecution, ideological differences. A new wave of migration replenishes and “rejuvenates” the Russian-speaking communities in the LATAM countries. Russian-speaking migrants are distinguished by a young age structure, they are representatives of the middle class, well-educated and socially active people with excellent integration potential for the host countries. With a reasonable migration policy of the LATAM countries, the Russian-speaking wave of migration can make a significant socio-economic contribution to the development of the economy and can also create prerequisites for intensifying relations with the countries of the Eurasian migration system, despite the considerable distance.

Sergey Ryazantsev, Institute for Demographic Research of the Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IDR FCTAS RAS, Russia) (Leading Researcher); Federal University of Sao-Carlos (FUSCar, Brazil) and University of Campinas (UNICAMP, Brazil) (Visiting Professor).

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Stephane de Tapia:

The role of Turkey in the definition of a Turkic migration hub, and definitions of new diasporas

Turkey stands in a very important geographic, geopolitical and geostrategic location in Eurasia. A major point is the position of “bridge” between Middle-East, Africa, Europe and Western Asia parts of the World. In the case of international migrations, Turkey became both immigration, emigration and transit land, with very various characters since a long time, as first Ottoman Empire, and secondly Republic of Turkey. In matter of migrations, what about its position in front of Central Asian Turkic peoples, both, as historical origin lands and eventually modern model, as pull economy, sociology and political model, as refuges for opponents? Between 1923 and 1992, Turkey was alone for representing and testimony of a greater Turkish / Turkic World, considered as “Esir Türkler” (Turks in Jail). Since the advance of Russian authorities in Caucasus and Central Asia, and even former, with the emergence of Shi’i Persia, contacts between Turkey and Central Asia were very scarce, but not impossible. The collapse of USSR had consequences as independency of former Central Asian Soviet Republics, and new autonomies of Tatarstan, Bashkiria, Yakutia, Tuva... Turkey, formerly land of Turkic Muslim refugees in Tsarist and Stalinist periods, became land of economic and cultural investors, attractive for shuttle affairs, tourism, education, with emerging bilateral links in whole region. This paper will present a “panorama” of the complexity of the patterns of migration between Turkey and Turkic countries, oscillating between Turkism and Pan-Turkism, Pan-Islamism, Nationalisms, and concurrences between Russia, China, Iran, each of them trying to be the model for Central Asia countries.

Stéphane de Tapia is geographer, Professor of Turkish Studies at Faculty of Foreign and Regional Languages, Literatures and Civilisations in University of Strasbourg, He was former Junior then Senior Research Fellow in French CNRS, working about Turkish and Turkic World migrations patterns.

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Svetlana Kozhirova:

New trends in modern Kazakhstan-Chinese migration processes

The paper will discuss modern migration processes from China to Kazakhstan, which has significant geopolitical, socio-economic and demographic implications for both countries. While for China, migration relieves pressure on the labor market, expands spheres of influence, and has economic effects, for Kazakhstan, Chinese migration compensates for the lack of labor resources. The Kazakh side turned out to be unprepared for migration flows from the Chinese side, neither in terms of legal regulation, nor in terms of predicting economic and social consequences. New type of economic migration from China accompanied by move of capital will be examined. The paper will also give a comprehensive assessment of current trends in migration from China to Kazakhstan, identify its features and the most important patterns of development, analyze the objective determinants and socio-economic consequences of expanding the Chinese presence in the Republic of Kazakhstan in the context of national security problems and formation of an effective migration policy in Kazakhstan. The paper will be prepared within the frame of the research project “Migration factor in Kazakhstan-Chinese relations” held at Turan University, Almaty with the support of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Svetlana Bassiyevna Kozhirova is Doctor of Political science (Eurasian National University named after L.N. Gumilev in Astana, Kazakhstan). She is author of two books: a) on migration from China to Kazakhstan and b) history of trade relations between Xinjiang and the Russian Empire. She holds a position of Chief Research Associate at the Institute of Oriental studies named after R.B. Suleimenov of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Republic of Kazakhstan (Almaty) and Director of the Center of Chinese and Asian research of the International scientific institution ‘Astana’. Expert in international relations, Sino-Kazakhstan relations and migration.

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Svetlana Tvorogova:

In search of a voice: Could we expect an active Russian community abroad?

The community of Russian-speaking migrants in Europe has rapidly increased recently; for many the move has not been thoroughly planned, often not desired, yet it happened. National identity has become problematic for many migrants, originating from Russia. I suggest discussing if a denial of the official discourse of official Russia among migrants could lead to emergence of a Russian-speaking community that could influence the situation in the country. Here is a sketch

for a model that explains if there is an interest in such a community for a particular migrant: If social connections of a migrant with compatriots dominate over connections with locals or migrants of diverse origins, there are higher chances for emergence of migrants' community. Once established, community could gain and lose its density, i.e., the number of connections and frequency of exchanges between them. A dense, actively interacting community is a social force, capable of voicing and lobbying its interests. The scale of recent migration speaks for the community: many people in the similar circumstances tend to search support in each other. However, the interests of migrants differ, as the resources for integration do, which is a strong argument against the community and for individual adaptation and integration into the host society. I propose examining if any social group is capable of active shaping of a migrant community. The strong candidates are cultural elites, as they depend on their Russian-speaking audience and will avoid a shift to another language that costs too much. Social researchers through their research could offer certain agendas too, yet they a) depend on funding priorities, and b) often restrain to professional publications, hardly accessible for general public, i.e., have limited impact on the migrant community.

Svetlana Tvorogova holds a PhD equivalent from Higher School of Economics, Moscow. She has combined research and consulting in public and private domains. Her academic interests focus around social systems and their evolution: she studied various aspects of higher education system; analysed the impact of change upon civil service and social policy; reviewed the influence of international experience on individual career and performance; addressed the issues of academic diaspora and its potential impact on the origin country.

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Tatiana Karabchuk:

Migration from Post-Soviet Countries to the Arabian Gulf: analysis of ethnographic interviews

The paper is based on the ethnographic interviews, collected from the migrants, currently living in the UAE. The analysis presents different life story cases and tries to provide added value to the understanding of different groups of motives for single and family migrants. What are the main reasons to migrate with all the families? How long do people usually stay in the Gulf? What kind of jobs and occupations do they take? What are the goals of single individuals to move to the UAE? What exactly attracts the migrants since UAE citizenship cannot be granted? How difficult is it to adjust to an absolutely different culture and environment? These are the questions that are highlighted via the interviews and brought for further discussions in the context of the migration theory of pull factors.

Tatiana Karabchuk: Ph.D. in Economic Sociology and Demography, Associate Professor of the Department of Government and Society, College of Humanities & Social Science, United Arab Emirates University; Conference Chair of WAPOR (2019-2022); Editorial Board Member of 'Social Forces'; Editorial Board Member of the Journal of Higher Education Policy and Leadership Studies

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Vera Peshkova:

Strategies and practices for acquiring Russian citizenship by immigrants from Central Asia

For a long time the focus of migration scholarship has been mainly on single men oriented to temporary labor immigration. However in recent decades the feminization of migration and an increase in the number of migration with children have been taking place, which is reflected in the growing interest in migrant families in both research and political fields. Accordingly, the family is increasingly understood as a pivotal element of migration, as a central factor in making most decisions about moving and influencing the speed and success of adaptation and integration of migrants. Family migration as the largest share of permanent migration and migration of families accompanying labor migrants are a complex phenomenon with many family situations, family relationship patterns and migration circumstances that are influenced by the rules and contexts of both the sending and receiving countries. These changes are also triggered, and on the other hand, cause changes in strategies and practices for acquiring citizenship of the hosting country. These trends have also their common and unique characteristics in Russia. According to pre-pandemic data there were about 10-11 million temporary foreign citizens in Russia at the same time every year, more than 80% of them are from the CIS countries, and almost half are from Central Asia. On the one hand, the acquisition of Russian citizenship by individual migrants is one of the reasons why migrant family members move to Russia and the reasons for the formation of family migration as a phenomenon. On the other hand, an increase of family migration leads to an increase in the number of migrants receiving Russian citizenship, as well as to an increase in the diversity of strategies and practices for acquiring it. The main idea of my presentation is to consider new strategies and practices for acquiring Russian citizenship, using the example of migrants families from Central Asia Empirical base is experts' interviews and interviews with immigrants from Central Asia countries.

Vera Peshkova: senior research fellow at the Institute of Sociology of the Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow). My main research experience is on international migration in Russia; Diaspora studies; transnationalism; ethnic studies.

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Vladimir Kozlov, Aleksey Oshchepkov and Valeriy Yumaguzin:

From Russia with love: What do we know about emigration from Russia in 2022?

The Russia's invasion to Ukraine has triggered, among other things, large migration flows. While the refugee emigration from Ukraine is under the scrutiny of scholars and policy makers, emigration from Russia is currently less emphasized. The expansion of political repressions and censorship, mobilization and deteriorating economic conditions provoked the exodus of Russians from their motherland. Some experts claim that this is the largest wave of emigration and brain drain from Russia since the collapse of the Soviet Union. However, while the amount of

emigration is definitely large and should have serious implications for Russia's economic and political development and also for the development of receiving countries, the exact number of movers and their distribution across destination countries are not known. In this paper, we aim to fill in this gap and provide both descriptive and quantitative evidence on emigration from Russia. We are conducting a meta-analysis of various pieces of information including official migration statistics derived both from Russia and receiving countries, few existing surveys of emigrants, and also some preliminary analysis of big data. For the big data we use the data from mobile-telephone operators, showing if the owner crossed the border and in which country he/she was, and data from the Internet requests. Additionally, we develop first estimates of the causal impact of the invasion on emigration, controlling for the post-pandemic recovery of international travels and other confounding factors.

***Vladimir Kozlov**, PhD in Economics (Moscow Lomonosov State University, 2011). He joined the Institute of Demography of the National Research University Higher School of Economics (HSE) in 2010 and worked there until 2022 as Associate Professor and Academic Supervisor of the Master Program. He collaborated with researchers from Lomonosov Moscow State University and RANEPA. Since 2022, researcher in IOS Regensburg (Germany). He is regularly contracted as external consultant by UNFPA. His research focuses on several areas in population studies ranging from economic demography and migration to epidemiological studies, as well as labour and institutional economics.*

***Aleksey Oshchepkov** is a visiting researcher at School of Business & Economics at the Free University of Berlin. He received his PhD (Cand. of Science Degree) at the HSE University in Moscow. His research interests include labor economics, regional economics, applied microeconometrics, and also selected topics in political economy.*

***Valeriy Yumaguzin** (National Research University – Higher School of Economics, Moscow)*

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Yelena Sadovskaya:

Russia's war in Ukraine and its impact on Russian-Kazakhstani migrations in 2022-2023

The paper presents an analysis of the latest migration trends in Kazakhstan, particularly two immigration waves from Russia in 2022 and ongoing inflow in 2023. They emerged as the result of Russia's invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, the 'partial mobilization' in September of the same year and immigration growth in the first six months of 2023 comparatively to the same period of 2022. Methodology: Desk research, statistical analysis, based on both countries' official statistics, direct observation, express and in-depth interviews with Russian immigrants in Almaty in 2022-2023. Results: The Russian immigration of 2022-2023 is generally characterized as anti-war protesting, and intellectual since immigrants are mainly professionals. However, each wave/flow is also socially, professionally, and demographically specific. The paper explores the causes, drivers, dynamics, impacts and prospects of Russian immigration to Kazakhstan, including implications for the Eurasian Economic Union and the CIS.

Yelena Sadovskaya is an international consultant on international migration and migration policies in Kazakhstan and Central Asia based in Almaty, Kazakhstan. She focuses on conducting academic and policy research and consulting for international organizations, governmental bodies, and academia.

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Yulia Florinskaya:

Labor migrants in Russia: current statistics and future plans

The number of labor migrants in Russia in 2022-2023 continues to remain stable (about 3 million per year), although it decreased relative to 2019, before the pandemic. We don't see any significant growth, but there is no decline either. The share of foreign workers among those employed in the Russian labor market dropped by only 1 percentage point compared to 2019 - from 6% to just under 5%. Labor migration is becoming less diverse – over 85% are migrants from three Central Asian countries (Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan). Legalization is noticeably growing – the number of patents issued in 2022 turned out to be the highest for the entire duration of this tool. Probably, only fully executed documents, including documents for entering the labor market, are currently becoming a condition for safe stay in the Russian Federation.

The territorial distribution of migrant workers in Russia continues to be extremely uneven: more than 60% falls on two metropolitan regions (Moscow and the region, St. Petersburg and the region). Therefore, the survey of migrants conducted by us in March 2022 and March 2023 at the Sakharovo migration Center (more than 90% of respondents are citizens of Central Asian countries) gives an adequate idea of labor migration to the Russian Federation as a whole. The main findings of the survey:

- The majority of migrants have not felt the deterioration of their situation in Russia in a particularly massive way, and do not feel much anxiety about their immediate future. Only 4% expect their situation to worsen
- More than 40% intend to continue working in Russia as before. At the same time, respondents in 2023 are noticeably less willing to stay in the Russian Federation for permanent residence than in 2022 and more often state that they intend to return home after a short work.
- Incomes of the majority of migrants increased in 2023 compared to 2022.
- Informal employment has significantly increased: 38% were informally registered at work in 2023 and 30% in 2022; 51% received a full or partial unofficial salary in 2023, and 40% in 2022.

Yulia Florinskaya is a leading researcher at INSAP RANEPa, Ph.D. (Geography). Graduated from Lomonosov Moscow State University, Faculty of Geography. I have been working on migration to Russia for more than 25 years, author of more than 100 articles on this topic. Recent projects include women's labor migration; skilled migration to and within Russia; the relationship between temporary and permanent migration in Russia; monitoring of labor migration (a permanent project for the last 10 years). Carried out projects with the support of IOM, OSCE, MacArthur Foundation, Aga Khan Foundation, UN Women, World Bank, UNICEF, etc.

Zahide Erdogan:

Exploring Uzbekistan's new development strategy (2022-2026) in terms of migration infrastructure and regional mobility

The New Development Strategy for the period 2022-2026 has been adopted by Uzbekistan, and the purpose of this study is to investigate regional mobility using the idea of migration infrastructure based on Uzbekistan's new growth plan. With the election of Uzbek President Mirziyoyev, the country is undertaking economic and foreign policy transformations as part of the New Uzbek Strategy for 2017-2021. This strategy plan has begun to construct a migration infrastructure for regular and safe labour mobility. The New Development Plan will cover the years 2022-2026. Document analysis has been used for this paper, and the Plan and related official announcements examined to explain regional mobility. In their research on China and Indonesia, Xiang and Lindquist (2014) used the idea of migration infrastructure, which consists of five components: technological, regulatory, commercial, humanitarian, and social. Low-skilled labour migration in Asian countries has been explained using migration infrastructure. However, the notion of migration infrastructure will be employed in this paper to cover all of the components that have an impact on regulating both migration from and migration to the country. The new strategy includes 100 objectives organized into seven priorities. Safe, regular and legal labour migration and effective migration policy are among the targets. Furthermore, creating permanent and effective contact with citizens living abroad has been mentioned among the objectives indicating that diaspora policies will be improved. The development of electronic services for citizens living abroad, tourism target, collaboration with international organizations, and agreements with countries in the region can all be seen as part of the migration infrastructure. Uzbekistan has also established a goal that will have an impact on regional international student mobility. By 2026, 10 universities are targeted to be included in the QS and THE indexes. As a result, the country's close cooperation with South Korea and Afghanistan, as well as its inclusion in China's One Belt, One Road initiative, suggest that regional mobility will increase. Furthermore, because of the country's location, border security actions should be monitored in terms of controlling potential migration from Pakistan and India as a result of climate change.

***Zahide Erdoğan** is an independent researcher and she has been working as an expert in the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB) since 2010. She completed her Ph.D. in Social Policy from the University of Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt in 2020. She received a Master degree in Public Finance from Gazi University. She was a visiting academic at the University of Oxford COMPAS (Centre on Migration, Policy and Society) from October 2018 to October 2019. Her research interest includes migration sociology as well as environmental sociology. Migration policies, diaspora policies, refugee integration, transnationalism, qualified migration, and climate induced migration are among her research areas.*