

**POST-SOVIET MIGRATION PROCESSES IN CENTRAL ASIA : A
COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY WITHIN THE CENTRAL ASIA–RUSSIA–
CHINA MIGRATION SYSTEM (KAZAKHSTAN, KYRGYZSTAN, AND
TAJIKISTAN)**

*PROCESSOS MIGRATÓRIOS PÓS-SOVIÉTICOS NA ÁSIA CENTRAL: UM ESTUDO
DE CASO COMPARATIVO NO ÂMBITO DO SISTEMA MIGRATÓRIO ÁSIA
CENTRAL–RÚSSIA–CHINA (CAZAQUISTÃO, QUIRGUISTÃO E TAJIQUISTÃO)*

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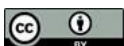
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Abstract

This study analyzes post-Soviet migration processes in Central Asia through a comparative case study of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan within the Central Asia–Russia–China migration system. Drawing on migration systems theory, the research adopts a structured-focused comparative approach to examine how national structural conditions and institutional access to migration channels shape migration pathways and development outcomes. Using a quantitative–descriptive design, the analysis triangulates World Bank remittance indicators, International Organization for Migration regional reports, and institutional context related to Russia-oriented labor migration and China-oriented selective mobility. The findings reveal substantial cross-national differentiation.

Resumo

Este estudo analisa os processos migratórios pós-soviéticos na Ásia Central por meio de um estudo de caso comparativo do Cazaquistão, Quirguistão e Tajiquistão no âmbito do sistema migratório Ásia Central–Rússia–China. Com base na teoria dos sistemas migratórios, a pesquisa adota uma abordagem comparativa estrutural-focada para examinar como as condições estruturais nacionais e o acesso institucional aos canais migratórios moldam as rotas migratórias e os resultados de desenvolvimento. Utilizando um desenho quantitativo-descritivo, a análise triangula indicadores de remessas do Banco Mundial, relatórios regionais da Organização Internacional para as Migrações e o contexto institucional relacionado à migração de mão de



Kazakhstan functions as a regional migration hub and partial destination with diversified mobility patterns and limited remittance dependence. Kyrgyzstan relies heavily on Russia-oriented labor migration, with moderate to high remittance dependence and partial diversification toward selective channels. Tajikistan exhibits the highest level of remittance dependence and structural vulnerability, reflecting strong reliance on a single destination corridor. Across cases, Russia-oriented migration provides significant short-term income stabilization, whereas China-oriented migration is smaller in scale but more closely associated with skill formation potential. The study concludes that Central Asian migration operates as a multi-nodal and hierarchical system, with distinct development implications depending on national position. Policy implications stress the need for diversification of migration pathways, improved migration governance, and stronger links between migration and human capital development.

Keywords: Post-Soviet Migration. Central Asia. Comparative Case Study. Remittances. Migration Systems. Russia. China.

obra voltada para a Rússia e à mobilidade seletiva voltada para a China. Os resultados revelam uma diferenciação transnacional substancial. O Cazaquistão funciona como um centro regional de migração e destino parcial, com padrões de mobilidade diversificados e dependência limitada de remessas. O Quirguistão depende fortemente da migração de mão de obra voltada para a Rússia, com dependência moderada a alta das remessas e diversificação parcial em direção a canais seletivos. O Tadjiquistão apresenta o nível mais alto de dependência das remessas e vulnerabilidade estrutural, refletindo forte dependência de um único corredor de destino. Em todos os casos, a migração voltada para a Rússia proporciona uma significativa estabilização de renda no curto prazo, enquanto a migração voltada para a China é de menor escala, mas está mais intimamente associada ao potencial de formação de qualificações. O estudo conclui que a migração da Ásia Central opera como um sistema multinodal e hierárquico, com implicações distintas para o desenvolvimento, dependendo da posição nacional. As implicações políticas enfatizam a necessidade de diversificação das rotas migratórias, melhoria da governança migratória e vínculos mais fortes entre a migração e o desenvolvimento do capital humano.

Palavras-chave: Migração Pós-Soviética. Ásia Central. Estudo de Caso Comparativo. Remessas. Sistemas Migratórios. Rússia. China.

1 INTRODUCTION

The dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 constituted one of the most consequential structural ruptures in late twentieth-century Eurasia, fundamentally reshaping political authority, economic organization, and population mobility across the post-Soviet space. Under the Soviet system, migration was largely embedded within a centrally planned framework in which population movements were administratively regulated to serve industrial allocation, agricultural resettlement, and security imperatives. Individual choice played a limited role, and cross-border mobility was

tightly constrained by the logic of a closed political system (Heleniak, 2003. Buckley, Ruble, & Hofmann, 2012).

Following independence, the newly sovereign states of Central Asia—Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan—were rapidly exposed to market shocks, industrial collapse, and institutional fragmentation. These transformations generated widespread unemployment and underemployment, particularly in rural and mono-industrial regions, while state capacity to provide social protection declined sharply. Migration thus emerged as a critical household- and system-level adaptation mechanism, enabling families to mitigate income insecurity and governments to relieve domestic labor-market pressures (Heleniak, 2003. Laruelle, 2018).

Early post-Soviet migration from Central Asia was shaped by political uncertainty and ethnic reconfiguration. The redefinition of citizenship regimes, language policies, and access to public-sector employment triggered significant outmigration among Slavic and other minority populations, particularly from northern Kazakhstan and urban centers across the region (Tishkov, Zayinchkovskaya, & Vitkovskaya, 2005). As this phase subsided, migration patterns became increasingly economic in nature. By the early 2000s, Central Asia had consolidated its position as one of the world's major labor-sending regions, with millions of workers engaging in temporary and circular migration, primarily to Russia (World Bank, 2019).

A substantial body of scholarship has documented how Russia's economic recovery, labor shortages, and institutional legacy made it the dominant destination for Central Asian migrants. Shared language, historical familiarity, and relatively permissive entry regimes—later reinforced through regional integration initiatives such as the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU)—lowered migration costs and facilitated large-scale labor mobility (Round & Kuznetsova, 2016. Laruelle, 2018). As a result, remittances became a central pillar of economic stability in several Central Asian states, in some cases accounting for a significant share of gross domestic product and household income (World Bank, 2023).

While this Russia-centered perspective has generated important insights, it has also tended to obscure cross-national variation within Central Asia and to understate the system's emerging multipolarity. Treating Central Asia as a homogeneous labor-sending bloc overlooks substantial differences in economic structure, institutional capacity, and

exposure to migration-related risks. Moreover, recent geopolitical and economic disruptions—including fluctuating oil prices, demographic change in Russia, and heightened policy uncertainty—have underscored the vulnerabilities associated with excessive dependence on a single destination country (ICMPD/Prague Process, 2024).

At the same time, China has gradually emerged as a qualitatively distinct node within the Central Asian migration system. Unlike Russia, China does not function as a mass absorber of low-skilled Central Asian labor. Instead, migration linkages between Central Asia and China are more selective and institutionalized, encompassing educational mobility, technical training, and project-based employment associated with infrastructure development and energy cooperation (IOM, 2025). Although smaller in scale, these channels have the potential to generate different migration–development outcomes, particularly in terms of skill formation and human capital accumulation.

Against this background, this study argues that post-Soviet migration in Central Asia is best understood not as a single corridor but as a triangular migration system linking Central Asia, Russia, and China. Building on migration systems theory (de Haas, 2010), the paper adopts a comparative case study approach focusing on Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan. By examining how these states occupy distinct structural positions within the same regional migration system, the study seeks to explain why similar historical legacies have produced divergent migration trajectories and development outcomes.

1.1 Research questions

This study examines post-Soviet migration in Central Asia through a comparative case approach. Rather than treating Central Asia as a single labor-sending region, the paper focuses on differences among countries within the same regional migration system.

RQ1. How do post-Soviet migration patterns differ among Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan?

RQ2. How does each country's position within the Central Asia–Russia–China migration system shape its reliance on labor migration and remittances?

RQ3. What are the main development implications of Russia-oriented labor migration versus China-oriented selective mobility in the three cases?

1.2 Research objectives

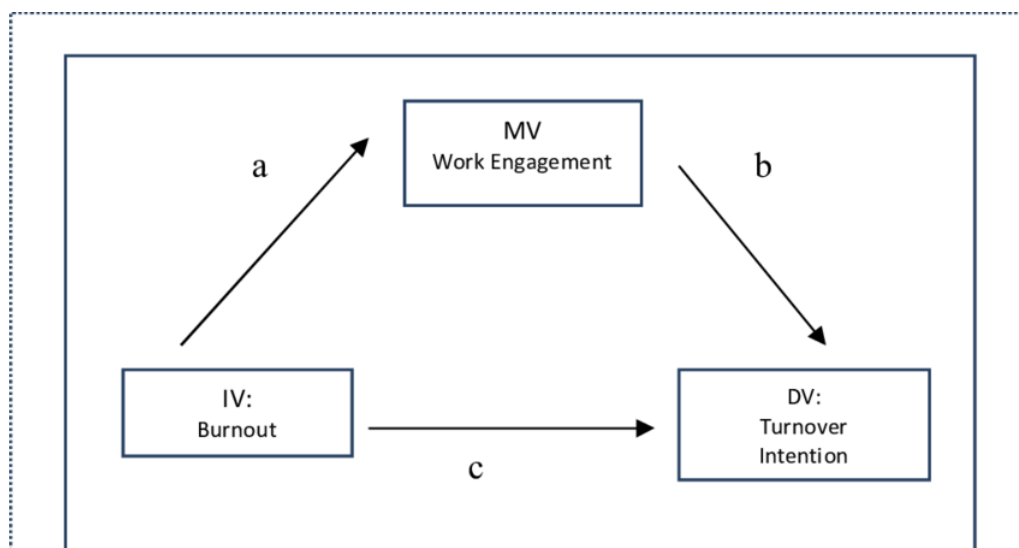
The objectives of this study are threefold.

- 1) To compare post-Soviet migration trajectories in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan, focusing on migration scale, dominant destinations, and mobility types.
- 2) To explain cross-national differences in migration outcomes by examining how economic conditions and institutional access to Russian and Chinese migration channels shape each country's migration profile.
- 3) To assess the development implications of different migration pathways, with particular attention to remittance dependence, exposure to external shocks, and opportunities for skill formation.

1.3 Conceptual research framework

Figure 1

Conceptual research framework illustrating the relationships among independent variables (IVs), mediating variables (MVs), and dependent variables (DVs) in the Central Asia–Russia–China migration system.



2 LITERATURE REVIEW AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

Early research on post-Soviet migration emphasized ethnic reconfiguration and population decline following state collapse, particularly the outmigration of Slavic populations and the nation-building challenges faced by Central Asian states (Heleniak, 2003). As economic transitions stabilized in the 2000s, the literature increasingly conceptualized migration as a structural feature of development, highlighting the centrality of labor migration and remittances in sustaining household livelihoods and macroeconomic stability (Laruelle, 2018).

Within this body of work, Russia has consistently been identified as the dominant migration destination, supported by linguistic continuity, geographic proximity, and regional institutional frameworks such as the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU). However, scholars have also noted that heavy reliance on a single destination generates structural vulnerability, exposing sending countries to external economic shocks and policy changes (Round & Kuznetsova, 2016).

More recent studies have begun to recognize China's distinct role in Central Asian migration. Unlike Russia, China does not function as a mass labor-absorbing destination. Rather, it facilitates selective mobility through education, project-based employment, and technical cooperation. These channels are smaller in scale but potentially more significant in terms of human capital formation (International Organization for Migration [IOM], 2025).

To integrate these perspectives, this study draws on migration systems theory, which conceptualizes migration as the outcome of interacting macro-level structures (economic disparities, demographic pressures), meso-level institutions (policies, regional agreements, networks), and micro-level decision-making. Within this framework, Central Asia, Russia, and China are treated as interdependent nodes in a triangular migration system rather than isolated bilateral corridors.

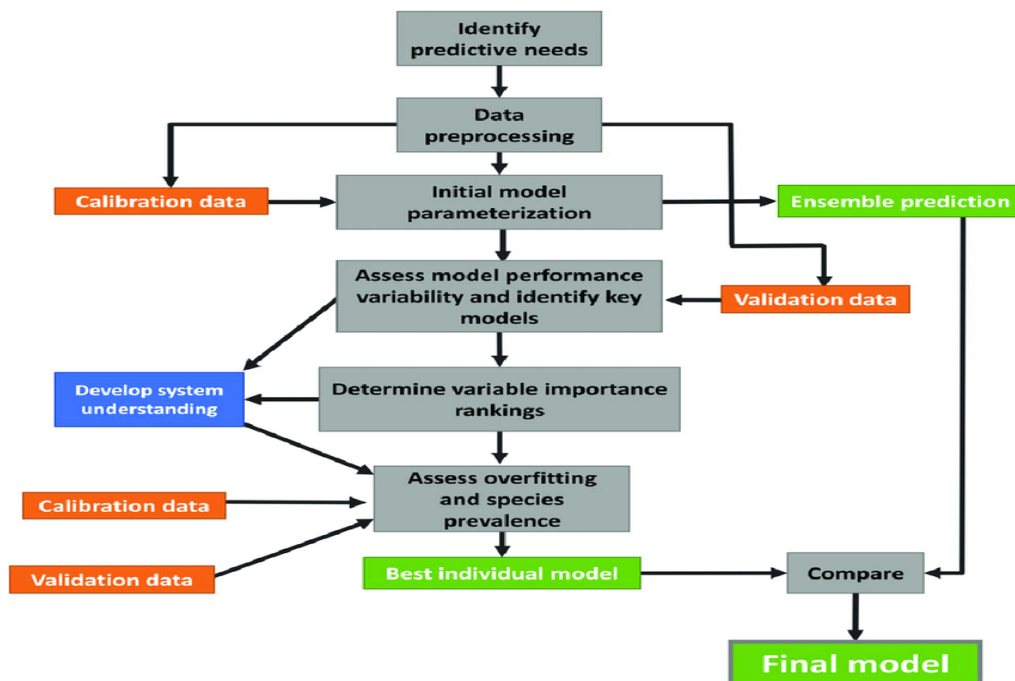
3 METHODOLOGY: COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY DESIGN

This study applies a structured, focused comparative case study design to explain why post-Soviet migration trajectories diverge across Central Asian states despite shared

Soviet legacies. The design is “most-different systems” in the sense that the selected cases vary substantially in macroeconomic capacity and migration dependence, yet face similar regional opportunity structures what namely the dominance of Russia as a labor destination and the emergence of China as a selective mobility node. The objective is not causal identification in the econometric sense, but theory-informed comparison that connects 1) structural conditions, 2) institutional access regimes, and 3) migration-development outcomes.

The empirical strategy triangulates : 1) cross-national indicators (e.g., remittances as a share of GDP), 2) regional migration evidence (labor/student mobility patterns, governance dynamics), and 3) institutional texts describing labor mobility arrangements. Remittance reliance is operationalized using the World Bank WDI indicator “Personal remittances, received (% of GDP)” (BX.TRF.PWKR.DT.GD.ZS), which provides cross-country comparability and clear metadata definitions. Regional patterns and governance dynamics are drawn from the IOM Europe & Central Asia migration data report and related products, which synthesize labor and student mobility, displacement, and governance developments across the region. Institutional access to Russian labor markets is contextualized via EAEU documentation emphasizing free movement of labor under the Treaty framework and official institutional descriptions. Additional contextual evidence on post-2022 migration dynamics is drawn from Prague Process/ICMPD policy work.

To operationalize the analytical logic presented in Figure 2, the study adopts a structured–focused comparison strategy that translates abstract analytical steps into concrete case-selection criteria and empirical indicators. While Figure 2 illustrates the sequential logic linking macro-structural conditions, institutional access, mobility composition, and migration–development outcomes, the following tables specify how this logic is implemented in the comparative research design. In particular, the case selection rationale and the operationalization of key dimensions are presented to ensure transparency, comparability, and methodological rigor consistent with graduate-level research standards.

Figure 2*Analytical Logic of the Structured-Focused Comparison*

Note. This figure illustrates the analytical logic of the structured-focused comparison adopted in this study, linking macro-structural conditions to institutional access regimes, mobility composition, and migration–development outcomes. The framework guides the comparative analysis of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan within the Central Asia–Russia–China migration system.

Table 2 summarizes the rationale for selecting Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan as comparative cases. These three countries represent distinct structural positions within the Central Asia–Russia–China migration system, allowing the study to capture variation in migration dependence, institutional access, and developmental outcomes under broadly similar regional conditions. By explicitly stating each case’s expected system role, Table 2 provides a bridge between the conceptual framework and the subsequent empirical comparison.

Table 1*Case Selection Rationale and Expected System Position*

Case	Selection Logic	Expected Role in System	Core Hypothesis for Comparison
Kazakhstan	Higher income. diversified regional hub function	Hub / partial destination transit	Lower remittance dependence. more “complementary” migration role
Kyrgyzstan	Labor-exporting with sizable diaspora	Labor exporter (moderate–high reliance)	Russia-oriented circular labor dominates. partial diversification via China education/projects
Tajikistan	Structural labor surplus. high external dependence	High-dependence labor exporter	Strongest remittance reliance. highest exposure to Russia shocks. China mainly investment/projects rather than destination

Note. “System position” is inferred from triangulation of remittance reliance (World Bank WDI) and regional migration evidence (IOM).

While Table 2 clarifies why the three cases are analytically appropriate, a clear specification of data sources and indicators is necessary to ensure the replicability of the comparative analysis. Accordingly, Table 3 presents the data matrix used in this study, outlining the key constructs, their operational indicators, and the primary sources on which the analysis is based. This step is essential for maintaining methodological transparency and aligning the comparative case approach with established standards in migration research.

Table 2*Data Matrix: Indicators, Interpretation, and Primary Sources*

Construct	Indicator (Operationalization)	Interpretation	Primary Source
Remittance dependence	Personal remittances received (% of GDP), BX.TRF.PWKR.DT.GD.ZS	Macro-level reliance on external labor markets	World Bank WDI + metadata (World Bank Open Data)
Regional migration patterns	Labor/student mobility, displacement & governance summaries	Characterizes dominant corridors and mobility types	IOM Region on the Move
Institutional access to Russia	“Free movement of labor” under EAEU treaty framework	Explains why Russia remains structurally dominant	EAEU official + treaty text
Post-2022 context shock	Shifts in incentives, governance challenges	Interprets volatility and policy adaptation	ICMPD/Prague Process briefs/outlooks (icmpd.org)

Note. The design prioritizes replicable, source-verifiable indicators and regional synthesis products rather than unverifiable point estimates.

Together, Figure 2 and Tables 2–3 establish the methodological foundation for the comparative analysis. The framework clarifies the study’s analytical logic, the case selection strategy, and the empirical basis of comparison. On this foundation, the following section presents the comparative findings, examining how Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan occupy different positions within the Central Asia–Russia–China migration system and how these positions shape migration patterns and development outcomes.

4 RESULTS

This section presents the results of the structured-focused comparative analysis of post-Soviet migration processes in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan. Guided by the analytical logic outlined in Figure 2 and the case selection and data matrix presented in Tables 2 and 3, the results are organized around three core dimensions that directly correspond to the research questions and objectives: (1) migration scale and destination orientation, (2) remittance dependence and exposure to external shocks, and (3) differentiation between Russia-oriented labor migration and China-oriented selective mobility.

4.1 Migration scale and destination orientation

The first set of results addresses RQ1, which asks how post-Soviet migration patterns differ among Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan. Clear cross-case variation is observed in both the scale of migration and the dominant destination orientation.

Kazakhstan exhibits a relatively diversified migration profile. Outward migration exists but does not constitute a dominant livelihood strategy at the national level. Instead, Kazakhstan functions simultaneously as a sending, receiving, and transit country within Central Asia. Migration flows are more balanced, and the country attracts migrants from neighboring states while also engaging in selective outward mobility, particularly for education and skilled employment.

In contrast, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan display classic labor-exporting profiles. Migration from these two countries is predominantly outward-oriented and concentrated

in a single destination corridor—Russia. While both countries rely on labor migration as a household-level income strategy, the intensity and structural centrality of this corridor differ markedly, with Tajikistan exhibiting the highest dependence.

Table 3

Migration Scale and Destination Orientation by Case

Dimension	Kazakhstan	Kyrgyzstan	Tajikistan
Overall migration scale	Moderate	High	Very high
Dominant migration type	Mixed (labor, education, transit)	Labor migration	Labor migration
Primary destination	Mixed / intra-regional	Russia	Russia
Degree of destination concentration	Low	High	Very high

Note. Classification is based on IOM regional migration reporting and comparative synthesis rather than single-year point estimates, consistent with the structured-focused comparison approach.

4.2 Remittance dependence and exposure to external shocks

The second set of results corresponds to RQ2, focusing on how national position within the migration system shapes reliance on remittances and vulnerability to external economic and policy shocks.

Kazakhstan shows low macro-level reliance on remittances. Migration-related income plays a supplementary role rather than a stabilizing one, reflecting the country's broader economic base and internal labor absorption capacity. As a result, Kazakhstan's exposure to fluctuations in destination-country labor markets is limited.

Kyrgyzstan demonstrates a markedly higher level of remittance dependence. Remittances constitute a significant share of household income and national foreign exchange inflows, making migration a stabilizing force in the short term. However, this also increases sensitivity to economic downturns and regulatory changes in Russia.

Tajikistan exhibits the highest degree of remittance dependence among the three cases. Migration-related income functions as a core pillar of the national economy, rendering the country particularly vulnerable to external shocks originating in destination labor markets.

Table 4

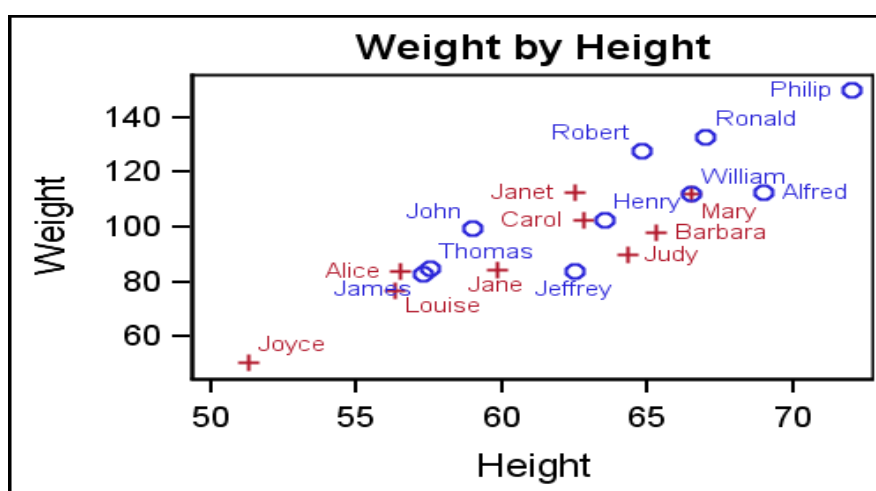
Remittance Dependence and Structural Vulnerability

Dimension	Kazakhstan	Kyrgyzstan	Tajikistan
Remittance dependence (macro)	Low	Medium–high	Very high
Role of remittances	Supplementary	Income stabilization	Economic backbone
Exposure to destination shocks	Low	Moderate	High

Note. Remittance dependence is assessed using World Bank WDI definitions and comparative interpretation rather than precise annual values, ensuring cross-country comparability.

Figure 3

Relative Positioning of Cases by Remittance Dependence and Vulnerability



Note. The figure provides a typological visualization of cross-case positioning based on Table 5.

4.3 Differentiation between russia-oriented and china-oriented migration pathways

The third set of results addresses RQ3, examining how different migration corridors generate distinct migration–development outcomes.

Across all three cases, Russia-oriented migration dominates in terms of scale. This pathway is characterized by mass labor migration, circular mobility, and relatively low skill requirements. Its primary development effect lies in income generation and short-term household stabilization.

China-oriented migration, by contrast, is smaller in scale and more selective. It is primarily associated with education, training, and project-based employment. While this pathway does not generate large remittance inflows, it is more closely linked to skill acquisition and potential long-term human capital formation.

The relative importance of these pathways varies by case. Kazakhstan exhibits the highest degree of engagement with China-oriented selective mobility, while Kyrgyzstan shows limited but growing diversification. Tajikistan remains overwhelmingly dependent on the Russia-oriented labor corridor.

Table 5

Comparison of Russia-Oriented and China-Oriented Migration Pathways

Dimension	Russia-Oriented Migration	China-Oriented Migration
Scale	Large	Small
Dominant form	Mass labor	Education / project-based
Skill profile	Low–medium	Medium–high
Income effect	Strong (remittances)	Limited
Long-term development potential	Low–moderate	Moderate–high

Table 6 compares the main characteristics of Russia-oriented and China-oriented migration pathways in the Central Asia–Russia–China migration system. The table shows that Russia-oriented migration is dominant in scale and is primarily characterized by mass labor mobility with relatively low to medium skill requirements, generating strong short-term income effects through remittances. In contrast, China-oriented migration is smaller in scale and more selective, focusing mainly on education- and project-based mobility, with greater potential for skill acquisition but limited immediate income effects.

Table 6

Pathway Emphasis by Case

Case	Russia-Oriented Pathway	China-Oriented Pathway
Kazakhstan	Moderate	High (selective)
Kyrgyzstan	High	Low–moderate
Tajikistan	Very high	Low

Table 7 further specifies how these two migration pathways are distributed across the three cases. The results indicate that Kazakhstan exhibits a relatively balanced engagement with both pathways, with a stronger emphasis on selective, China-oriented mobility. Kyrgyzstan relies predominantly on Russia-oriented labor migration while showing limited diversification toward China-related channels. Tajikistan is

overwhelmingly dependent on the Russia-oriented pathway, with minimal engagement in China-oriented mobility.

4.4 Summary

The results demonstrate that post-Soviet migration in Central Asia is highly differentiated across countries occupying distinct structural positions within the same regional migration system. Kazakhstan's diversified economic base enables migration to function as a complementary mechanism. Kyrgyzstan relies on labor migration as a stabilizing strategy with moderate diversification. Tajikistan remains structurally dependent on a single migration corridor, facing the highest exposure to external shocks.

These findings directly address the study's research objectives by mapping cross-national variation, linking institutional access and economic structure to migration outcomes, and distinguishing between income-based and skill-based migration pathways. The implications of these differentiated outcomes are discussed in the following section.

5 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusion

This study examined post-Soviet migration processes in Central Asia through a comparative case analysis of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan within the Central Asia–Russia–China migration system. Using a structured-focused comparison approach, the study analyzed how differences in structural conditions and institutional access shape migration pathways and development outcomes.

The main conclusions are as follows:

1. **Post-Soviet migration in Central Asia is highly differentiated rather than uniform.** The three cases occupy distinct positions within the same regional migration system. Kazakhstan functions as a migration hub and partial destination, Kyrgyzstan as a labor-exporting state with moderate dependence, and Tajikistan as a highly remittance-dependent labor-sending country.
2. **Russia-oriented labor migration remains the dominant migration pathway in**

quantitative terms. For Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan in particular, mass labor migration to Russia continues to serve as the primary mechanism for income generation and short-term economic stabilization.

3. **China-oriented migration represents a selective but qualitatively different pathway.** Although smaller in scale, China-oriented mobility—mainly through education and project-based channels—shows greater potential for skill formation and human capital development, especially in the case of Kazakhstan.
4. **High remittance dependence is associated with increased structural vulnerability.** Countries with stronger reliance on remittances are more exposed to external economic shocks and policy changes in destination countries, as illustrated most clearly by the Tajikistan case.

Overall, the findings support the conceptualization of Central Asian migration as a multi-nodal and hierarchical system, in which different migration pathways generate distinct development outcomes depending on national context.

5.2 Recommendations

5.2.1 Current policy recommendations

Based on the empirical findings, several immediate policy implications can be identified:

1. Reduce excessive dependence on single-destination labor markets. Labor-exporting countries should seek to diversify migration destinations and channels in order to reduce vulnerability to economic and regulatory changes in Russia.
2. Strengthen protection and governance of labor migration. Given the continued importance of Russia-oriented labor migration, improving migrant protection, legal access, and social security coverage remains essential for mitigating short-term risks.
3. Support selective and skill-oriented mobility channels. Existing education- and project-based migration channels, particularly those linked to China, should be maintained and expanded as complementary pathways to traditional labor

migration.

5.2.2 Future-oriented recommendations

Looking forward, longer-term strategies are required to improve the sustainability of migration–development linkages:

1. **Integrate migration policy with human capital development strategies.** Migration should be increasingly linked to education, training, and skill certification systems to enhance the long-term developmental benefits of mobility.
2. **Promote return migration and reintegration mechanisms.** Policies encouraging skill transfer, entrepreneurship, and labor market reintegration among return migrants can help convert external mobility into domestic development gains.
3. **Enhance regional and trilateral cooperation.** Greater coordination among Central Asian states, Russia, and China can improve migration governance, facilitate skill recognition, and support more balanced mobility patterns.
4. **Encourage future research using longitudinal and micro-level data.** Further studies should examine how different migration pathways affect households and individuals over time, particularly in terms of education outcomes, skill accumulation, and social mobility.

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Authors' Contribution

All authors contributed equally to the development of this article.

Data availability

All datasets relevant to this study's findings are fully available within the article.

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