MIGRANTS AND MUSCOVITES: THE BOUNDARIES OF BELONGING IN MOSCOW, 1971-2002

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation examines Soviet and post-Soviet Russian attempts to control temporary labor migration to Moscow from 1971 to 2002. Under both the Soviet command economy and the Russian capitalist one, Moscow faced a chronic shortage of workers to fill unskilled, physically demanding positions in the industrial, construction, and transportation sectors. By analyzing how the Office for the Use of Labor Resources in Moscow regulated migration to the capital, I elucidate how the boundaries of belongings in Moscow shifted in conjunction with larger economic and demographic concerns. Soviet policy required that all residents of Moscow (as well as other cities) apply for a residency permit and provide proof of a job before relocating. Russian authorities adapted this policy, requiring all residents – including visitors – to announce their presence with the policy.

Contrary to what might be expected, the registration became a much more repressive tool of exclusion in the post-Soviet period. In the 1970s, Soviet social support, particularly in workers' dormitories, was crucial for the social integration of these temporary labor migrants, known as limitchiki. These programs correlated with reduced labor turnover and increased productivity. Moreover, this dissertation argues that the economic uncertainty that began under perestroika unleashed anti-migrant sentiment. Muscovites held the limitchiki responsible for the capital's untamed population growth and blamed them for taxing the city's infrastructure – the very infrastructure that the limitchiki had been hired to build and maintain.

After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the Office for the Use of Labor Resources worked with the newly established Federal Migration Service to govern migration and attempted to restrict all forms of in-migration to Moscow. While unemployment was pervasive, labor vacancies remained in the transportation and construction sectors, rendering temporary labor migration necessary. However, migrants lacked the social support of the dormitory, and the Office was reluctant to issue temporary registration to labor migrants, refugees, and forced migrants, whom they lumped together as foreigners. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, the Federal Migration Service (FMS) ascribed the same problems to new arrivals that it had to limitchiki, except now these complaints were overtly xenophobic in their nature.

In loving memory:

John R. Elliott, 1924-2012
Eleanor T. Elliott, 1928-2013
Joan P. Elliott, 1959-2014
Anthony M. McSorley, 1943-2016
Eleanor P. Kelly, 1937-2016

You live on in my thoughts and now in my words.

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PREFACE

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INTRODUCTION

The small apartment basement room turned auditorium in Moscow was filled with about 30 spectators to see the premier of Teatr.doc's *Shpatel'* (*Putty Knife*) in February 2016. Aman Karamatdinov, the sole actor in this one man show, billed as a "migrant ballet," sang and danced as he told viewers the story of his adult life. A native of Karakalpakiia in Uzbekistan, he trained in Tashkent and danced with the Nukus Music and Drama Theater. The chaos of perestroika destroyed his dreams of advancing further in ballet and pushed Karamatdinov into early retirement. Unable to make ends meet, he traveled to Moscow to work as a painter. Through song and dance, he explained his battle to procure the proper documents to legally work in Moscow, the city that had once been the capital of his native country, the Soviet Union.[1]

Karamatdinov and other Central Asian and Caucasian migrants replaced earlier cohorts of youthful ethnic Russians who left rural areas in the administrative districts surrounding Moscow in the 1970s and 1980s. The perestroika-era documentary *Limita ili Chetvertii Son'* (*Limit or the Fourth Dream*) examines the lives of such rural to urban migrants, known colloquially as *limitchiki*, who toiled away in Moscow as factory workers, painters, and bus drivers during the late 1980s. Like Karamatdinov, these migrants faced their own struggles in the capital, such as cramped living conditions in dormitories and facing limited acceptance from their Muscovite hosts. But, unlike Karamatdinov, they benefited from an assured path to permanent residency in Moscow.[2]

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[1] Ruslan Malikov, *Shpatel'* (Moscow: Teatr Doc, 2016).

[2] Evgeniia Golovnia, *Limita, ili Chetvertii Son* (Moscow: TsSDF, 1988). During perestroika, documentary films on migration began to discuss the experiences of labor migrants. *Limita* focuses on limitchiki in particular, but *Piatachok* contextualizes the experiences of Russian rural to urban migration from the immediate postwar period onward. See: A. Khaniutin, *Piatachok* (Moscow: TsSDF, 1987).

This dissertation is the story of how the Soviet command economy and later the Russian capitalist one grappled with a problem that many industrialized societies have faced: a shortage of workers who were willing to take on dirty, dangerous, and difficult jobs. This shortage did not inherently result from a lack of able-bodied workers, but instead stemmed from the host population's refusal to take on backbreaking work in factories and construction sites. As in other cities around the world, from Berlin to Paris to New York to Tokyo to Beijing, migrant laborers filled the positions that their hosts would not, leading to significant population growth in Moscow. Between 1970 and 2002, Moscow's population grew by nearly 3,000,000, jumping from 7,00,000 to 10,125,000.[3] While the expansion of the physical boundaries of the city and births contributed to the Moscow's growth in limited ways, the true force behind this population explosion was temporary labor migration that turned into permanent residency.[4]

In this introduction, I begin by introducing the major frameworks and conclusions that I draw from them. This first section provides an overview of both the major findings of my research and a narrative of how temporary labor migration to Moscow evolved from 1971 to 2002. I then move on to discuss the history and historiography of the *propiska*, one of the most important tools for regulating work, residency, and mobility. In the next section, I broaden the scope of my discussion to understand temporary labor migration to Moscow in relationship to the longer history of rural to urban migration as well as to other global migration trends. I follow up this discussion by considering what the study of migration across the Soviet and post-Soviet

[3] For the population of Moscow from 1400 to 1993, please see: Timothy J Colton, *Moscow: Governing the Socialist Metropolis* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1995), 757-8. For the 2002 population, please see: *Vserossiiskaia perepis': Chislennost' i razmeshchenie naseleniia, tom 1* (Moscow: Federal'naia sluzhba gosudarstvennoi' statistiki, 2002), 65.
[4] Colton, *Moscow*, 461-2. Colton addresses natural population growth (births) and the expansion of Moscow's territory. For discussions within the Office for the Use of Labor Resources of the Moscow Executive Committee, please see: Tsentral'nyi Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv goroda Moskvy (TsGAGM), f. 249, op. 2, d. 165, l. 2-5 and TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 211, l. 2-3.

divide offers the study of Russia and the Soviet Union. I conclude with a discussion of the sources used to complete this project.

In this study, I draw upon archival sources from the ministries and local offices that oversaw migration and labor policies in Moscow from 1971 to 2002 as well as documents from enterprises that employed labor migrants. Despite several name changes and bureaucratic reshufflings, the State Committee for the Use of Labor Resources and its local office in Moscow (often referred to as simply "the Office" in this dissertation) both endured through 2002 and provide a consistent thread for understanding how local and federal authorities conceived of migration.[5] While temporary labor migration was a constant and crucial component of filling positions in deficit sectors, migration policy was habitually bound up in larger questions of rallying local labor resources, demographic decline, and other state concerns. In this dissertation, I answer three, overlapping questions. First, what were the larger concerns and state goals that influenced temporary labor migration policy and how did they evolve or change over time? Second, how did these ministries and offices manipulate migration to meet these goals? And third, how did these actions and policies affect migrants' ability to belong in Moscow?

In order to understand how the Office for the Use of Labor Resources and enterprises dependent on migrant labor attempted to manipulate migration to meet its needs, I draw upon the work of Lewis H. Siegelbaum and Leslie Page Moch. In their study of migration in twentieth-century Russian political space, they use regimes and repertoires of migration to make sense of the relationship between personal desires to move and state manipulation of migration. They define regimes as "policies, practices, and infrastructure designed to both foster and limit human

[5] When referring to the federal-level ministry in this dissertation, I provide the entire name, which changed several times throughout the Soviet period. When referring to the local-level office in Moscow, I often use "the Office," meaning local-level policies, decisions, and administrators only.

movement."[6] Regimes represented an official "and evolving approach to how and where people should move."[7] Repertoires, however, are "migrants' own practices, their relationships and networks of contact that permitted adaptation to particular migration regimes."[8] Repertoires and regimes provide a framework for understanding how the Office for the Use of Labor Resources and its successors attempted to manipulate migration patterns that had already existed and dissuade arrivals when it found migration less beneficial.

The tool that mediated the relationship between repertoires and regimes of temporary labor migration was the propiska. In the Soviet period, the introduction of the propiska, or a residency permit, in the 1930s placed restrictions on residency in the largest and most strategically important cities.[9] In order to receive a propiska, a citizen needed to present proof of employment within the city. Moreover, the propiska did more than link employment and residency. It also mediated access to social services and legal rights.[10] However, instead of completely preventing in-migration, the propiska acted as a gatekeeper to the capital, acting in conjunction with other policies that regulated migration.

Although scholars have tended to view the propiska as a restrictive measure to dissuade migration to large cities, I argue that the stick also functioned as the proverbial carrot. The propiska itself was not a sufficient deterrent to prevent migrants from leaving the countryside for

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[6] Lewis H. Siegelbaum and Leslie Page Moch, *Broad Is My Native Land: Repertoires and Regimes of Migration in Russia's Twentieth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2014), 3.
[7] Siegelbaum and Moch, *Broad Is My Native Land*, 3.
[8] Siegelbaum and Moch, *Broad Is My Native Land*, 5.
[9] I will address the development of the propiska below. For works on the introduction of the propiska and passport, please see: Paul M. Hagenloh, "'Chekist in Essence, Chekist in Spirit': Regular and Political Police in the 1930s," *Cahiers du Monde russe* 42, no. 2/4 (2001): 447-475.
Gijs Kessler, "The Passport System and State Control over Population Flows in the Soviet Union, 1932-1940," *Cahiers du Monde russe* 42, no. 2/4 (2001): 477-503; David Shearer, "Elements Near and Alien: Passportization, Policing and Identity in the Stalinist State, 1932-1952," *The Journal of Modern History* 76, no. 4 (2004): 835-881.
[10] For this later stage, please see: Dietrich Andre Loeber, "Limitchiki: On the Legal Status of Migrant Workers in Large Soviet Cities," *The Soviet and Post-Soviet Review* 11, no. 1-3 (1984): 301-08; Victor Zaslavsky, *The Neo-Stalinist State* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1982).

Moscow.[11] However, offering migrants a temporary propiska became an effective tool for coopting temporary labor migration repertoires to meet the need of the official regime. In the 1970s, the overwhelming majority of limitchiki moved to Moscow on their own and sought jobs after their arrival. Enterprises attracted these migrants by offering them a temporary propiska, which entitled them to social welfare provisions that included workplace education and healthcare, a bed in a dormitory, and a pathway to permanent residency in Moscow. For enterprises, this alleviated their labor shortages. This system did not last. I argue that while the propiska initially functioned positively as a carrot that lured limitchiki into meeting official state goals, it became much more repressive in the post-Soviet period.

I begin this study in 1971, which marked the introduction of the Ninth Five Year Plan (1971-1975) and the General Plan for the Development of Moscow. Although the practice of hiring temporary migrant laborers existed earlier, by 1971, the limitchiki were a crucial, if not paradoxical, component of Moscow's projected development. On the one hand, the General Plan intended to limit Moscow's population growth to 7,500,000 by 1985.[12] On the other hand, both the General Plan and the Ninth Five Year Plan called for further development of housing and consumer goods, which demanded more workers to meet these goals.

In terms of larger political developments in the Soviet Union, 1971 marked the advent of developed socialism, one of the most important hallmarks of Leonid I. Brezhnev's tenure.[13]

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[11] Anne White provided one of the earliest studies of this phenomenon. Please see: Anne White, "Internal Migration Trends in Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia," *Europe-Asia Studies* 59, no. 6 (2007): 887-911. Jeff Sahadeo has also argued that Central Asian and Caucasian migrants in Soviet Moscow and Leningrad survived without a propiska or found access to one through semi-legal means. Please see: Jeff Sahadeo, "The Accidental Traders: Marginalization and Opportunity from the Southern Republics to Late Soviet Moscow," *Central Asian Survey* 30, no. 3/4 (2011): 521-540, 522-3.

[12] For an overview of the General Plan, please see: V. Promyslov, "A Matter of Honor for the Entire Soviet People; On the Implementation of the General Plan for the Development of Moscow," *Kommunist* 4 (March 1972): 26-39. For a discussion on the plan's implementation, please see: Colton, *Moscow*, 459-68.

[13] Alfred Evans, Jr, "The Decline of Developed Socialism? Some trends in recent Soviet ideology," *Soviet Studies* 38, no. 1 (1985):1-23, 1-2. While Evans sets the advent of developed socialism, Terry L. Thompson stated in his

From a cynical viewpoint, developed socialism was an ideologically bankrupt term that Brezhnev introduced when it became clear that Nikita S. Khrushchev's promise of achieving socialism in 20 years was impossible. Developed socialism emphasized enjoying the fruits of socialism as it existed, focusing on its material benefits. In a more positive light, developed socialism marked the achievement of Khrushchev's promise of improved material well-being. While shortages continued under Brezhnev, Soviet citizens had access to more goods than ever before.[14] This creation of and increased desire for the good life made temporary labor migration necessary for producing this improved quality of life and shaped migrants' desires to move to the city. Throughout this dissertation, I opt to use developed socialism to describe the period of 1971 to 1985 not only because the advent of the term developed socialism coincides with the beginning of this study but also because it best captures how I understand socialism to have functioned during this time.[15]

The early 1970s also marks growing concerns over the relationship among migration, labor allocation, and demographics that informed official approaches to governing migration throughout this study. Soviet demographers and sociologists noted that the European parts of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR) were getting older and suffering from an acute shortage of laborers. Rural youth in these areas filled positions in the cities, which caused

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1987 research report to the National Council for Soviet and East European Studies that Brezhnev first mentioned developed socialism in 1967. However, it was written into official ideology at the Twenty-fourth CPSU Congress. See: Terry L. Thompson, "Developed Socialism: Brezhnev's Contribution to Soviet Ideology," June 1987.

[14] Natalya Chernyshova addresses this transition from rhetoric to reality. Please see: Natalya Chernyshova, *Soviet Consumer Culture in the Brezhnev Period* (New York: Routledge, 2013). For a collection on consumption and leisure in the Eastern Bloc under both Khrushchev and Brezhnev, please see: David Crowley and Susan E. Reid, eds., *Pleasures in Socialism: Leisure and Luxury in the Eastern Bloc* (Evanston: Northwestern UP, 2010).

[15] Other terms that have been used to describe Soviet socialism in the post-Stalin years are: mature socialism, actually existing socialism, and late socialism. These terms have usually been applied to the Brezhnev period, particularly actually existing socialism. Late socialism and mature socialism are less temporally defined, making them less useful terms for this study. I chose developed socialism because it was the term used by those making policies and best captures the idea that socialism had improved in the postwar years, but was certainly distant from communism.

an even sharper decrease in the countryside. In contrast, the youthful populations in Central Asia and the Caucasus were increasing but largely immobile. Instead of seeking jobs in labor deficit areas, they remained at home.[16] Rural youth in the regions surrounding Moscow were more mobile and desired to move to the city. This alleviated the shortage of laborers there, but led to severe depopulation in the countryside.[17] Alarmed by the pace of rural decline, the State Committee for the Use of Labor Resources of the RSFSR and its office in Moscow sought to rally local workers, such as women and pensioners, and increase labor productivity to decrease the number of laborers needed.

During this period, limitchiki were primarily ethnic Russians from the rural regions near Moscow. While men arrived in slightly higher numbers than women, women were more likely to remain in Moscow.[18] Unhappy with the dearth of material goods and ways to spend their free time, these migrants perceived tough labor in the capital as a means for achieving a more exciting life.[19] Toiling away in positions that Muscovites shunned provided a pathway to

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[16] For discussions on youth and (im)mobility in Central Asia and the Caucasus, please see: William Fierman, ed. *Soviet Central Asia: The Failed Transformation* (Boulder: Westview, 1991); Robert C. Lewis and Richard H. Rowland. *Population Redistribution in the USSR: Its Impact upon Society, 1897–1977* (New York: Praeger, 1979); Nancy Lubin, *Labour and nationality in Soviet Central Asia: an uneasy compromise* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1994). Soviet demographer Viktor Perevedentsev also mentioned the implication of these demographic developments. He argued that the Soviet policy of attempting to hold rural populations in place was flawed. The movement of Central Asian and Caucasian youth to cities would boost productivity in urban enterprises and reduce underemployment in the southern republics of the Soviet Union. For an example of this discussion, please see: V. Perevedentsev, "Population Migration and the Utilization of Labor Resources," *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press* 23, no. 2 (1971): 1-6, 1-2.

[17] For a collection on this topic, please see: A. Z. Maikov, ed., *Migratsiia Naseleniia RSFSR* (Moscow: Statistika, 1973); Zaslavskaia T. I. and R. V. Ryvkina, *Metodologicheskie problemy sotsiologicheskogo Issledovaniia mobil'nosti trudovykh resursov* (Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1974); and L. L. Rybakovskii, *Regional'nyi Analiz Migratsii* (Moscow: Statistika, 1973).

[18] TsGAGM, f. 974, op. 1, d. 11, l. 84-91.

[19] Informants emphasized this point. Mikhail Aleksandrovich Kalinovsky, interviewed by Emily Elliott in April 2016; Natalia Sergeevna Shvetsova, interviewed by Emily Elliott in October 2015; Anna Mikhailovna Smolenkina, interviewed by Emily Elliott in June 2017. Scholarly literature has also addressed the dearth of amenities in the countryside. Please see: L.N. Denisova, *Rural Russia: Economic, Social and Moral Crisis* (New York: Nova Science Publishers, Inc., 1995); Denisova, *Ischezaiushchaia derevnia Rossii: Nechernozem'e v 1960-1980-e gody* (Moskva: Institut rossiiskoi istorii RAN, 1996); O. V. Gorbachev, *Na puti k gorody: Sel'skaia migratsiia v Tsentral'noi Rossii (1946-1985 gg.) i sovetskaia model' urbanizatsiia* (Moscow: MPGU, 2002).

permanent residency in the capital. These migrants used the shortage of laborers in Moscow to achieve these goals and to use a temporary propiska to legitimize their stays.

Moscow's largest enterprises, which included car factories like the Likhachev (ZIL) and Lenin Komsomol (AZLK) Automobile Factories and construction enterprises under the direction of the Moscow State Construction and Assembly Trust (*Mosstroi*), struggled to find a sufficient number of workers within the boundaries of the city even before 1971, the beginning of this study. These enterprises used the already established practice of petitioning the State Committee for the Use of Labor Resources of the RSFSR for a limit, or permission to recruit a specific number of workers from outside Moscow.[20] Well-aware of these shortages, the limitchiki of the 1970s made their way to Moscow on their own and were hired at the gate. In exchange for their labor, limitchiki received not only their wages but also a temporary propiska and bed in a dormitory. In addition to this path to residency, cultural development programs in the dormitories not only fostered Soviet socialist values but also shaped migrant integration, defined as increasing access to consumer goods and individual housing and an understanding of Soviet socialist values as they existed under developed socialism

By the late 1970s, I argue that this happy marriage began to fracture and foreshadowed some of the economic and social problems that would precipitate perestroika. The demographic problems that had been visible earlier now meant that enterprises in Moscow were unable to fill their labor deficits, and by 1985, the city was short over 50,000 workers, which complicated meeting production plans, particularly in constructing housing since limitchiki predominated there.[21] This slump also impeded migrant integration in Moscow. Dormitories scaled back their cultural development programs, that had fostered Soviet socialist values among limitchiki,

[20] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 165, l. 1-4.
[21] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 413, l. 3.

instead focusing on removing undesirable migrants through increased policing of dormitory space.[22]

Despite a renewed interest in ideology and cultural development programs that had facilitated migrant integration, the system of Soviet paternalism, in which enterprise directors and state actors accorded material benefits according to one's contributions to developing socialism, fell apart. Perestroika-era reforms in Moscow set the tone for migrant exclusion for the remainder of the Soviet period and beyond. By linking migration and demographics, the Office for the Use of Labor Resources concluded that migration was not a long-term viable solution for solving issues of labor allocation. Instead, popular discourse, academic studies, and official policy all argued throughout the period that Moscow's population growth had damaged the infrastructure of the city from housing queues to metro lines.[23] Local authorities thus suspended the program as part of their earliest perestroika-era reforms to address what they saw as structural issues with the command economy.[24] In short, I argue that labor migration was a key component of perestroika and cannot be ignored in understanding the breakup of the Soviet Union. Moreover, the anti-migrant sentiment that became endemic in the post-Soviet period had its roots in this period.

In the post-Soviet period, temporary labor migrants continued to fill the same positions in the construction and transportation sectors that their predecessor limitchiki had. For this cohort of migrants, remittances to support livelihoods at home played an important role in the decision to migrate. Like limitchiki, they were predominantly young, but males made up a much larger

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[22] TsGAGM, f. 974, op. 1, d. 285, l. 1-4.
[23] For academic discussions on urbanization and infrastructure, please see: V. I. Perevedentsev, *Kakie my? Skol'ko nas?* (Moscow: Mysl', 1989); and Perevedentsev, *Molodezh i sotsial'no-demograficheskie problemy SSSR* (Moscow: Nauka, 1990). For academic discussions on migration failing to provide enough workers, please see: L. L. Rybakovskii, *Sovremennye problemy migratsii* (Moscow: Mysl', 1985); and V. M. Moiseenko, *Naselenie Moskvy: proshloe, nastoiashchee, budushchee* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1992).
[24] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 1, d. 441, l. 1.

share of this cohort. Migration from the rural areas near Moscow slowed in this period, and temporary labor migrants left both the republics of the former Soviet Union and locations across the globe to find work in Moscow.[25] While the new Russian constitution granted freedom of mobility and Russian courts abolished the propiska system, the registration system that replaced it made legal residency in Moscow difficult for these migrants.[26] The Ministry of Labor and Employment, the successor of the State Committee for the Use of Labor Resources, charged private companies that used migrant laborers, with registering these workers. Companies often actively avoided doing this and offered few of the benefits that Soviet enterprises had. [27] I conclude that despite discourses that extolled the freedom of mobility, the registration was a far more restrictive tool than the propiska.

Instead of seeing similarities between these migrants and limitchiki, Muscovites compared these new arrivals to guest workers and postcolonial migrants. This cohort of migrants was still needed to take on the difficult labor that Muscovites shunned, but high unemployment and the scarcity of social welfare provisions rendered them unwelcome. Refugees and forced migrants who arrived in Moscow in significant numbers throughout the 1990s also struggled to procure registration and found themselves in similar positions to temporary labor migrants, socially and economically marginalized.[28] Moreover, Russia became fully integrated into a global migration system. The erection of hard borders where only internal ones had existed

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[25] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 39, l. 1-5.

[26] For a discussion on the implementation of the registration system, please see: Hilary Pilkington, *Migration, Displacement, and Identity in Post-Soviet Russia* (London: Routledge, 1998): 38-45. For an examination of the registration as a tool of discrimination in the post-Soviet period, please see: Meredith Roman, "Making Caucasians Black: Moscow Since the Fall of Communism and the Radicalization of Non-Russians," *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 18, no. 2 (2002): 1-27. Matthew Light has discussed the difficulty of procuring not only a registration, but other documents required to legally work in Russia as well. Please see: Matthew Light, *Fragile Migration Rights: Freedom of Movement in Post-Soviet Russia* (New York: Routledge, 2016): 45-49, 79-85.

[27] Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii (GARF), f. 10156, op. 1, d. 388, l. 6.

[28] Federal Migration Services in Moscow often discussed these migrants together, regarding them as international or foreign. One such example is: TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 14, l. 1-4.

meant international migration replaced domestic mobility across the former Soviet Union. But, the softening of external borders to the rest of the world also allowed temporary labor migrants from Turkey, the former Yugoslavia, and elsewhere to work in Moscow.

Although temporary labor migrants continue to fill deficits of labor in Moscow to this day, I conclude this study in 2002 when the Federal Migration Service (FMS) was abolished and new laws on citizenship restricted the ability of non-Russians across the former Soviet Union to claim citizenship. Beginning in 1992, FMS had worked under the direction of the Ministry of Labor and Employment. After being transferred to the Ministry for the Affairs of Federation, Nationality, and Migration Politics (*Minfederatsii*), FMS was abolished in 2002 by Vladimir Putin who linked migration policy to issues of national security.[29] By the end of this period, the registration system that had replaced the propiska had become much more restrictive despite initial arguments in the early 1990s that it allowed for increased freedom of mobility.

Tools of Governance

The historiography of the propiska has debated its level of restrictiveness, particularly since its origins aimed to prevent mobility related to collectivization and industrialization. I argue that while its initial intent was to prohibit large-scale mobility from the countryside to the city, the propiska was a highly adaptable tool of governance that changed to meet official needs. Instead, the Soviet dormitory played a more significant role in mediating temporary labor migrants' belonging in Moscow. In the post-Soviet period, the dormitory lost its central role, and the registration became a more brutally restrictive tool that often prevented in-roads to belonging for migrants in Moscow.

[29] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 510, l. 14-26.

The Soviet internal passport and propiska systems, developed in 1932, influenced mobility and migration in the Soviet Union until its end. The Bolsheviks abolished the imperial internal passport system following the October Revolution, but the Joint State Political Directorate (OGPU), created a new internal passport system to regulate the mass movement of people, which resulted from the rapid industrialization and collectivization of the First Five Year Plan. Additionally, the largest and most strategically important cities, known as regime cities, required all residents to acquire a propiska, or official residency registration, in order to legally live in the city. The passport and propiska systems made Soviet society more legible to those governing it, created a hierarchy of privileges, and influenced how citizens viewed specific groups in their society.[30]

The OGPU in conjunction with other policing bodies instituted the passport system in direct response to the tensions wrought by industrialization and collectivization. Soviet planners hoped that the collectivization of agriculture would allow for increased state control over foodstuffs to feed the burgeoning urban population, but the peasants widely resisted collectivization. Less food, coupled with an exploding urban population, meant the Soviet state could not easily meet the food rations promised to its workers.[31] Peasants, leaving their farms in search of food, further increased the population of the cities, and, in the minds of Soviet officials, threatened the stability of these cities. The Soviet authorities viewed these new arrivals as a threat to their power and the stability of cities, fearing that some were "socially harmful elements" that could "contaminate" urban areas.[32] Specifically, these migrants could be kulaks, evading collectivization and undermining the morale of the proletariat. This widespread

[30] Shearer, "Elements Near and Alien," 848-856.
[31] Shearer, "Elements Near and Alien," 852-7.
[32] Shearer, "Elements Near and Alien," 851-2.

vagrancy obstructed plans for collectivization and industrialization, thus hindering the development of socialism.[33]

In response to this crisis, the Soviet authorities instituted internal passport codes and urban residency restrictions to count the populations of the cities and to cleanse these areas of "socially harmful elements."[34] Beginning in Moscow, Leningrad, and Kharkov, passportization returned peasants to the collective farms to increase food production. The NKVD refused passports to the socially harmful elements, which David Shearer defines as, "criminals, fortune seekers, runaway kulaks."[35] The NKVD removed these individuals from the cities, but those who believed they may not be eligible for a passport also fled on their own to avoid being sent to work camps and special settlements.[36]

Within one year of institutionalizing the internal passport system, the NKVD increased the number of regime cities beyond the initial three to include all Union republic capital cities as well as cities with economic or political importance and issued over twenty-seven million passports. The police also issued passports to residents in a fifty to one-hundred-kilometer region surrounding the target cities. These areas acted as buffer zones, which kept socially harmful elements away from the cities.[37] The Soviet police further required that any individual living within the city limits of a regime city have a propiska. The propiska essentially continued what the passport began; it permitted state organs to regulate who inhabited the most important cities. Before issuing a propiska, the police could examine an individual's background and determine if they could live in the city, like the initial passport campaigns.

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[33] Shearer, "Elements Near and Alien," 848-851.
[34] Shearer, "Elements Near and Alien," 852.
[35] Shearer, "Elements Near and Alien," 850.
[36] Kessler, "The Passport System," 477-483.
[37] Shearer, "Elements Near and Alien," 848-856.

While the scholarly consensus agrees that the passport and propiska attempted to regulate migration during a crisis, there has been considerable debate over the wider official motives and outcomes of these systems. Gijs Kessler contends that state officials always intended for the passport and propiska to act as tools of repression. Rural to urban migration, spurred by collectivization and industrialization, meant that the enemy – kulaks – were no longer contained to just the countryside. The passport and propiska permitted authorities to identify enemies and keep them from cities.[38] Paul M. Hagenloh agrees that these systems always had broader repressive goals, primarily policing petty crime since local police had considerable control over issuing and checking these documents.[39] David Shearer places his analysis squarely in the school of modern state building, arguing that passportization "counted and cleansed" the population while ascribing specific identities in passports that made Soviet citizens legible to those who govern them.[40]

If the passport and propiska were restrictive, rural residents were not their only victims. Kessler argues that after the initial passportization campaigns, the propiska assisted in avoiding unemployment in the cities. Factories in the cities could refuse work to anyone who arrived on their own, instead of through organized labor recruitment. While in theory migrants could apply for an internal passport and permission to leave the collective farm, in practice, the NKVD requested that enterprises not take on such workers.[41] Similarly, in his study of Magnitogorsk, Stephen Kotkin argues that the propiska was an important tool for keeping frustrated workers in

[38] Kessler, "The Passport System," 484.
[39] Hagenloh, "'Chekists in Essence'," 447-451
[40] Shearer, "Elements Near and Alien," 874.
[41] Kessler, "The Passport System," 491.

place to prevent disruptions to production.[42] However, Sheila Fitzpatrick's study of the Soviet peasantry suggests that violations of the passport and propiska system were largely tolerated.[43]

What were the lasting legacies of this system after its initial implementation? Shearer argues that "the passport system reflected an increasingly complicated hierarchy of privileges and restrictions, of exclusions, partial exclusions, and graduated constraints on movement that affected the entire Soviet population."[44] While he acknowledges that communal farmers and rural residents more broadly were toward the bottom of this hierarchy, other "ethnic and social strata" also faced discrimination through this system.[45] Collective farmers had less mobility than urban workers, but these rural counterparts could receive passports and permission to leave the collective farm if they had located work or had family members in a city.[46]

Why did this system endure for decades after First Five Year Plan precipitated widespread mobility? Soviet scholars in the 1970s argued that the propiska was a necessary tool for preventing large-scale urban expansion.[47] By regulating the movement of workers from the countryside to the city, the propiska would prevent Moscow from experiencing the negative effects of urbanization seen in Western Europe and the United States.[48] Timothy Colton suggests that this official line became a popular refrain among Muscovites. He recalls that, "Over and over, I heard it said that without coercive restriction, Moscow would be transmogrified, not into

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[42] Stephen Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as Civilization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 101-103.
[43] Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Stalin's Peasants: Resistance and Survival in the Russian Village After Collectivization* (New York: Oxford UP, 1994), 96.
[44] Shearer, "Elements Near and Alien," 839.
[45] Shearer, "Elements Near and Alien," 839.
[46] Shearer, "Elements Near and Alien," 872-875.
[47] One of the biggest proponents of this system was B. S. Khorev. Please see: B.S. Khorev, *Problemy gorodov* (Moscow: Mysl', 1975). Viktor Perevedentsev challenged his assertion that the propiska redirected development to midsized cities, and Khorev responded, drawing upon polls that showed citizens preferred living in small-sized cities. Please see: V. Perevedentsev, "Cities and Years," *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, 21, no. 9 (1969): 8-9; and B. Khorev, "What kind of city is needed?" *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, 21, no. 14 (1969): 12, 27.
[48] Khorev, "What kind of city is needed?" 12.

a New York or London … but into a Russian Calcutta or Mexico City, with bushfire growth, shantytowns, and bruising competition between migrants and indigenes."[49] To the Soviet demographers and sociologists, as well as to the population at large, the propiska was the crucial tool for rationally using labor in the Soviet Union. Some scholarship suggests that the propiska did show some modest success in rerouting rural to urban migration while not completely stopping it. Midsize cities that did not have the same restrictions on in-migration grew at a slightly higher pace than larger cities such as Moscow and Leningrad.[50]

Yet, even in the largest of cities, the propiska and passport often did little to discourage migration.[51] The official preference for regime cities meant that such cities tended to receive more materials for production, more materials for housing, and more consumer goods.[52] While price differentials between regions were low, the differential for access to consumer goods was significant. While the propiska system may have dissuaded some from moving to regime cities, the desire for better access to consumer goods encouraged others to move.[53] In short, the propiska failed at its goals of scientific management of the population and were nothing more than "paper tigers" according to Cynthia Buckley.[54] In fact, in his multiple articles on Central Asian and Caucasian temporary labor migrants in Moscow and Leningrad, Jeff Sahadeo has

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[49] Colton, *Moscow*, 463.
[50] The success of this policy has been debated. Buckley believes the results are nominal at best and can be attributed to a margin of error in statistic keeping. Siegelbaum and Moch note that "millionaire" cities of 1,000,000 people or more continued to hold larger proportions of the urban population throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Cynthia Buckley, "The Myth of Managed Migration: Migration, Control and Market in the Soviet Period." *Slavic Review*, 54, no. 4 (1985), 896–916. 905; Viktor Zaslavksy, *The Neo-Stalinist State*, 145. Siegelbaum and Moch, *Broad Is My Native Land*, 128.
[51] Buckley first referred to the system as a paper tiger. Buckley, "The Myth of Managed Migration," 904.
[52] Silvana Malle, "Planned and Unplanned Mobility in the Soviet Union under the Threat of Labour Shortages," *Soviet Studies* 39, no. 3 (1987): 357-387, 362-363.
[53] Buckley, "The Myth of Managed Migration," 899-904; Malle, "Planned and Unplanned Mobility," 360. Gorbachev, *Puti k gorody*, 93-94.
[54] Buckley, "The Myth of Managed Migration," 904.

outlined the numerous ways in which such migrants either survived without a propiska or found semi-legal access to one.[55]

Scholars expressed their fascination with all that the propiska regulated, thus explaining why living without one would serve as a disincentive for moving to Moscow. One account mentioned how possession of a propiska affected almost all aspects of everyday life. Without a propiska, a person living in the city faced difficulties enrolling in school, receiving medical care, and even picking up packages at the post office.[56] Mervyn Matthews, the prolific author on social stratification in the Soviet Union, pointed out that when those without a propiska received access to social welfare provisions, it was often of inferior quality.[57] Immediately following perestroika, English-language scholarship began referencing limitchiki as footnotes or brief passages in larger works. Often referring to them as domestic guest workers who bore striking resemblance to the gastarbeiter in West Germany, scholars pointed to their tenuous residency rights and marginal existence in dormitories.[58] The saying that Soviet citizens were, "composed of 'three things: body, soul, and passport,"[59] emphasized the all-importance of the passport in everyday life.

Scholarship on the post-Soviet registration system largely treated it as a newer version of the Soviet-era propiska. As Hilary Pilkington stated in her study of Russian returnees in the

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[55] Sahadeo, "Accidental Traders," 527.
[56] Loeber, "Limitchiki," 301-308.
[57] Mervyn Matthews, *The Passport Society: Controlling Movement in Russia and the USSR* (Oxford: Westview Press, 1993), 48-49.
[58] Zaslavsky, *Neo-Stalinist State*, 145; Buckley, "The Myth of Managed Migration," 905, footnote 35; Malle, "Planned and Unplanned Migration," 360. Donald A. Filtzer, *Soviet Workers and the Collapse of Perestroika: The Soviet Labour Process and Gorbachev's Reforms, 1985-1991* (New York: Cambridge UP, 1994), 49; and William Moskoff, *Hard Times: Impoverishment and Protest in the Perestroika Years* (M.E. Sharpe: Armonk, NY, 1993), 157, footnote 39.
[59] Albert Baiburin, "Rituals of Identity: The Soviet Passport," in *Soviet and Post-Soviet Identities*, eds. Mark Bassin and Catriona Kelly (New York: Oxford UP, 2012), 104. The issuance of the passport became part of a ceremony to celebrate citizenship and belonging. Please see: Yu. I. Bokan', et. al. *Nashi Prazdniki* (Moscow: Polizdat, 1977).

1990s, "The propiska is dead. Long live the propiska."[60] While the propiska tied one to a specific residence and regulated their access to social welfare provisions, the registration claimed to abolish these restrictions. Instead, the major difference between the two, according to Matthew Light, is that "registration is technically a right/guarantee and should not regulate access to other rights."[61] And, yet, it did. Registration continued to govern many aspects of daily life from SIM cards to schooling options to name just a few things.[62] Moreover, refugees and forced migrants needed to present registration to claim their rights and social support promised to them under federal law. In cities such as Moscow, authorities often refused registration to these migrants who fled conflict in the former Soviet Union to avoid the costs associated with providing them housing and other social services.[63]

Registration remained an important tool for police work in the post-Soviet period. While Zhanna Zaionchkovskaia claims that the registration was more humane since it did not tie a worker to only one employer, Anne White counters that little actually changed.[64] Temporary labor migrants continued to make their way to Moscow and live alongside other migrants from across the Soviet Union, often working for companies that intentionally failed to provide them with a domicile registration.[65] Life without registration made temporary labor migrants prime targets for police shake downs for bribes. As Meredith Roman notes, migrants received only

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[60] Pilkington, *Migration, Displacement, and Identity*, 39.
[61] Light, *Fragile Migration Rights*, 46. Light acknowledges that registration rarely functioned according to this definition.
[62] Brad K. Blitz, "Decentralisation, Citizenship and Mobility: Residency Restrictions and Skilled Migration in Moscow," *Citizenship Studies* 11, no. 4 (2007): 383-404, 388.
[63] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 39, l. 1-5.
[64] Zhanna Zaionchkovskaia, *Migratsiya naseleniya i rynok truda v Rossii* (Moscow, INP RAN, 1994). White, "Internal Migration Trends," 902-3.
[65] White, "Internal Migration Trends," 902.

three days to register their presence, which was often not enough time. Moreover, Central Asian and Caucasian migrants bore the brunt of these discriminatory shake downs.[66]

This dissertation contributes to the history and historiography of the passport and propiska in several important ways. First, my research supports the idea that the propiska alone did little to affect migration. Instead, the propiska was a flexible tool to assist local and Soviet-level (later federal) officials in their state building goals. In short, the propiska worked in tandem to meet the economic needs of the command economy, labor allocation, and demographic concerns. Hiring limitchiki – and providing them with a temporary propiska – was part of a larger program of rallying labor resources, primarily women and pensioners, within the capital.

Second, a temporary propiska was not a tool to discriminate against rural residents who desired to move to the city or to create a second-class citizenship. Instead, it was a probationary pathway to permanent residency within the capital. Dormitory life was at times difficult with its cramped conditions, but the dormitory was also a location of social integration. Not only did it provide social welfare provisions, but it also offered community and self-improvement through lectures, clubs, and physical activity.[67] Some migrants were let go from work, while others left on their own. But, those who remained through this probationary period helped slow labor turnover, or the constant flow of workers away from their positions in search of new ones, at larger enterprises (thus meeting the goals of the state as outlined in its Five-Year Plans) and gained access to permanent residency in the capital (fulfilling the desires of individual migrants). At this point, as legally-recognized Muscovites, limitchiki faced struggles that were not unique to recent arrivals, such as long housing queues.

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[66] Roman, "Making Caucasians Black," 12.
[67] This undermines what two Russian scholars have said. S. Korolev, "The Student Dormitory in the 'Period of Stagnation,'" *Russian Politics and Law* 2 (2004): 77–93; and V.N. Gorlov "Sovetskie obshchezhitiia rabochei molodezhi," *Otechestvennaia Istoriia* 5 (2004), 177–180.

Third, by considering the continuities between the propiska and registration, I conclude that the registration of the post-Soviet period was a much more brutal tool. Just like the propiska, the registration was used by local officials in Moscow to meet larger economic and demographic concerns. While Soviet Moscow faced endemic labor shortages, post-Soviet Moscow coped with pervasive unemployment. Therefore, in the post-Soviet period, FMS often denied registration to temporary labor migrants to discourage their stay in the capital and reduce their access to social welfare provisions. The widespread closure of dormitories and the transfer of hiring practices to private companies left migrants with few avenues for social support and legal procurement of registration. Moreover, the denial of registration to refugees, forced migrants, and temporary labor migrants left all three groups in a similar social and legal limbo on the margins of society.

The Great Divide: Interventions in Migration History

Temporary labor migration to Moscow can be conceptualized in three separate ways: rural to urban, guest worker, and postcolonial migrations. Rural to urban migration to Moscow from its nearby countryside can be understood as occurring in three waves: imperial pre-World War I, Soviet interwar, and Soviet postwar migrations. By 1970, Moscow's population had more than tripled from the numbers which had been recorded in first Soviet census of 1926, fueled in large part by rural to urban migration.[68] Temporary labor migration to Moscow also bears striking resemblance to other global labor migration trends. In the 1980s, several scholars suggested that limitchiki were Soviet gastarbeiter, drawing comparisons to foreign guest workers in West Germany.[69] Given the arrival of temporary labor migrants from across the former Soviet Union, their loss of shared citizenship with their Russian hosts, and

[68] Colton, *Moscow*, 575-7.
[69] Loeber, "Limitchiki," 301-305. Zaslavsky, *The Neo-Stalinist State*, 144-7.

rising Russian xenophobia in the post-Soviet, scholars have also pointed to the similarities between these migrants to Moscow and postcolonial migrants elsewhere in Europe.[70]

Placing the story of the limitchiki in the *longue durée* of rural to urban migration helps answer questions regarding the relationship between the countryside and the city, the integration of labor migrants, and the development of Moscow. If the initial wave of imperial prewar labor migration to Moscow served to support rural life, by the 1970s, rural to urban migration precipitated the death of the countryside. Initially, rural to urban migration served to support life in the countryside. The need for cash to make redemption payments following the emancipation of the serfs and the bourgeoning Russian industrial sector influenced migrants' migration repertoires. Work as artisans, unskilled positions in factories and the construction sector, and domestic work provided the much-needed cash flow.[71]

In addition to monetary support, this cohort of rural to urban migrants maintained strong relationships to the countryside. Urban workers sent remittances home to the villages. Families came to visit their loved ones in the city, while workers from the same village both supported new arrivals and enforced the social mores of the village.[72] Like rural to urban migrants elsewhere in Europe, host populations also viewed these arrivals as backward or outsiders.[73] Strong relationships with the countryside, however, did not bar integration into Moscow, and

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[70] Madeleine Reeves, "Black Work, Green Money: Remittances, Ritual, and Domestic Economies in Southern Kyrgyzstan," *Slavic Review* 71, vol. 1 (2012): 108-134; Roman, *Making Caucasians Black*, 12; Jeff Sahadeo, "Druzhba Narodov or Second-Class Citizenship: Soviet Asian Migrants in a Post-Colonial World," *Central Asian Survey*, 26, no. 4 (2007): 559–579.

[71] Jeffrey Burds, *Peasant Dreams and Market Politics: Labor Migration and the Russian Village, 1861-1905* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998), 17-40; Barbara Alpen Engel, *Between the Fields and the City: Women, Work, & Family in Russia, 1861-1914*, (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1996): 1-7. In her study of migration in Europe since 1650, Leslie Page Moch demonstrates that using urban work to support rural livelihoods was a phenomenon elsewhere in Europe. Leslie Page Moch, *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2003): 68-75.

[72] Ibid., Engel, *Between the Fields and the City*, 1-7.

[73] For a case study elsewhere in Europe, please see: Leslie Page Moch, *The Pariahs of Yesterday: Breton Migrants in Paris* (Durham: Duke UP, 2012).

migrants in the imperial period faced similar barriers to integration as migrants in the Soviet period. One's initial place of employment tended to play a significant role in determining upward social mobility in Moscow. Moreover, shortages of housing often left migrants dependent on their networks for assistance and threatened downward social mobility. In short, integration of migrants was possible, particularly for the second generation who was born in Moscow.[74]

The Russian Revolution and the ensuing Civil War led to considerable de-urbanization in Moscow as workers left the city to seek food in the countryside, but this reversal did not last long. As I explained in the above section on the propiska, collectivization and industrialization spurred a second wave of large-scale rural to urban migration. According to David Hoffman, 23,000,000 peasants made their way from the countryside to the city between 1926 and 1939. Much to the dismay of party officials, these peasants brought their village ways with them to the city and lacked a political consciousness. Village networks maintained importance in the city, and the presence of peasants transformed the city instead of city life transforming the peasants.[75] However, the more recent focus on subjectivity suggests that peasants in the city may have taken the emphasis on creating the New Soviet Man more seriously than previous studies thought.[76]

A major continuity with the interwar Soviet period and later temporary labor migration to Moscow was the central role of ideology and cultural development. If Hoffman focused on the presence of rural ways in the city, Kenneth Straus provides insight into the ways in which Soviet officials successfully turned peasant workers into a proletariat. The practice of enterprises drawing upon labor reserves that included women, indigenous youth, and migrant youth originated during the First Five Year Plan. In order to attract these laborers, enterprises in the

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[74] Joseph Bradley, *Muzhik and Muscovite: Urbanization in Late Imperial Russia* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 130-172.
[75] David Hoffmann, *Peasant Metropolis: Social Identities in Moscow, 1929-1941* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1994).
[76] Jochen Hellbeck, *Revolution on My Mind: Writing a Diary Under Stalin* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2006).

Proletarian District of Moscow made the enterprise the center of social welfare distribution. Moreover, the focus on technical and ideological education shifted the Soviet focus away from weeding out undesirables to fashioning the New Soviet Man.[77] Most importantly, these programs provided upward mobility for migrant laborers.

Despite restrictions on changing one's place of employment, millions moved to cities following victory in the Great Patriotic War in a third wave of temporary labor migration to Moscow. Demobilized soldiers sometimes headed directly to the cities, but many first returned home to the collective farms. However, policies that restricted the size of personal plots for collective farmers coupled with organized recruitment for postwar reconstruction projects encouraged rural to urban migration. In 1949 alone, 768,000 left the collective farms in the RSFSR, 80 percent of them relying on recruitment to do so.[78] Although collective farmers did not automatically receive a passport, they applied for a temporary one, valid for one year, and an official release from the collective farm. Once in the city, a worker renewed his or her passport at his or her current place of residence if granted a second year of employment there.[79] Such practices highlight the interplay between repertoires and regimes of migration. Official need for labor legitimized personal desires to leave the collective farm, which was spurred by restrictive measures on personal land plots.

While Nikita S. Khrushchev left the passport system largely unchanged, his policies on employment and private plots stimulated new repertoires of migration. Khrushchev permitted the use of private plots to grow flowers, fruits, and vegetables that could be sold in cities. This policy led to an influx of Georgian, Armenian and Azeri small traders into the cities of the RSFSR since

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[77] Kenneth M. Straus, *Factory and Community in Stalin's Russia: The Making of an Industrial Working Class* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1997), 175-210.
[78] Siegelbaum and Moch, *Broad Is My Native Land*, 123-126.
[79] Kessler, "The Passport System," 490-496.

they could more easily cultivate such goods in their subtropical homes. [80] More importantly for the case of temporary labor migration, Khrushchev undid the 1940 labor laws that required official permission to leave one's place of work, giving industrial workers the right to leave their place of employment simply because they no longer wanted to work there.[81]

Soviet citizens did not have unlimited freedom of mobility, but by the 1970s, Soviet citizens enjoyed significant freedom in choosing their type and location of employment. The rural populations of the RSFSR could and did use migration to meet their own needs. However, this freedom of mobility undermined the rational allocation of laborers to meet the economic goals of the planned economy. Instead of relying on organized labor recruitment to facilitate their movement from the countryside to the city, would-be migrants struck out on their own.[82] Their motivations for moving rested on the belief that the city offered a better life. For some, even dirty and difficult jobs in the city seemed less strenuous than the long hours and tough labor on the collective farm.[83] Others desired more excitement or interesting work.[84] In many cases, parents encouraged their children to use migration to avoid the difficult lives that they had endured on the collective farms.[85]

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[80] I.V. Arutiunian, "Natsional'no-regial'noe mnogoobrazie Sovetskoi derevni." *Sotsiologicheskie issledovanie*, 3 (1980), 73–81. Arutiunian focused on the importance of ethnic identity to such migrants. For an overview of the importance of Central Asian and Caucasian migrants to markets, please see: Sahadeo, "The Accidental Traders"; A. Iunusov, "Azerbaizhandtsy v Rossii- smena imidzha i sotsial'inykh rolei," *Diaspory* 1 (2001): 104–113; and Erik Scott, *Familiar Strangers: The Georgian Diaspora and the Evolution of the Soviet Empire* (New York: Oxford UP, 2016): 155-193.
[81] Zaslavsky, *The Neo-Stalinist State*, 47.
[82] V. A. Glazov, E. S. Bolshakova, L. S. Barsukova, and V. E. Rodin, "Osobennosti mezhraionnoi migratsii naseleniia v RSFSR," in *Migratsiia Naseleniia RSFSR*, ed. A. Z. Maikov (Moscow: Statistika, 1973), 32-42, 32.
[83] L. N. Denisova, *Zhenshcheny russkikh selenii: trudovye budny* (Moskva: Mir istorii, 2003), 269.
[84] Perevedentsev, "Cities and Years," 8-9; L. L. Rybakovskii, *Migratsiia naseleniia: prognozy, faktory, politika* (Moscow: Nauka, 1987).
[85] Lewis Siegelbaum, "People on the Move during the 'Era of Stagnation': The Rural Exodus in the RSFSR during the 1960s – 1980s," in *Reconsidering Stagnation in the Brezhnev Era: Ideology and Exchange*, eds., Dina Fainberg and Artemy Kalinovsky (New York: Lexington, 2016), 43-58.

This freedom of movement contributed to rural-urban stratification, leading to the further decline of the countryside. Russian youth from the rural administrative regions near Moscow were much more mobile than youth in Central Asia and the Caucasus. In those republics, the youthful population was larger and tended to remain in the rural economy. As a result, Central Asian and Caucasian youth tended to be underemployed or engaged in private economic activity.[86] The mobility of Russian youth threatened both the rural and urban economies. At least one group of scholars argued that this "trial and error" approach of allowing migrants to strike it out on their own depleted the rural labor force there. Their unorganized arrival in the city also posed a threat to labor allocation.[87]

Official plans for the development of the Soviet economy also influenced migration and the death of the countryside. The Russian language literature in both the Soviet and post-Soviet periods have pointed to economic plans prior to 1971 for shaping these conditions. In the postwar period, economic planners had focused on developing industry in other regions. L. L. Rybakovskii argues that in the postwar period, projects in the far north and east received more attention and resources at the expense of villages in the RSFSR.[88] E. S. Kutaf'eva and M. G. Trudova posit that economic planners often focused their resources on building new structures instead of repairing and modernizing existing ones. This not only drained economic and material resources but also increased the number of workers needed to keep factories running.[89] In 1996, L. N. Denisova summed up the conundrum of the postwar economy by stating, "Large investments were needed for a radical improvement [of the rural economy], but the country did

[86] V. Perevedentsev, "Population Migration and the Utilization of Labor Resources," *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press* 23, no. 2 (1971): 1-6, 1-2.
[87] E. S. Kutaf'eva and M. G. Trudova, "Migratsiia i trudovye resursy (na premere Tsentral'nogo ekonomicheskogo raiona," in *Migratsiia Naseleniia RSFSR*, ed. A. Z. Maikov (Moscow: Statistika, 1973): 133-152, 133-4.
[88] Rybakovskii, *Migratsiia naseleniia*, 18-19.
[89] Kutaf'eva and Trudova, "Migratsiia i trudovye resursy," 135.

not possess the ability to provide for heavy industry, the rural economy, and light industry."[90] The Russian countryside was the big loser of postwar reconstruction.

What did the desperation in the countryside look like? O. V. Gorbachev quoted one group of exasperated collective farmers from Kaluga who stated, "Really, in the country that is building communism, there needs to be a discussion of basic necessities."[91] Gorbachev highlighted the deficit of goods in the countryside, referring to communal farmers who traveled up to 25 kilometers on busses to buy bread and matches and the decline of schools and other social services.[92] L. L. Rybakovskii's study in the 1980s demonstrates how even investments in the countryside made in the 1970s failed to render any practical change. Even rural areas that received more doctors and school teachers as a result of these plans still lagged far behind the average in the RSFSR.[93] The practice of liquidating "villages without futures" captures the death of the Russian countryside. Over 140,000 small rural settlements were liquidated due to their economic ineffectiveness.[94] Rural to urban migration no longer supported rural life; it now destroyed it.

Soviet scholarship also addressed the effects that temporary labor migration that turned into permanent residency had on larger cities, most notably Moscow. These discussions emerged in the 1980s and were certainly shaded by perestroika-era concerns regarding hyper-urbanization. This wave of scholarship confirmed what earlier scholarship in the 1970s had argued. The city grew at the expense of the countryside as rural youth left behind their villages for a new life in the city.[95] But, since Moscow's population grew beyond its projected size, the

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[90] Denisova, *Ischezaiushchaia derevnia Rossii*, 16.
[91] Gorbachev, *Na puti k gorody*, 93.
[92] Gorbachev, *Na puti k gorody*, 93-95
[93] Rybakovskii, *Migratsiia naseleniia*, 33-40.
[94] Denisova, *Ischezaiushchaia derevnia Rossii*, 121-140.
[95] Moiseenko, *Naseleniia Moskvy*, 10; Rybakovskii, *Migratsiia naseleniia*, 75-9.

city's transportation was taxed beyond its functional limits.[96] In the case of Moscow, not only the city itself grew, but so did the satellite cities surrounding it. These cities actually grew at a quicker pace, creating thousands of commuters who entered the city daily.[97] Scholars also considered the conditions that migrants faced in the city, from cramped living conditions to psychological adaptation and continued ties to the countryside. While these studies acknowledged the difficulties of migrant life in the city, they also argued that hyper-urbanization negatively affected all residents of the city.[98]

Placing the limitchiki in the context of rural to urban migration demonstrates how repertoires and regimes of temporary labor migration transformed both the countryside and the city. Initially, labor migrants to Moscow came from the rural areas in the Moscow Region, then those in the administrative regions that abutted Moscow, and then from other parts of the Soviet Union. With each successive wave, a new section of the countryside lost a significant number of its youth. Integration was always possible, but certainly became easier in each successive wave of migration to Moscow, due in no small part to technical training and ideologically-based cultural development programs. Despite becoming Muscovites, these migrants maintained their ties to the countryside through meetings for song in dance in parks and trips home, particularly to bring the goods Moscow offered to the friends and family left behind.

Russian scholars also studied those who moved to Moscow and the effects of migration on Russian identity. The dissolution of the Soviet Union sent migrants from the former Soviet Union to Russia. The first wave of migrants in the early 1990s were primarily ethnic Russians who left due to the loss of social status and, in some cases, armed conflict.[99] By the late 1990s,

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[96] Perevedentsev, *Kakie my?*, 26-28.
[97] Perevedentsev, *Kakie my?*, 104-110.
[98] Perevedentsev, *Kakie my?*, 48.
[99] V. I. Perevedentsev, *Migratsiia naseleniia i demograficheskoe budushchee Rossii* (Moscow: ISP RAN, 2003), 21.

non-Russians arrived in larger numbers.[100] Scholars often argued that these migrants differed from earlier arrivals to the city in their motives for moving. If Soviet migrants found Moscow desirable due to its cultural significance, they found that post-Soviet migrants were propelled by economic motivations, pointing to the importance of remittances for economies in Central Asia.[101] The arrival of non-Russians also engendered discussions of migrant assimilation. On the one hand, scholars discussed mounting Russian xenophobia. On the other hand, they also argued that cultural and linguistic differences, the presence of ethnic enclaves, and the psychological difficulties of living in the city also hindered migrants' belonging in the capital.[102]

When the Soviet Union broke up along ethnic lines, it precipitated studies of the historical roots of nation formation in the Soviet Union as well as the development of ethnic conflict during perestroika.[103] In terms of migration, several discussions have emerged, addressing national identity. One has pointed to the similarities of Central Asian and Caucasian migrants to Moscow to other postcolonial migrants. In particular, these scholars have noted how

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[100] Andrei V. Korobkov and Zhanna A. Zaionchkovskaia, "Changes in Migration in the Post-Soviet States: The First Decade," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 37, no. 1 (2004): 481–508, 486; Sergei Abashin, "Migration Policy in Russia: Laws and Debates," in *Migrant Workers in Russia: Global Challenges of the Shadow Economy in Societal Transformation*, eds. Anna-Liisa Heusala and Kaarina Aitamurto (New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2017), 17-21; Light, *Fragile Migration Rights*, 41; David Carment and Milana V. Nikolko, "Post-Soviet Migration: Regional Context and Modern Development," in *Post-Soviet Migration and Diasporas: From Global Perspectives to Everyday Practices*, eds. Milana V. Nikolko and David Carment (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 2.

[101] E. Iu. Sadovskaia, *Mezhdunarodnaia trudovaia migratsiia v Tsentral'noi Azii v nachale XXI veka: (na primere Respubliki Kazakhstan)* (Moskva: Vostochnaia kniga, 2013); K. V. Bedunkovich, *Regulirovanie trudovoi migratsii v stolichnom megapolise: sotsiologicheskii analiz: monografiia* **(**Odintsovo: ANOO VPO, 2011), 73.

[102] L. V. Ostapenko and I. A. Subbotina, *Moskva mnogonatsional'naia: starozhily i migranty: vmeste ili riadom?* (Moskva: Rossiiskii Universitet Druzhba Narodov: 2014); I. V. Gerasimova, *Vliianie migratsionnykh protsessov na regulirovanie sotsial'no-trudovykh otnoshenii* (Moscow: ID GUU, 2014); and O. I. Vendina, "Kul'turnoe raznoobraziie i 'pobochnye' effekty etnokul'turnoi politiki v Moskve," in *Immigranty v Moskve*, ed. Zh. A. Zaionchkovskaia (Moscow: Tri kvadrata, 2009), 45-147.

[103] For the growing importance of nationalities during perestroika, see: Graham Smith, "Gorbachev's Greatest Challenge: Perestroika and the National Question," *Political Geography Quarterly* 1 (1989): 7-20; For the relationship of nationality to the breakup, please see: Ronald Grigor Suny, *The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution and the Collapse of the Soviet Union* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1993); Vitaly N. Naumkin, ed., *Central Asia and Transcaucasia: Ethnicity and Conflict* (Westport: Greenwood, 1994); Mark R. Beissinger, *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State* (New York: Cambridge UP, 2002).

migrants in the late Soviet and early post-Soviet have filled similar economic roles to postcolonial migrants elsewhere in the world.[104] Others focused on the Russian penchant to blame these migrants from the breakup of the Soviet Union and accuse the migrants of exploiting ethnic Russians.[105] More broadly, these debates overlap with large discussions on how economic conditions have influenced the reception of migrants, the formation of Russian identity and nationalism, and the possibility of migrant incorporation in Moscow.[106]

Does the arrival of migrants from the former Soviet Union and around the world bear any resemblance to postcolonial and guest worker migrations? Since the 1980s, scholars have drawn comparisons between the limitchiki and the gastarbeiter in West Germany. Working low end jobs, living in dormitories, while not enjoying full residency rights made these initial comparisons obvious ones.[107] The dissolution of the Soviet Union also engendered comparisons between postcolonial migrants and Central Asian and Caucasian migrants in Moscow. On the one hand, Russians blamed these migrants for the dissolution of the Soviet Union and saw themselves as bearing the burdens of empire.[108] On the other hand, migrants themselves used their knowledge of their previously shared Soviet culture to fill employment voids in the host society.[109] Russian limitchiki and later Central Asian and Caucasian temporary labor migrants do

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[104] Jeff Sahadeo, "Druzhba Narodov," 559–579; Roman, "Making Caucasians Black." Reeves, "Black Work, Green Money."
[105] Fran Markowitz, "Not Nationalists: Russian Teenagers' Soulful A-politics," *Europe-Asia Studies* vol. 57, 7 (1999): 1183-1198; Andrea Chandler, "Nationalism and social welfare in the post-Soviet context." *Nationalities Papers* 1 39, no. 1 (2011): 55-75.
[106] For an overview of the Soviet roots of anti-Caucasian stereotypes, please see: A. Iunusov, "Azerbaizhandtsy v Rossii," 104–113. For their continued difficulty, please see: Liubov Ostapenko and Irina Subbotina "Problemy sotsial'no-ekonomicheskii adaptsii vykhodtsev iz Zakavkaz'ia v Moskve," *Diaspory*, 1 (2000); O. I. Vendina, "Social Polarization and Ethnic Segregation in Moscow," *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 3 (2002): 216–243; Daphne Berdahl, Matti Bunzl, and Martha Lampland, *Altering States: Ethnographies of Transition in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000). For a recent work on the development of Russian nationalism, please see: Pål Kolstø and Helge Blakkisrud, eds., *The New Russian Nationalism: Imperialism, Ethnicity and Authoritarianism, 2000–2015* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP), 2016.
[107] Loeber, "Limitchiki," 301-308; Zaslavsky, *The Neo-Stalinist State*, 144-146.
[108] Roman, "Making Caucasians Black."
[109] For a perspective on the Soviet case, please see: Sahadeo, "Druzhba Narodov," 559-579.

not fit neatly or completely into either paradigm, but share a major similarity with both. In short, while the Soviet Union was ostensibly *not* a colonial empire, Muscovites drew upon postcolonial tropes to blame migrants for problems that plagued post-Soviet society.[110]

Postcolonial and guest worker migrations are associated with European postwar economic recovery and the creation of the New Europe, a Europe that was home to a much more diverse population. Waves of migrants from across the former British, French, and Dutch empires made their way to the metropoles. In countries such as West Germany, Switzerland, and later the Netherlands bilateral agreements brought migrants from Southern Europe, North Africa, and Turkey to fill labor shortages in factories and other blue-collar, unskilled positions. While both migrations were essential to economic recovery, significant differences exist between both groups. Postcolonial migrants possessed a cultural understanding of the metropole due to colonization, while guest workers may have known very little about the places to which they moved.[111] Moreover, it is important to note that in some cases, European countries relied upon both postcolonial and guest worker migrations.[112]

If guest worker and postcolonial migrations are so closely tied to postwar reconstruction and the New Europe, do Soviet and post-Soviet migration patterns really fit into these

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[110] Some scholars, particularly those who consider the Soviet nationalities policy, have conceived of the Soviet Union as an empire. However, this dissertation demonstrates that the postcolonial label was often used after the dissolution of the Soviet Union to lament Russia's diminished global role. Moreover, although the Soviet Union governed difference and its European regions were more developed, Soviet policy treated non-Russians as citizens of equal status and invested in affirmative action-like programs to benefit non-Russian peoples.

[111] For overviews, please see: Rita Chin, *The Guest Worker Question in Postwar Germany* (New York: Cambridge UP, 2007), 24-29; Stephen Castles with Heather Booth and Tina Wallace, *Here for Good: Western Europe's New Ethnic Minorities* (London: Pluto Press, 1984): 11-28; Ulrich Herbert, *A History of Foreign Labor in Germany, 1880-1980: Seasonal Workers, Forced Laborers, Guest Workers*, trans. William Templer (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990); Carol Schmid, "Gastarbeiter in West Germany and Switzerland: An Assessment of Host Society-Immigrant Relations," *Research and Policy Review* 2, no. 3 (1983): 233-252; Moch, *Moving Europeans*, 177-185; and Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, *The Immigrant Threat: The Integration of Old and New Migrants in Western Europe since 1850* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2005): 113-196.

[112] Liza Mügge, *Beyond Dutch Borders: Transnational Politics among Colonial Migrants, Guest Workers and the Second Generation* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam UP, 2010). Liza Mügge studies the transnational connections of colonial and guest worker migrants.

paradigms? If the major commonality is discrimination and relegation to unskilled labor, why not draw other comparisons? For example, in China, the "floating population" of rural residents who temporarily work in Chinese cities keep the economy running. Like limitchiki and other guest workers, these migrant workers often live in dormitories, separate from the host population.[113] Discrimination and liminality also inform almost every form of temporary labor migration. Changing legal rights and upswings in xenophobic attitudes, particularly during times of economic difficulty, are endemic to global labor migration patterns.[114]

In her introduction to her work on guest workers in West Germany, Rita Chin cautions that overgeneralizing the commonalities among different cases can obscure the historical specificity that influenced both the need for migrants and their receptions in host societies.[115] When taking a synchronic approach, some serious differences emerge between the Russian case and others. As the limitchiki grew in numbers in the 1970s, European governments were beginning to limit guest worker and postcolonial migrations.[116] Limitchiki in this period were also phenotypically and culturally similar to their hosts. Even if cultural development programs in dormitories suggested that migrants were not yet quite Muscovites, these programs relied on the idea of shared Soviet citizenship. By the time that non-Russians began to arrive in significant numbers, Europe had already grappled with questions of integration for over a decade.

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[113] C. Cindy Fan, "The Elite, the Natives, and the Outsiders: Migration and Labor Market Segmentation in Urban China," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 92 (2002): 103-124.
[114] For other global case studies, please see: JoAnna Poblete, *Islanders in the Empire: Filipino and Puerto Rican Laborers in Hawai'i* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014); Yaw A. Deborah, ed. *Migrant Workers in Pacific Asia* (Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2002); Douglas S. Massey and Zai Liang, "The Long-Term Consequences of a Temporary Worker Program: The US Bracero Experience," *Population Research and Policy Review* 3 (1989): 199-226; Douglas S. Massey, Nolan J. Malone, and Jorge Durand, *Beyond Smoke and Mirrors: Mexican Immigration in an Era of Economic Integration* (New York: Russell Sage Press, 2002).
[115] Chin, *The Guest Worker Question in Postwar Germany*, 24-29
[116] Castles *Here for Good*, 28-39; and Moch, *Moving Europeans*, 177-185.

This dissertation suggests new ways that scholars can conceptualize what unites various forms of labor migration. As this case study shows, both capitalist and socialist economies generated labor shortages in unskilled jobs. If the markets and the command economy both succeeded in creating a need for factory and construction workers, they offered little in the way of making these jobs appealing to the native populations in large cities. Migration was an uneasy solution across the globe. It solved the problem of a labor deficit, but it created new ones in its wake. How long should migrants remain in the host country? Where should they live? What rights should they have?

This study also suggests that liminality is a central component of labor migration. Since labor migrants were not citizens of their host countries, they often had only limited legal rights. Moreover, despite employers' desires to occasionally extend residency and work permits, they had fewer guarantees than citizens who could remain indefinitely.[117] Postcolonial migrants also faced issues of liminality despite earlier guarantees to citizenship. While postcolonial migrants in Britain initially shared citizenship with their hosts, successive policies restricted the ability of future waves of migrants to claim citizenship and immigrate to the metropole.[118] Similarly, Central Asian and Caucasian migrants faced similar fates. Immediately following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the Russian Federation adopted liberal citizenship laws, aimed to prevent statelessness. Within the course of a decade, these laws became more restrictive and favored Russian compatriots.[119]

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[117] Chin, *The Guest Worker Question*, 49.
[118] Kathleen Paul, *Whitewashing Britain: Race and Citizenship in the Postwar Era* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1997).
[119] Abashin, "Migration Policy in Russia," 17-21; and Larisa Kosygina, "The Russian Migration Regime and Migrants' Experiences: The Case of Non-Russian Nationals from Former Soviet Republics," (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 2009): 109-137.

The most important similarity in these trends is the governments' false belief that they could stop migration at any time. In West Germany, workers were hired on a temporary basis so they could be sent home in the case of economic downturn. After suspending the guest worker program, family reunification brought more migrants to West Germany.[120] In the case of Britain, restricting citizenship rights did not stop subsequent waves of migrants from the Commonwealth from arriving. In post-Soviet Russia, FMS excelled at creating undocumented workers while failing to prevent temporary labor migration.

The Grand Bargain: Soviet and Post-Soviet History

The study of the Brezhnev period from an historical perspective is a recent phenomenon. The limited scholarship in the 1980s seemed to assume that the Brezhnev period was a dull, gray, and drab as the moniker stagnation implied. Terms such as "consensus," "social contract," and "Little Deal" speak to the interest scholars had in understanding why the Soviet Union endured under Brezhnev. In short, these studies suggested that officials were permissive in allowing citizens to take their own actions to improve their material well-being. These activities ranged from the legal, such as migration to a town or city that provided better access to material comforts, to gray-area activities, which could include private economic activity. In exchange, citizens gave their tacit support for the regime.[121]

With historical hindsight on their side, historians of the Soviet Union have examined the Brezhnev period with a more critical eye, pushing back on the notion of "stagnation." Scholars, such as Mark Edele, Robert Edelman, and Lewis Siegelbaum incorporated analysis on the

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[120] Castles *Here for Good*, 28-39; and Moch, *Moving Europeans*, 177-185.
[121] James R. Millar, "The Little Deal: Brezhnev's Contribution to Acquisitive Socialism," in *Slavic Review* 44, no. 4 (1985): 694-697; Zaslavsky, *The Neo-Stalinist State*, 145; and Linda J. Cook, *The Social Contract and Why It Failed: Welfare Policy and Workers Politics from Brezhnev to Yeltsin* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1993): 1-12.

Brezhnev period into larger studies on Soviet history, pointing to the complexities and paradoxes of the period.[122] In his seminal work, Alexei Yurchak argues that a pervasive sense of disenchantment allowed the Soviet Union's last generation to subconsciously prepare for the end of the Soviet Union.[123] However, through examinations that have included literature, television, and popular responses to Solidarity, a new cohort of scholars have taken on this claim, arguing that state actors and citizens engaged in meaningful and productive ways from the 1970s up to glasnost.[124]

This dissertation takes seriously both the concept of the Little Deal and new critiques on the alleged period of stagnation. I argue that temporary labor migration formed a Grand Bargain that met the needs of migrants, state planners, and enterprise directors. Exercising their freedom of choice, rural youth voted with their feet to seek out the comforts of the city. In doing so, these migrants solved at least one issue that officials faced – attracting and holding laborers at certain enterprises. Dormitory life also provided migrants with technical training and ideologically-driven cultural development programs that facilitated their integration. However, this study also establishes temporal limits on how long this period lasted. By the late 1970s, migrants continued to move to Moscow and to seek out help from officials, but the assistance that migrants desired suggests that state actors were often unable to meet their needs. If such a consensus existed, state

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[122] Mark Edele, *Soviet Veterans of the Second World War: A Popular Movement in an Authoritarian Society 1941-1991* (New York: Oxford UP, 2008); Robert Edelman, *Serious Fun: A History of Spectator Sport in the USSR* (New York: Oxford UP, 1993); Lewis H. Siegelbaum, *Cars for Comrades: The Life of the Soviet Automobile* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2008).

[123] Alexei Yurchak, *Everything was Forever, Until It Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2006).

[124] For early examples, please see: Polly Jones, "The Fire Burns On? The 'Fiery Revolutionaries' Biographical Series and the Rethinking of Propaganda in the Brezhnev Era," *Slavic Review* 74, no. 1 (2015): 32-56; Christine Evans, "The 'Soviet Way of Life' as a Way of Feeling: Emotion and Influence on Soviet Central Television in the Brezhnev Era," *Cahiers du Monde Russe* 56, no. 2-3 (2015): 543-569; Zbigniew Wojnowski, "Staging Patriotism: Popular Responses to Solidarność in Soviet Ukraine, 1980–1981," *Slavic Review* 71, no. 4 (2012): 824-848.

agents went beyond tolerating gray-area activities. They actively sanctioned them by legalizing actions, such as squatting and other propiska violations.

If migrants could find inroads to belonging in this period of limited support in the dormitory and workplaces, these options fizzled out during perestroika. The Anglophone literature that has focused on the social and economic context of perestroika has mentioned the limitchiki in passing to discuss wider frustrations that Muscovites felt.[125] In particular, it framed the limitchiki as invaders and blamed them for the pervasive shortages in the capital. I draw upon these literatures to explain the centrality of limitchiki to the initial implementation of perestroika plans that undid the Soviet paternalist system that had encouraged migrant integration. By suspending the program of issuing enterprises with limits, the Moscow City Soviet (*Mossovet*) and the Office for the Use of Labor Resources highlighted popular frustration with population growth and its resulting social problems. This dissertation argues that the limitchiki were therefore not only peripheral talking points for Muscovites venting their frustrations but also central to economic reforms.

I also argue that perestroika-era reforms resulted in economic and social outcomes similar to those elsewhere around the world. Although the term neoliberalism today is often bound up in understandings and criticisms of the global economic order, the Soviet embrace of neoliberalism should not be too shocking if it is seen in its historical context. At least one group of scholars understand the 1970s as a decade of crisis that had global repercussions.[126] Economic changes in the 1970s had their effects on both China and eastern Europe, although they prompted very

[125] Donald A. Filtzer, *Soviet Workers and the Collapse of Perestroika*, 49; and William Moskoff, *Hard Times: Impoverishment and Protest in the Perestroika Years* (M.E. Sharpe: Armonk, NY, 1993): 157, footnote 39.
[126] Here, I refer to: Niall Ferguson et al., eds., *The Shock of the Global: The 1970s in Perspective* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard UP, 2010).

different reactions and policies in each.[127] As other scholars have shown, the Soviet Union was well ingrained in the global economy, and therefore was not isolated from global economic trends.[128] As Mikhail S. Gorbachev oversaw economic reforms and sought increased global engagement, it is unsurprising that he was at least in part influenced by the neoliberal practices and ideologies taking root elsewhere in the world.[129]

This dissertation is one of the first to argue that Gorbachev's variant of market socialism resulted in neoliberal outcomes. The limited literature that links the global neoliberal turn to perestroika has focused on intellectual debates and ideological concerns, not practical results. Johanna Bockman and Chris Miller have pointed out how Soviet academics drew upon the experiences of Chinese and eastern European economic reforms to determine the best options for Soviet reforms.[130] In particular, Bockman argues that Gorbachev viewed the introduction of the markets as the best method to generate the most wealth that could then be distributed according to socialist values. In this study, I demonstrate that in Moscow, the Office for Labor and Social Issues actively researched unemployment in capitalist countries to brace for what was to come. Moreover, the introduction of market socialism resulted in outcomes similar to those in other neoliberal economies, such as the rollback of social welfare provisions and rising unemployment.

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[127] For a discussion on China, please see: Odd Arne Westad, "The Great Transformation: China in the Long 1970s," in *The Shock of the Global: The 1970s in Perspective*, eds., Niall Ferguson et al. (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard UP, 2010): 65-79. For Eastern Europe, please see: Stephen Kotkin, "The Kiss of Debt: The Eastern Bloc Goes Borrowing," in *The Shock of the Global: The 1970s in Perspective*, eds., Niall Ferguson et al. (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard UP, 2010): 80-93.

[128] For discussions on this issue, please see: Oscar Sanchez-Sibony, *Red Globalization: The Political Economy of the Soviet Cold War from Stalin to Khrushchev* (New York: Cambridge UP, 2014); and Stephen Kotkin, *Armageddon Averted: The Soviet Collapse 1970–2000* (New York: Oxford UP, 2001).

[129] For studies on the transnational and international connections of neoliberalism, please see: David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (New York: Oxford, 2005); and Daniel Stedman Jones, *Masters of the Universe: Hayek, Friedman, and the Birth of Neoliberal Politics* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2012).

[130] Johanna Bockman, *Markets in the Name of Socialism: The Left-Wing Origins of Neoliberalism* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 2011); Chris Miller, *The Struggle to Save the Soviet Economy: Mikhail Gorbachev and the Collapse of the USSR* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2016).

This study is also among the first to examine the (dis)continuities across Soviet and post-Soviet periods. The earliest studies that connected the Soviet and post-Soviet periods are what David Rowley has called "post-mortems" that seek to understand why the Soviet Union dissolved. If this scholarship addressed the post-Soviet period at all, it did so only as a final chapter or epilogue.[131] As the time since the dissolution of the Soviet Union has passed, few scholars have taken up the task of understanding this period of transition in historical context. Political leaders who were central to this political transformation wrote their memoirs, and several collections of oral histories have prompted interviewees to consider their lives across the Soviet and post-Soviet divide.[132] It seems that with the exception of Stephen Kotkin's analysis of high politics from 1970 to 2000, the few studies to address how the dissolution of the Soviet Union affected those who lived in it examine migration.[133]

Studying repertoires and regimes of temporary labor migration elucidates how Soviet practices shaped realities in the post-Soviet period. Economic recession rocked the entire post-socialist world. Societies that had long provided cradle-to-grave social welfare now struggled to supply basic necessities. In Moscow, unemployment that had surfaced in 1990 continued to rise, while life expectancies fell. Yet, Moscow fared better than other parts of the former Soviet Union, and despite unemployment, Muscovites continued to shun jobs in the construction and

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[131] David Rowley, "Interpretations of the End of the Soviet Union: Three Paradigms," *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 2, no. 2 (2001): 395-426. Rowley covers almost every book on this topic as of 2001.
[132] For oral histories, please see: Svetlana Alexievich, *Secondhand Time: The Last of the Soviets*, trans. Bela Shayevich (New York: Random House, 2016); and Donald J. Raleigh, *Soviet Baby Boomers: An Oral History of Russia's Cold War Generation* (New York: Oxford UP, 2012).
[133] Stephen Kotkin, *Armageddon Averted.* For works on migration, please see: Siegelbaum and Moch, *Broad Is My Native Land*; Cynthia Buckley and Blair Ruble, eds., *Migration, Homeland, and Belonging in Eurasia* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2008); and Timur Ia. Valetov, "Mekhanizmy samoorganitsii sezonnykh trudovykh migrantov v SSSR i na postsovetskom prostranstve," in *"Sovetskoe nasledstvo": Otrazhenie proshlogo v sotsial'nykh i ekonomicheskikh praktikakh sovremennoi Rossii*, eds., L. Borodkin, Kh. Kessler, and A. K. Sokolov, (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2010), 253–78. One exception that I located was: Choi Chatterjee, David L. Ransel, Mary Cavender, and Karen Petrone, *Everyday life in Russia: Past and Present* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2015). It is possible others exist, but they are few and far between in the field of history.

transportation sectors. These openings provided opportunities for migrants from across the former Soviet Union and around the world who sought out economic well-being and remittances to support their families.

Many of the practices that are considered post-Soviet had clear antecedents during perestroika, if not even earlier. In the Soviet period, certain positions became marked as "migrant" labor, and this conception continued into the Soviet period. Moreover, the trend of non-Russian migrants arriving from other Soviet republics and even Vietnam through organized labor recruitment began before perestroika. These migrants had already established repertoires of migration that they could use during the chaos of the 1990s, but they now lacked a regime to legitimize their residency and work in the capital. In addition, the decreasing importance of the dormitory during perestroika also limited belonging in the post-Soviet period. This important site of integration, as well as the shared Soviet values that it supported, were gone.

This study also complicates the importance of the loss of shared citizenship in the post-Soviet period. On the one hand, the loss of citizenship meant the loss of protections for migrants. Deportation, fines, and arrests remained constant and real threats. During the Soviet period, the ability to seek out help from state authorities had facilitated belonging, and the dissolution removed that possibly for migrants from across the Soviet Union. On the other hand, Russian citizenship had little to offer its citizens. Harsh economic realities translated in the ability of the state to assist its most vulnerable citizens. Similarly, Russians who did use their citizenship to petition authorities for assistance often received little help, if any at all. Citizenship is an important category, but it is important to not overstate what it offers.

This study elucidates the myriad factors that changed following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, focusing primarily on economic conditions and the role of propiska and

registration in determining belonging. This study is limited in its scope, but it also suggests other modes of inquiry for future scholars. Identities that had been privileged in the Soviet period, such as youth and womanhood, were deemphasized in the post-Soviet period. Moreover, migrants tended to be older and almost exclusively male in the post-Soviet period. Most importantly, this dissertation suggests new avenues for conceptualizing migration in the post-Soviet period. Most scholarship has focused on the experiences of migrants from the former Soviet Union in Moscow, but the fact that migrants from beyond also came to work in Moscow might push scholars to consider these migrants in relationship to the postcolonial paradigm.

On Sources

This dissertation primarily draws upon union and local-level archival sources, many of which have never been used before. Documents from the Office for the Use of Labor Resources of the Moscow Executive Committee during the Soviet period provide a means of following the development of migration repertoires in the Soviet and post-Soviet periods. This local office fell under the direction of the State Committee for the Use of Labor Resources of the RSFSR, whose documents I also use to understand the relationship between local policies and broader policies for managing migration and labor allocation. The Office changed its name several times, reflecting official shifts in how the Office conceptualized the role of migration in relationship to other state management goals.

Focusing on the Office for the Use of Labor Resources offers several benefits, especially for a project that crosses the Soviet and post-Soviet divide. The Office continued its work uninterrupted following the dissolution of the Soviet Union since its work was essential for addressing the new problems related to labor that perestroika reforms precipitated. By following

this continuous thread, I elucidate the evolution of how those charged with governing labor migration understood the relationship of new arrivals in Moscow to the overall functioning of the city's economy. This window into the world of migration policy sheds light on other concerns that influenced official decisions on migration, such as demographic decline, labor effectiveness, and even popular stereotypes about migrants.

This approach also provides the much-needed study of migration that is archival-based. Most studies of temporary labor migration have focused on public opinion surveys, demographics, and interviews. However, this obvious state bias obscures migrants' actual motivations for moving and their voices, which are seldom heard in the studies and inquiries that these officials undertook. Moreover, in the 1990s, the Office shared responsibility for governing migration with FMS, which was mandated to regulate international migration. Therefore, the official focus shifted away from domestic migration for nearly a decade, ignoring the role of domestic migration within the Russian Federation.

To understand migrants' experiences while working in Moscow, I sought out documents from two enterprises that relied on limitchiki: ZIL and AZLK. There, I found collective labor agreements, transcripts of factory committee hearings, and inquiries into life in the dormitories. Additionally, I use documents from the People's Control Committees for the two neighborhoods where the preponderance of the dormitories that housed limitchiki were found. These committees provided a degree of oversight, ensuring that the enterprises that provided dormitory space for these migrant workers met the basic protocols outlined in Soviet law, focusing on sanitary conditions, passport and propiska violations, and cultural development programs. These documents illustrate the practicality of Soviet governance under Brezhnev. Studies dedicated to

dormitory life show that cultural development programs were important not only because they cultivated Soviet socialist values but also because they slowed labor turnover.

I have sought migrants' voices through the letters that they wrote to various state authorities during the Soviet and post-Soviet periods. In the Soviet period, the Priemnaia (Reception Desk) of the Supreme Soviet received thousands of letters from citizens across the Soviet Union, but I zeroed in on those pertaining to issues of housing and domicile registration from migrants turned Muscovites. In the post-Soviet period, would-be migrants sought the assistance of the Ministry of Labor and Social Development for requesting information and material support for their prospective relocations to Moscow. Certainly, these documents are selective in their nature, recounting migrants' hardships and requests for help. However, this study interrogates these letters to understand how migrants interacted with state actors and understood the Soviet and Russian systems to operate. Petitioners invoked concepts, such as socialism, humanitarianism, and democracy, and identities, such as veteran of labor, woman, and mother, to plead their cases. Moreover, the post-Soviet reluctance and inability to investigate and resolve the problems recounted in letters are suggestive of the Russian state's weakness in the 1990s.

I have also incorporated migrants' voices through interviews with migrants who arrived in Moscow in both the Soviet and post-Soviet periods. These oral histories compliment archival sources by providing insights into personal motivations for moving, friendships and romances within the dormitories, and conceptions of belonging in Moscow. Most importantly, migrants themselves speak to the overarching question of this dissertation: How easy was it to belong in Moscow? From their stories, we can hear firsthand how changing policies affected pathways to

belonging. As the Soviet paternalist system began to disintegrate, migrants struggled to achieve social and economic integration in Moscow.

Outline of Chapters

Chapters One and Two address temporary labor migration to Moscow during the Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Five Year Plans (1971-1985). Chapter One highlights the congruity between repertoires and regimes of temporary labor migration. It demonstrates how state actors and scholars linked demography, migration, and labor allocation. It also highlights the importance of the dormitory for facilitating migrant integration. Cultural development programs emphasized Soviet socialist values, while providing a sense of community for migrants. Chapter Two follows the fracture of this system as cultural development programs decreased in importance. While migrants struggled to gain the material benefits that they sought, such as housing, Soviet authorities took seriously their responsibility to help citizens, even if it meant sanctioning gray-area activities.

Chapter Three covers repertoires and regimes of migration during perestroika. This study points to the central role of the limitchiki during Soviet economic restructuring. The earliest plans for economic restructuring in Moscow were written into the Twelfth Five Year Plan and included the suspension of hiring limitchiki. Despite their importance to building infrastructure, they faced popular and official accusations that they overtaxed these systems. While earlier policies protected migrants, the advent of market socialism bore striking resemblance to neoliberalism elsewhere.

Chapters Four and Five examine the post-Soviet period. Immediately following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Russian authorities adopted a policy of "to help but not invite."

In Moscow, FMS did everything it could to prevent in-migration to Moscow. Widespread unemployment plagued Moscow, but temporary labor migrants continued to take on work that Muscovites shunned. However, in this context, official and popular discourse accused them of stealing jobs. By 2002, the Russian Federation adopted a securitization regime that treated all foreign temporary labor migrants as a threat to national security.

CHAPTER ONE

Soviet Socialist Stars: Negotiating Temporary Labor Migration to Moscow, 1971-1977

In 1975, the 25-year-old Natalia Sergeevna Shvetsova left behind her dreams of becoming a grade-school teacher in her native Volgograd and moved with a friend to take on work in one of Moscow's many factories. Factory work in Moscow paid better than her job in Volgograd and provided additional chances for education, but the excitement that Moscow offered was the determining factor that drew her away from her planned trajectory. During our afternoon together in her apartment, she explained that, "Everyone knew there was work in Moscow,"[1] so it was not difficult for her and her friend to sign contracts for work there. Her most prized achievement as a young migrant worker was becoming a cultured individual.

Shvetsova is in many ways representative of an entire cohort of temporary labor migrants, known colloquially as *limitchiki*, who arrived in Moscow throughout the 1970s. She was young, female, and ethnic Russian. She relied on what every Soviet citizen knew: opportunities abounded in Moscow. These opportunities ventured beyond the realm of economics and employment. Instead, these opportunities usually included individual dreams of excitement and desire for cultural experiences like visiting museums or the theater. In other ways, Shvetsova is less emblematic of her cohort. She left a large city for another larger one and was slightly older, whereas most limitchiki were under age 24 and left the rural areas of the Central Region of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR).[2] Her most striking similarity, however, is the fact that she used a state-sponsored migration regime, which allowed

[1] Natalia Sergeevna Shvetsova, interviewed by Emily Elliott, Moscow, Russia, October 2015.
[2] These included the Briansk, Vladimir, Ivanovo, Kalinin, Kaluga, Kostroma, Riazan, Orel, Smolensk, Tula, and Yaroslavl regions near Moscow.

migrants from outside Moscow to work in the city on a temporary basis to legitimize her own repertoire of migration, defined by her personal desires to live in the Soviet capital.

This chapter uses interviews and archival sources from the Office for the Use of Labor Resources in Moscow, the State Committee for the use of Labor Resources of the RSFSR, and migrant-dependent enterprises in Moscow to examine the evolution of temporary labor migration regimes and repertoires as they developed in tandem with each other. The Politburo's anxieties surrounding unchecked migration from the countryside to cities during collectivization and industrialization resulted in the implementation of an internal passport system that shaped future labor migration regimes. However, at the factory level, the need to attract and hold laborers influenced the expansion of cultural development programs that both drew new workers into the labor force while inculcating them with Soviet socialist values. The practice of attracting women, youth, pensioners, and migrant laborers continued throughout the 1970s. Moreover, cultural development programs (referred to as *vospitanie* in Russian documents) in the 1970s that emphasized technical education, physical fitness, and engagement with the humanities through cultural excursions, lectures, and clubs drew upon programs that had originated in the 1930s.[3]

Drawing workers into the workforce was necessary for the command economy to function, and I argue that the Office for the Use of Labor Resources focused significant energy on drawing women, pensioners, and indigenous and migrant youth into the labor force. Although the Soviet Union had some of the highest rates of women in the workforce, the Office desired to attract those women who had never worked or left previous positions to focus on child rearing. In the case of pensioners, Soviet policy dictated that women retire at age 55 and men at 60.

[3] In Russian, the term vospitanie broadly means "upbringing," but in the context of the dormitory, it referred to the development of Soviet socialist values. For an overview of cultural development in factories and dormitories in the 1930s, please see: Kenneth M. Straus, *Factory and Community in Stalin's Russia: The Making of an Industrial Working Class* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1997).

However, retirees were eligible to both collect their pensions and engage in part time work. Last, the Office found that both migrant and Muscovite youth, defined in the Soviet Union as anyone under the age of 30, were in need of guidance in finding positions after completing their education at either the secondary or post-secondary level.

In addition to economic necessities, enterprises in Moscow in the 1970s developed the culturedness and Soviet spirituality of youthful labor migrants through sports, travel, lectures, clubs, and other educational opportunities. I suggest that providing migrants with both material benefits and leisure time activities aligned with the versions of Soviet socialism that Brezhnev supported. Brezhnev argued that developed socialism marked the completion of building socialism, which would slowly perfect itself into communism. Most importantly, for the case of labor allocation and migration, he stated, "It stands to reason that the principle of distribution according to labor still holds good even at this stage of the development of the new system, and will continue to do so for some time."[4] Thus, those who played important roles in the development of the economy, such as limitchiki who filled huge labor deficits, could stand to receive tangible benefits in return. Brezhnev further defined the Soviet way of life as, "an atmosphere of genuine collectivism and comradeship, solidarity, the friendship of all the nations and people of our country, which grows stronger from day to day, and moral health, which makes us strong and steadfast."[5] These values invoked socialism not only as a means of distributing material goods but also as the development of a superior set of values that influenced how repertoires and regimes of temporary labor migration functioned.

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[4] Leonid Brezhnev, *A Historic Stage on the Road to Communism*, 1977, from "Brezhnev on the Theory of Developed Socialism" on *Seventeen Moments in Soviet History*, accessed April 1, 2019. http://soviethistory.msu.edu/1980-2/our-little-father/our-little-father-texts/brezhnev-on-the-theory-of-developed-socialism/

[5] Evans, "The 'Soviet Way of Life' as a Way of Feeling," 543-569. Brezhnev quoted on p. 544.

Such ideas influenced the temporary labor migration regime that attempted to solve the problem of labor allocation and formed a Grand Bargain among migrants, enterprise directors, and economic planners. While providing migrants with the right to move on their own, enterprise directors and economic planners benefited too from the influx of laborers to Moscow. Brezhnev and the Council of Ministers never abolished the passport or propiska systems. However, almost every level of government and ministry worked together to facilitate a temporary labor migration regime that permitted workers to move to regime cities that were short on labor while meeting the material and moral imperatives of Soviet socialism. Soviet demographers and sociologists argued that propiska managed migration by stemming the influx of permanent migrants into regime cities.[6] Anne White countered that such policies failed to meet their stated goals since urban populations continued to grow, and repertoires of migration continued to find ways to subvert official migration plans.[7] I argue that temporary propiski did not manage migration by stemming the tide of new arrivals, but instead helped structure a system that met the values of developed socialism and the Soviet way of life. New arrivals underwent a probationary period, meaning problematic migrants could and would be returned home. The enterprise, which ultimately issued temporary and permanent propiski, provided an adequate quality of life for migrants and developed their physical and moral health.

The probationary period did more than weed out weak workers; it also supported the integration of migrants who remained. While integration is a broad term, I define it here to mean increasing access to consumer goods and individual housing and an understanding of Soviet socialist values as they existed under developed socialism. Soviet socialist values included

[6] For a discussion of this, please see: White, "Internal Migration Trends," 887-911. See also: Siegelbaum and Moch, *Broad Is My Native Land*, 126-140.
[7] White, "Internal Migration Trends," 898-899.

respect and dedication to labor, collectivism, and culturedness, which included an emphasis on being well read and well informed on domestic and international history and events. Broadly speaking, culturedness complimented technical education by providing an emphasis on more humanistic education. These values and the cultural development programs that emphasized them facilitated integration by cultivating an understanding of Sovietness and networks of support in the dormitory.

This chapter also makes several historiographical interventions in discussions of material and youth culture. The promise of material goods and leisure activity encouraged migrants to leave the countryside for the city. The hierarchy of privilege that evolved in tandem with the propiska system favored the distribution of such goods to cities, or specifically, large cities. Migrants hoped that physical mobility would lend itself to upward social mobility and the achievement of "Soviet dreams," which Sahadeo defines as, "accomplishment, comfort, status, and inclusion."[8] Migrants did not necessarily move to find work that met their desires or qualifications. Instead, work, difficult, dirty work, was a means to better access to not only consumer goods, but also leisure activities, education, and excitement in the capital.

Access to material goods increased under Khrushchev and became more ingrained as a promise of the Soviet state to its citizens under Brezhnev, who introduced the idea that socialism as it existed should be enjoyed in the moment. Natalya Chernyshova argues that Khrushchev's focus on consumption was largely rhetorical and that "the Soviet consumer came of age during the Brezhnev decades."[9] Under Brezhnev, the goods that Khrushchev promised were actually produced and the gap between production in heavy industry and consumer goods began to

[8] Jeff Sahadeo, "Soviet 'Blacks' and Place Making in Leningrad and Moscow," *Slavic Review* 71, no. 2 (2012): 331-258, 332.
[9] Chernyshova, *Soviet Consumer Culture*, 2.

close.[10] Moreover, the producers and sellers of these good took seriously the demands of consumers from publishing "interesting" books to shaping more positive and enjoyable shopping experiences.[11]

This study of temporary labor migration in the last decades of the Soviet Union sheds some light on the paradox of work and leisure that Alexandra Oberländer has pointed out. If developed socialism is primarily remembered for low labor productivity, where did these consumer goods come from?[12] Temporary labor migration played a central role in creating the good life that Soviet citizens sought. In the 1970s and early 1980s, they accounted for approximately 80 percent of construction workers in Moscow, building high-rise apartment blocks throughout the capital. Thousands of workers built cars at ZIL and AZLK. Moreover, as Siegelbaum's work on the Soviet car demonstrates, the presence of migrant laborers resulted in dormitories, sports complexes, stores, and other amenities.[13] In short, limitchiki were a necessary component of building the very good life that they sought out in Moscow.

The extant literature has also suggested that the good life correlated with the declining importance of ideology. In her introduction to *Dropping out of Socialism: The Creation of Alternative Spheres in the Soviet Bloc*, Juliana Fürst argues that the culturally stagnant Brezhnev years pushed some to form their own subcultures. While Christopher J. Ward highlights how Soviet authorities, particularly those in the Komsomol, used ideology in selling the importance of building to Baikal-Amur Mainline to the Soviet people, these efforts to develop a Soviet brand

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[10] Chernyshova, *Soviet Consumer Culture*, 3-8.
[11] Jones, "The Fire Burns On?" 32-56; See also: Susan Cohen, "Humanizing Soviet Communication: Social-Psychological Training in the Late Socialist Period," *Slavic Review* 74, no. 3 (2015): 439-463.
[12] Alexandra Oberländer, "Cushy Work, Backbreaking Leisure: Late Soviet Work Ethics Reconsidered," *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 18, no. 3 (2017): 569-590, 572.
[13] Siegelbaum, *Cars for Comrades*, 29-34.

of socialism point to ideological stagnation.[14] According to Gleb Tsipursky, officially sponsored leisure and cultural development, in the form of clubs and sports activity remained important at least throughout the first few years of Brezhnev's rule. However, if earlier cultural development programs encouraged youth to play an important role in shaping cultural development activities, under Brezhnev's tenure, these state-sponsored leisure activities became more hierarchical and focused on physical fitness and patriotism.[15] However, dormitory life in Moscow points to the continued success of and engagement with ideologically-driven cultural development programs well into the 1970s. Seeking the good life involved more than procuring deficit goods. The good life also included a desire to be a cultured citizen who was well traveled and well informed.

This study argues that officially-sponsored cultural development programs played an important role in migrant life in the dormitories into the late 1970s. I suggest that dormitory life was not as restrictive as some have noted, and the cultural development activities there provided practical benefits for migrants.[16] Christine Evans has pointed out how cultural producers used television, which cultivated private leisure time within the home, to evoke positive emotions in viewers that would both create support for the Soviet way of life and increase productivity at work.[17] Like Evans, my work suggests that these programs shaped an environment that promoted good feelings. For enterprises, cultural development programs correlated with increased productivity and decreased instances of absenteeism and hooliganism. For migrants, dormitory life provided avenues for seeking cultured leisure time and social support that resulted in a sense of belonging as they transitioned from migrants to Muscovites.

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[14] Christopher J. Ward, "Selling the 'Project of the Century': Perceptions of the Baikal-Amur Mainline Railway (BAM) in the Soviet Press, 1974-1984," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 43, no. 1 (2001): 75-95, 95.
[15] Gleb Tsipursky, *Socialist Fun: Youth, Consumption, and State-Sponsored Popular Culture in the Soviet Union, 1945–1970* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2016), 205-214.
[16] Korolev, "The Student Dormitory,'" 77–93; and Gorlov, "Sovetskie obshchezhitiia rabochei molodezhi," 177–180.
[17] Evans, "The 'Soviet Way of Life' as a Way of Feeling," 543-569.

The Great Debate

Officials at the State Planning Committee (Gosplan), the State Committee for the Use of Labor Resources, and academics grappled with how to rationally use labor in light of increasing freedom of mobility and the demographic makeup of the Soviet Union. The consensus of Soviet academics held that medium-size cities were optimal for generating productivity and decent living standards. This scholarship supported itself with two main arguments. First, part of the superiority of socialism was its ability to manipulate migration and prevent hyper-urbanization and overpopulation. Second, operating costs were lower in these smaller cities.[18]

By the late 1960s, Soviet demographers and geographers debated the best methods for rationally allocating labor resources. Viktor Perevedentsev, who would later become the dean of Soviet demographers, argued against the status-quo, which resulted in some of his articles in *Literaturnaia Gazeta* receiving the warning "controversial opinion."[19] He argued that while operating costs were nominally higher in large cities, labor productivity was higher there. Moreover, plans for urban development could no longer afford to avoid personal interest in determining migration. In fact, he and other scholars suggested that youth were in search of more excitement, something more easily found in the cities.[20]

The debate on large versus medium sized cities also considered the growth of urban agglomerations. Perevedentsev found that the smaller cities surrounding Moscow grew at a quicker pace than the city itself, providing an importance source of labor reserves. However, others argued that urban agglomerations decreased the quality of life of workers who lived in the outlying cities. Long commute times, sometimes of three hours or more, also ran the risk of

[18] S. Khorev, *Problemy gorodov*, (Moscow: Mysl', 1975).
[19] Perevedentsev, "Cities and Years," 8-9.
[20] Perevedentsev, "Cities and Years," 8-9.

reducing labor productivity in these large cities. Moreover, such centers grew at the expense of nearby rural areas, creating a deficit of workers in rural villages and on collective farms.[21]

Although the system of regime cities remained, they became hyper-developed because of their importance. Perevedentsev noted retrospectively:

> The economic advantages of the big city are what lure so many enterprises and institutions there. Labor productivity is higher, the return on assets is greater, and operating costs are lower. It follows that the chief determining factor in the growth of cities is new industrial construction.[22]

In his estimation, Gosplan disregarded the restraints placed on mobility and opted to open enterprises in larger cities because it was easier and more efficient. Moreover, this industrial development caused growth in other areas – housing, stores, schools, and the like – that were needed to accommodate the growing workforce.

Regime status also went hand in hand with increased access to consumer goods. Jokes and anecdotes from the late Soviet period emphasize the importance of traveling to Moscow to buy goods unavailable elsewhere.[23] Even smaller regime cities reaped the benefits of their status. Kate Brown covers one of the most extreme cases - that of Ozersk in the Urals – home to the *Mayak* plant that produced plutonium. In exchange for their strategically important work, the residents of Ozersk enjoyed access to more and better consumer goods.[24] In sum, regime cities slowly began to offer more of the stuff that made up the good life and needed laborers to meet production goals all while trying to stem the tide of rapid in-migration.

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[21] M. V. Kurman, "Rol' maiatnikovoi migratsii naseleniia i metody ee izucheniia," in ed. A. Z. Maikov, *Migratsiia Naseleniia RSFSR* (Moscow: Statistika, 1973): 103-118.
[22] Viktor Perevedentsev, "Large Cities," *The Current Digest of the Russian Press* 52 (1988): 16.
[23] Conversations with several professors referred to Moscow's importance. Vladimir Alekseevich Supik of Moscow International University recounted how his family from Ukraine visited his family in Moscow every few months to stock up on what they could not purchase at home. Kseniia Mikhailovna Gerasimova of the Peoples' Friendship University of Russia shared several Soviet-era jokes regarding residents of Moscow oblast taking commuter trains to Moscow to choose from the greater variety of and higher quality groceries.
[24] Kate Brown, *Plutopia: Nuclear Families, Atomic Cities, and the Great Soviet and American Plutonium Disasters* (New York: Oxford UP, 2013).

The right to leave one's place of employment at will clashed with Gosplan's and the State Committee for Labor of the RSFSR's desires to rationally allocate labor and reach full employment of the Soviet population. In his study of socialist economies, Janos Kornai points out that the regional availability of workers was often one problem among many others, such as the (lack) of professional training; housing conditions; wage differentials; the advanced planning of the economy; and availability of information.[25] In 1971, the State Committee for the Use of Labor Resources of the RSFSR Labor and its office in Moscow each independently conducted studies of untapped labor resources across the Soviet Union and in Moscow respectively that confirmed Kornai's assertions. Of the 2,700,000 unemployed workers throughout the Soviet Union who wanted to find work, 78 percent, or 2.1 million stated that they were currently not working because the options available to them did not meet their personal requirements. For example, women with children (particularly with multiple children) tended to stay out of the workforce, citing lack of childcare options and long distances required to travel to work as reasons.[26] The study in Moscow found that a major problem facing the workforce there was training did not always match up to the positions available. As a result, youth chose not to join the workforce or delayed entering to attend additional classes to learn new skill sets.[27]

Economic factors influenced the process of determining the number of migrants whom enterprises could recruit from beyond Moscow's borders. Gosplan set forth Five Year Plans that contained production goals and the number of workers needed to complete them. Each all-Soviet and republican-level ministry broke these numbers down further, determining how many workers each enterprise needed. Enterprises took stock of their current workforce and determined how

[25] Janos Kornai, *Economics of Shortage* (New York: North-Holland Publishing, 1980).
[26] GARF, f. 10005, op. 1, d. 195, ll. 85-93.
[27] TsGAGM, F. 249, op. 2, d. 189, ll.1-3.

many workers short they would be for the upcoming plan. They then worked with both the State Committee for the Use of Labor of the RSFSR and the Office for the Use of Labor Resources of the Moscow Executive Committee to find possible workers. The local office tapped pensioners, students, and housewives in Moscow, whereas the republic-level Ministry sought to shift workers from labor rich to labor deficit areas. From there, enterprises determined the number of workers needed from beyond the city and negotiated a limit with the State Committee for the Use of Labor of the RSFSR.[28]

In Moscow, the Office for the Use of Labor Resources prioritized recruitment for twelve of its largest enterprises, which affected imbalances in the distribution of labor power.[29] Negotiating a limit was not a sure-fire guarantee for receiving an adequate number of workers. According to Silvana Malle, Gosplan favored certain branches of industry, which received priority in recruiting workers.[30] Non-priority branches continued to struggle meeting their recruitment goals. Moreover, the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR required enterprises to provide basic housing in dormitories, such as a bed in a room designed for two to four people.[31] The dormitory requirements set forth by the Supreme Soviet further outlined the responsibility of enterprise directors to cultivate the physical and moral well-being of its youthful migrant labor force.

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[28] TsGAGM, f. 126, op. 14, d. 4040, 4041, 4058, 4191, 4403, 4508. The dela listed provide counts of workers according to plan, actually working at a location, and needed from outside the city. Some provide analysis of how workers could be found to fill vacancies.
[29] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 145, ll.1-2. Those given priority were: Glavmosavtotrans, the Department of Passenger Transportation, the Department of Light Automobile Production, Glavmosstroi, the Lenin Komsomol Automobile Factory, the Lickhachev Automobile Factory, Saliut Factory, GPZ-1, the Karacharovskii Mechanical Factory, the Second Moscow Watch Factory, the Department of Trade and Food, and Domestic Utility Services.
[30] Malle, "Planned and Unplanned Mobility," 362-363.
[31] Sovet Ministrov RSFSR, Postanovlenie, 30 Marta 1967 g. N 227, "Ob utverzhdenii primernogo polozheniia ob obshchezhitiiakh (utratilo silu na osnovanii postanovleniia Soveta ministrov RSFSR ot 11.88)."

The new temporary labor migration regime was imperfect and did not address the root causes of territorial stratification. The passport and propiska provided tools for creating hierarchies of distribution for consumer goods, labor power, and the development of enterprises. Viktor Perevedentsev challenged one Gosplan official to run an experiment by changing one regime city's status from closed to open to see if problems of labor distribution solved themselves. The official categorically refused to entertain such an idea.[32] Instead of opening closed cities, Gosplan worked to create a system of temporary labor recruitment, but local enterprises and soviets provided pathways to gaining a permanent propiska. In this sense, White is correct in asserting that such regulations were paper tigers that did not slow the large-scale movement of people from the countryside to the cities. Instead, the cities grew at the expense of the countryside, not only depleting the population, but also resources.

When the passport and propiska systems are viewed as a small part of a larger whole, their successes seem more considerable. Temporary propiski provided a probationary period for workers, and those who did not live up to appropriate standards could be sent home. The lack of state coercion also meant state actors took seriously what workers needed and wanted in a work place. The ability to simply leave if conditions did not meet one's expectations gave the workers some degree of power. Moreover, while state planning failed to solve the problem of territorial stratification, as I argue below, it did develop a system for facilitating the physical and cultural development of youthful migrants.

[32] Zaslavsky, *The Neo-Stalinist State*, 147.

Repertoires and Regimes Legitimizing Each Other

The limitchiki who came to Moscow in the 1970s were a cohort of primarily young, single, ethnic Russian, unskilled workers who hailed primarily from the rural areas of the Central Region. A desire to experience something new, enjoy the cultural amenities the capital had to offer, or escape the monotony of the countryside were some of the main reasons these young migrants left home. Many arrived in Moscow using their own connections and were hired at the gate. In the early 1970s, Moscow's Office for the Use of Labor Resources estimated that 76 percent of all temporary labor migrants in Moscow arrived this way. At this time, temporary labor migration repertoires and regimes were at their most compatible. Migrants used the official regime to legalize and legitimize their desire to move, while the continuous influx of youth helped lessen Moscow's labor deficit.

In addition to the problems that plagued most regime cities, demographic changes within the capital added to Moscow's shortage of laborers. Soviet law required that anyone leaving a permanent place of residence for more than six weeks cancel their propiska. As a result, once people had permanent residency, they often opted not to leave the capital, fearing that they would lose their propiska.[33] Moscow's overall better infrastructure and access to consumer goods dissuaded most from leaving. Moreover, the number of births in Moscow began to decline, suggesting that Moscow followed the international trend of industrialized societies, in which of parents opted to have fewer children. The number of births surpassed the number of deaths by 22,000 in 1971 but only by 13,700 in 1979.[34]

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[33] "Statute on the Passport System in the USSR, August 1974," in ed. Mervyn Matthews, *Party, State, and Citizen in the Soviet Union: A Collection of Documents* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1989): 194-196.
[34] TsGAGM, f. 126, op. 13, d. 526, l. 1 for 1971; TsGAGM, f. 126, op. 13, d. 605, l. 1 for 1979.

In 1971, the Office for Use of Labor Resources of the Moscow Executive Committee debated whom they should recruit to work in Moscow and how, focusing first and foremost on drawing in Moscow's underemployed and unemployed populations. The Office acted as an intermediary between enterprises short on labor and those in search of work. They placed advertisements throughout the city, encouraging workers to inquire with at kiosks for more information regarding available work. In particular, such advertisements targeted housewives, pensioners, students, and demobilizing soldiers. Demobilizing soldiers were usually not from Moscow, but many visited the city immediately following their demobilization, providing a young and strong prospective cohort of laborers.[35]

The Office for the Use of Labor Resources began an all-out labor recruitment campaign in Moscow in 1972. The Office ran 55 advertisements in newspapers and hung 11,570 hand-painted signs throughout the city. They printed an additional 1,500 generic signs that provided the contact information for local recruitment offices. They hung a final set of 1,260 signs in apartment blocks and schools. The Office sponsored two, five-minute radio segments that called upon Muscovites to find work through the Office. It also ran monthly radio segments that showcased a specific enterprise, providing information on the culture of the workplace, its achievements, and available positions.[36]

The Office certified all its posters, pamphlets, and kiosks so prospective workers never needed to question the accuracy of the information they received. The Office redesigned its information booths throughout the city to make them "more aesthetically pleasing" to encourage more would-be workers to inquire for additional information.[37] To assure the legitimacy of these

[35] TsGAGM, f. 259, op. 2, d. 143, l. 3-5.
[36] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d 143, l. 4.
[37] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d 143, l. 1-2.

available jobs to those interested, all published materials needed to have official stamps and all kiosks a certification from Mossovet. The Office funded these advertisement campaigns and the construction of new kiosks by charging enterprises for each advertisement.[38]

Housewives and pensioners had often served in the workforce previously but left to raise children or due to age respectively. The Office for Use of Labor Resources printed over 20,000 pamphlets to recruit housewives to work on a part-time or temporary basis. This accommodated their desire to spend time with their children while also alleviating some of the labor deficit. If pensioners took on temporary work, a shortened workday, or a shortened workweek, they were entitled to collect both payment for their employment and their pension. The Office made large signs, posting them throughout the city, to recruit pensioners to work in grocery stores, post offices, and printing houses, most likely because these locations required less strenuous labor.[39]

The Office for Use of Labor Resources also targeted current students and recent high school and professional-technical school (henceforth PTU)[40] graduates to fill labor shortages. Even high school students age sixteen or older could find work as cleaners on a part-time basis.[41] The Office printed 20,000 pamphlets to provide high school and PTU graduates with information about where they might find work related to their courses of study. Additionally, the Komsomol, or Communist Youth League, held meetings with high school students, Komsomol branches located at Moscow factories held open door nights. During these events, students and their parents visited factories to see the work place and ask veterans of labor, or those who had worked in the same position for over 25 years, questions. Komsomol representatives offered consultation on what sort of education a student needed to pursue to receive work in a given

[38] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d 143, l. 3-4.
[39] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 143, l. 3-5.
[40] In Russian: *professional'noe-tekhnicheskoe uchilishche.*
[41] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 209, l. 2.

position. Moreover, the Komsomol organized lists of all high school graduates in Moscow to inquire about their employment status. They sent postcards to these unemployed graduates, informing them of available positions. In the most desperate of cases, the Komsomol conducted raids, visiting the home of unemployed graduates and referring them to work.[42]

In order to tackle the problem of labor allocation and turnover, AZLK implemented several of its own plans, independent of the work of the Office for the Use of Labor Resources. AZLK was one of the largest factories in Moscow and sought to locate its own labor reserves in addition to the help provided by the Office for the Use of Labor Resources. In the early 1970s, AZLK opened several of its own PTUs, in districts where AZLK built housing for its workers. In 1970, only 26 percent of those who attended AZLK sponsored PTUs went on to work at AZLK. By 1972, that number had already risen to 60 percent. The factory administration also sought out the children of its current employees to fill labor vacancies and hosted its own open door nights.[43]

The Office for the Use of Labor Resources took advantage of the fact that demobilized soldiers usually visited Moscow before returning home. In fact, one informant, Mikhail Aleksandrovich Kalinovsky, now 65 years-old, retired, and originally from Briansk region, explained that he visited his aunt and uncle in Moscow after his demobilization to search for work.[44] Demobilized soldiers appealed to enterprise directors because they were young, strong, and often unmarried. Factories usually struggled to issue propiski to entire families who moved to Moscow on a temporary basis since most dormitory rooms were not designed for families.[45]

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[42] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 227, l. 4-5.
[43] TsGAGM, f.653, op.1, d.1663, l. 9-10.
[44] Mikhail Aleksandrovich Kalinovsky, interviewed by Emily Elliott, Moscow, Russia, April 2016.
[45] In order to issue a residency permit, each person needed a minimum of five square meters for space. For example, a family of 3 would need 15 square meters.

Mosstroi, the construction enterprise in Moscow, and AZLK often requested thousands of demobilizing soldiers from the Office for the Use of Labor for the RSFSR in the early 1970s for exactly this reason.[46] The Moscow Office targeted demobilizing soldiers more intensely than any other group. In 1972 alone, the Office painted 1,000 signs and printed 20,000 pamphlets, geared at recruiting such men. In May and June, all railroad stations ran specific advertisements to recruit soldiers.[47]

The Office for the Use of Labor Resources paid the least mind to recruiting youth from outside the borders of Moscow despite their extreme importance to keeping Moscow's enterprises running. In fact, the only outreach that they completed was hanging posters that provided youth from other cities with the appropriate information for contacting a recruitment office.[48] If migrant youth were an important source of labor for the city, why did these city organs show such limited interest in recruiting them? Most likely, the Office relied on the knowledge that repertoires of migration already pushed thousands of young people from the Soviet hinterland to the capital since 75 percent of all limitchiki who arrived in Moscow in the 1970s on their own.[49] Once in the capital, they sought out work, which would provide them with a temporary propiska, the legal legitimization of their residence in the city.

How and why did these migrants make their way to the city? Very few took advantage of organized labor recruitment. Following victory in the Great Patriotic War, organized labor recruitment had served as one of the main methods to legitimize migration from the countryside to the city, but after Khrushchev's decision to permit workers to leave their place of

[46] For Mosstroi: GARF, f. 10005, op. 1, d. 144, l. 49. For AZLK: TsGAGM, f. 653, op. 1, d. 2222, l. 14.
[47] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 143, l. 8-10.
[48] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 143, l. 4.
[49] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 182. l. 2.

employment, movement outside this official schema began to predominate.[50] For example, of the 2,500 migrants who left the Vladimir Region to work as limitchiki in 1972, only 100 took advantage of organized labor recruitment. Migrants who used this method could seek out the local branch of the Office for the Use of Labor Resources in Vladimir to find out about specific vacancies in Moscow. If they took on work in the capital, they were usually sent to work with Mosstroi and received 200 rubles (a sizeable sum) to relocate to Moscow.[51]

For most, family and friends played an important role in facilitating mobility. Shvetsova, mentioned already, knew work was easy to find in Moscow and relied on the help of a friend to make the arrangements.[52] Kalinovsky is also a case in point. His aunt and uncle, migrants to Moscow 20 years earlier, provided a necessary place for him to stay while he searched for work. After taking on a job, he assisted all three of his brothers in moving to Moscow.[53] In yet another instance, N.I. Kuftina left her younger daughter in the care of the girl's grandmother in their native Kuibyshev. She moved to Moscow to assist her 20-year-old daughter, who worked in AZLK as a limitchik, attended a PTU, and actively participated in dormitory sports. The mother found work at a brick factory in the Beskudnikovskii District in northern Moscow but thought the commute to the southeastern part of the city to help her daughter was too long. She then switched positions to work as a *dvornik*, a person charged with the maintenance of an apartment building, in an AZLK-run dormitory. Such a position offered a temporary propiska.[54] Extended family provided a network of information and support that made migration possible. In some

[50] Glazov et al. "Osobennosti mezhraionnoi migratsii naseleniia v RSFSR," in ed. A. Z. Maikov, *Migratsiia Naseleniia RSFSR* (Mosow: Statistika, 1973): 32-42, 32.
[51] Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Vladimirskoi Oblast (GAVO), f. 3761, op. 1, d. 138, l. 1-2, 6.
[52] Shvetsova, interview.
[53] Kalinovsky, interview.
[54] TsGAGM, f. 653, op. 1, d. 1656, l. 113-4.

cases, the need for support also facilitated migration to join family members who had already moved.

We can assume that relatively few people moved to Moscow as limitchiki to pursue their ideal careers. Despite Shvetsova's desire to become a teacher, she moved to Moscow to work in a factory. Her pay in Moscow was 50 percent higher than the job she had in Volgograd. Shvetsova viewed receiving new training and education as a positive aspect of migration. Physical labor was simply a means to achieve a higher level of culture. During our afternoon together, she repeatedly referred to the cafes she frequented with her coworkers and the performances she saw at the Bolshoi Theater.[55]

For others, temporary employment was a stepping-stone to other opportunities in Moscow. One young man, Bartanov, left Armenia in 1976 to work at ZIL, receiving a temporary propiska to live in a dormitory there. After two years, he enrolled in Moscow State University while continuing to work at ZIL, but the following year, he switched his place of employment, receiving a new dormitory room and a temporary propiska through his new employer. After leaving his second job, he became a master sport trainer in Baumanskii District, leaving him without a propiska or a place to live. He petitioned the Reception Desk (*Priemnaia*) of the Supreme Soviet and received a temporary propiska to live with a relative in Moscow while continuing his studies and employment as a trainer.[56] In this case, employment at ZIL was not the goal in and of itself. Instead, it was a means of legally moving to Moscow, and once in Moscow, Bartanov found work that he considered more interesting and pursued his education at the most prestigious university in the Soviet Union.

[55] Shvetsova, interview.
[56] GARF, f. 7523, op. 136, d 192, l. 58-63.

For many, poor living conditions at home provided a motive for wanting to leave. The hyper-development of large cities led to a dearth of amenities in rural villages and limited access to education, medical treatment and consumer goods. L. N. Denisova, a scholar of rural living conditions in the late Soviet period, highlights how the struggle to evenly distribute resources negatively affected the countryside. A shortage of building supplies, such as bricks and cement, made construction of schools up to 70 rubles more per a student in rural areas, which in turn diminished the capacity for education. Twenty percent of schools had no heat, 30 percent no water supply, and 50 percent no gymnasiums. Additionally, schools were understaffed, and, as a result, most schools used second or third shift systems.[57] The quality of education there prompted the first deputy of the Ministry of Public Education to comment, "What are they [students] doing? Playing dominoes and checkers. The children are asked what they do at their school. They took care of the cattle, helped with the housekeeping, worked in vegetable gardens and orchards. And now we see them playing billiards."[58]

The stratification between rural settlements and the towns and cities also affected access to medical centers and grocery stores, which prompted those living in the villages to perceive it as backward in contrast to the modern city. By the mid-1980s, roughly one third of towns did not have shops of any type and 20 percent lacked cultural centers. Villagers complained that they worked to produce bread and milk, yet had to walk over ten kilometers to the nearest villages for groceries. On average, rural residents spent 160 hours a year traveling between their settlements and larger villages for groceries.[59] Medical facilities were often non-existent as one woman explained,

[57] Denisova, *Rural Russia*, 165-180.
[58] Denisova, *Rural Russia*, 21.
[59] Denisova, *Rural Russia*, 180.

> Our collective farm is situated near the border of the republic 145 kilometers from the district center. Due to unknown reasons, 10 years ago our hospital was closed and people were left without medical aid service…So it is no surprise that young people are fleeing from their native places, houses are empty.[60]

Many parents encouraged their children to leave the village for a more comfortable life in the towns and cities.

Parents' advice to leave the village was even stronger when it came to daughters. Lewis Siegelbaum notes that women faced an overall tougher life in the villages. Demanding physical labor, lack of educational opportunities, and a dearth of marriage prospects encouraged women to plan their future lives in the city.[61] Due to the conditions women faced, they were also more likely to remain in the city. Nearly 44 percent of all limitchiki arrivals in Liublinskii District between 1971 and 1975 left their place of employment, but the statistics exhibit a gendered dimension. Fifty percent of all male arrivals left, while only 32 percent of women did. While limitchiki arrivals were 63 percent male and 37 percent female, the gender gap narrowed by 1975 to 56 percent male 44 percent female.[62]

These migration repertoires and regimes continuously met each other's needs, and in doing so, one legitimized the other. Soviet youth, and in particular, ethnic Russians from rural settlements in the Central Region, desired life in the city, not in the village. The city had more to offer from better pay to cultural opportunities, which, as I will discuss below, their employers provided. These youths tended to eschew the practice of organized labor recruitment and opted to come to the city on their own initiative. In 1971, only 22 percent of all migrants arrived in the capital through such channels, and when broken down by sex, only nine percent of women

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[60] Denisova, *Rural Russia*,170.
[61] Siegelbaum, "People on the Move during the 'Era of Stagnation'," 43-58.
[62] TsGAGM, f. 974, op. 1, d. 11, l. 91.

arrived in this fashion.[63] Men were twice as likely to take on jobs labeled dangerous, whereas women were twice as likely to take on advanced positions that required a higher level of education or special training.[64] This also may have influenced the gendered results of return migration. Men who worked dangerous jobs may have found them less satisfactory than women who found more prestigious employment.

The penchant of youths from outside Moscow to work on a temporary basis offered a means for normalizing their legal status while also satiating Moscow's need for laborers. Limitchiki made up nearly 40 percent of the workforce in the light automobile production and construction sectors. However, not even the unchecked flow of youth from the countryside to the city could remedy Moscow's labor shortage. In the early 1970s, Moscow enterprises usually recruited only between 85 and 90 percent of their proposed limits. While the Office for the Use of Labor Resources desired to recruit 100,000 new workers in 1972, it only reached 88 percent of its goal.[65]

State and Society in the Dormitories

Moscow's enterprises originally viewed their young migrant workers with skepticism. Perhaps informed by the previously discussed Soviet preference for the urban, enterprise directors and dormitory commandants focused on the alleged prevalence of alcoholism among dormitory residents and the spread of disease. Enterprises began to take seriously not only the physical conditions of dormitories but also the "spiritual" well-being of their inhabitants, meaning their engagement with Soviet socialist values. The enterprise administrations' interest in

[63] TsGAGM, f. 126, op. 40, d. 99.
[64] TsGAGM, f. 794, op. 1, d. 11, l. 93.
[65] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 145, l. 1-3.

dormitories demonstrates both Soviet socialist values in the 1970s – respect for work, love of learning, and physical prowess – and how enterprises tried to cultivate these values. These programs provided a framework for being good Soviet citizens by both enticing limitchiki to engage in dormitory life and defining how Soviet leisure time should be enjoyed.

Living in a dormitory in the RSFSR was a contractual agreement between the enterprise[66] and the individual worker. In 1967, the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR laid out the requirements for the enterprise director, dormitory commandant, *vospitatel'*[67] and each individual resident. The policies charged the enterprise director with providing an adequate inventory of furniture, allocating funds for the upkeep of dormitory buildings and their infrastructure, and planning for the completion of all necessary maintenance and renovation in a timely manner. The commandant's primary role was verification of all documents and monitoring the security regime that required all residents to show an appropriate pass to enter the building. For their part, residents needed to maintain tidy living spaces, use all utilities in an economic manner, and help with the general upkeep of communal areas.[68]

Dormitory life for many limitchiki was in the southwestern part of the city. AZLK was affiliated with the Nizhnii Novgorod Automobile Factory, and opened in 1930. Both the factory in Moscow and in Nizhnii had worked closely with Ford, producing cars based on the American company's plans.[69] The factory changed names several times, finally becoming the Lenin Komsomol Automobile Factory in 1968 to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Lenin Komsomol. The Likhachev Automobile Factory, opened in 1916 to meet the Imperial Russian

[66] This included associated factory committees, trade unions, and Komsomol branches.
[67] A teacher/mentor responsible for the cultural development of residents; plural: *vospitateli*.
[68] Sovet Ministrov RSFSR, Postanovlenie, 30 Marta 1967 g. N 227, "Ob utverzhdenii primernogo polozheniia ob obshchezhitiiakh (utratilo silu na osnovanii postanovleniia Soveta ministrov RSFSR ot 11.88)."
[69] Siegelbaum, *Cars for Comrades*, 40.

Army's need for motor vehicles during World War I. Initially, it was the Automobile Society of Moscow, and like AZLK, underwent several name changes before becoming ZIL.[70] Both factories were situated not very far from each other along Moscow's Third Ring Road in the Proletarian District.[71] However, most of their dormitories were located in the Liublinskii and Volgogradskii districts, which were further from the center of the city. Figure 1.1 shows some dormitories mentioned in the dissertation in blue and shows ZIL and AZLK in red.

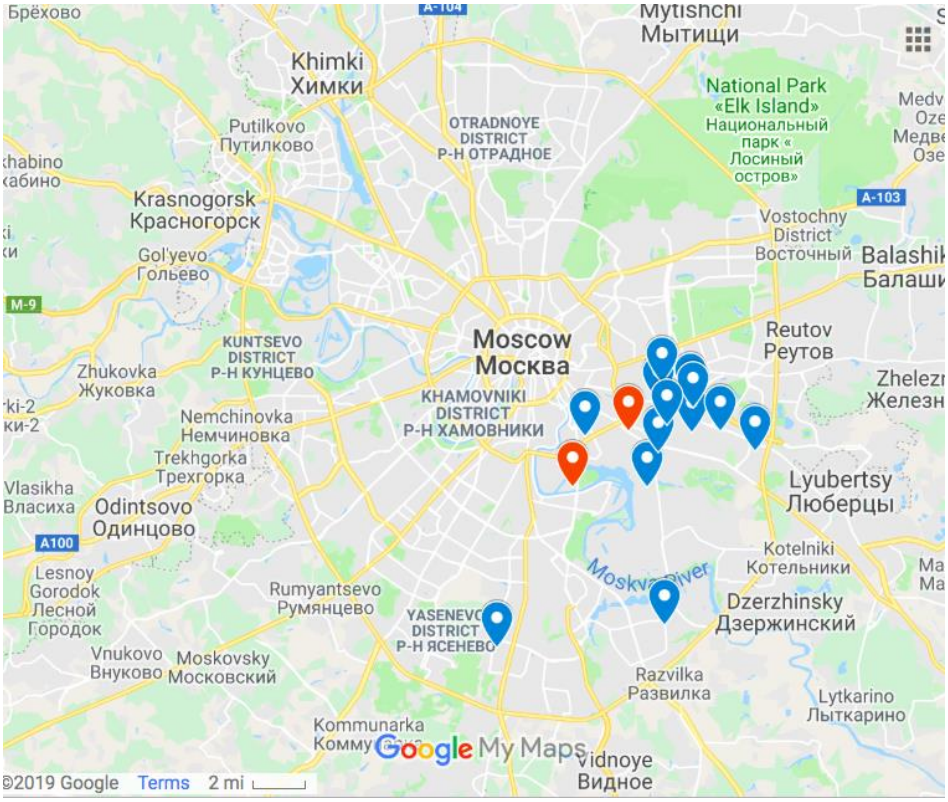

Figure 1.1: Map of Select Dormitories (created by author)

Dormitories were usually segregated by sex, although a handful of dormitories made to accommodate families did exist. Some dormitories were part of larger complexes. Kalinovsky recalled that he would often shout from his window to his future wife, who lived in the

[70] Siegelbaum, *Cars for Comrades*, 10.
[71] Siegelbaum, *Cars for Comrades*, 12.

neighboring dormitory.[72] Long corridors led residents to rooms that they usually shared with one to three other residents. In the women's dormitories, children were usually present as well. The documentary film from the 1980s, *Limita, ili Chetvertii Son'*[73] provides some visuals of the dormitories looked like a decade later. Short on space, women hung clothes everywhere they possibly could.[74] However, the confined spaces bred friendships. Shvetsova remembered how she and her neighbors rotated watching each other's children.[75] A daughter of two limitchiki remembered her excitement when weddings and other celebrations were held in the communal eating area.[76]

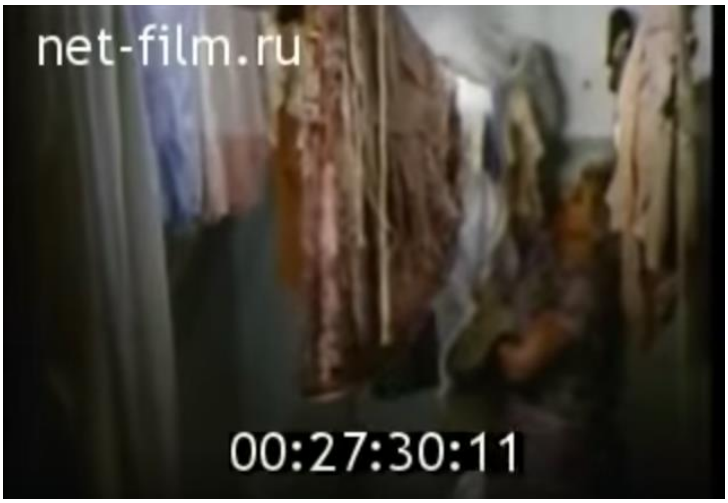

Figure 1.2: Limitchik woman hangs her laundry
Source: Golovnia, Evgeniia. *Limita, ili Chitvertii Son*. Moscow: TsSDF, 1988.

[72] Kalinovsky, interview.
[73] English: *Limit, or the Fourth Dream*.
[74] Golovnia, *Limita*.
[75] Shvetsova, interview.
[76] Oxf/Lev M-05 PF46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61. The life history interviews cited here and coded "Oxf/Lev" were conducted for a project sponsored by the Leverhulme Trust under grant no. F/08736/A "Childhood in Russia, 1890-1991: A Social and Cultural History" (2003-2006). The interviews are © The University of Oxford. The coding system consists of a project identifier, place code (St. Petersburg (SPb.) Moscow (M.), Perm' (P), and Taganrog (T), and villages in Leningrad (2004) and Novgorod (2005) provinces (V)), a date code, a cassette number (PF), and transcript page (e.g. "Ofx/Lev SPb-03, PF8A, p. 38"). For further information about the project, see: www.mod-langs.ox.ac.uk/russian/childhood and www.mod-langs.ox.ac.uk/russian/lifehstory. My thanks to the interviews, Aleksandra Piir (St. Petersburg, Yuliya Rybina and Ekaterina Shumilova (Moscow), Svetlana Sirotinina (Perm'), Yury Ryzhkov and Lyubov' Terekhova (Taganrog), Oksana Filicheva, Veronika Makarov, and Ekaterina Mel'nikova (village interviews), to the project coordinations, Professor Al'bert Baiburin and Professor Vitaly Bezrogov, and to the project leader, Catriona Kelly, for making this material available to me.

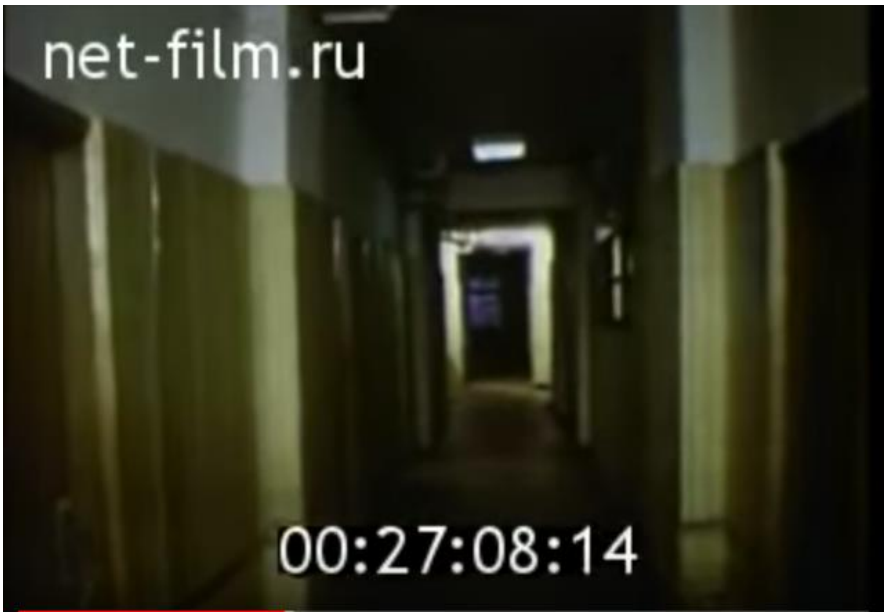

Figure 1.3: Dormitory Corridor
Source: Golovnia, Evgeniia. *Limita, ili Chitvertii Son*. Moscow: TsSDF, 1988.

Figure 1.4: "Entrance for men until 10:00 in the evening"
Source: Golovnia, Evgeniia. *Limita, ili Chitvertii Son*. Moscow: TsSDF, 1988.

At times, enterprises failed to meet the expectations outlined by the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR, falling short of providing adequate living conditions, let alone methods for *vospitanie*, the cultural development of the dormitory residents. In 1974, the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union conducted an all-Union inquiry in to the conditions in dormitories. The Council of Ministers added the renovation of dormitory bathrooms and kitchens as well as the production of sturdier dormitory furniture to the Tenth Five Year Plan. At the city and neighborhood level, People's Control Committees and factory committees oversaw the implementation of these plans, laying out specific development timelines and inspecting their completion.[77]

A similar inquiry in 1975 led by the People's Control Committee of Liublinskii District criticized the conditions of several dormitories in the district.[78] First, the living conditions in dormitories were, at times, nothing short of horrendous. Dormitories, of course, had shared kitchens and bathrooms as well as several workers living in one bedroom. However, in some cases, dormitories were roach infested and lacked basic utilities, such as hot water and gas. Working conditions tended to be less abysmal, but the inquiry placed the blame for high labor turnover on the enterprises, not the workers. Poor living conditions coupled with unpleasant jobs led to high labor turnover.[79]

While investigating dormitory living conditions, the People's Control Committee often handed down strong reprimands to directors for failing to give proper effort in ensuring the well-being of dormitory residents. Enterprise directors, they argued, viewed dormitories only as temporary housing. To the directors, they functioned as little more than places of transition

[77] GARF, f. 5446 op. 108 d. 1314, l. 7-20.
[78] TSGAGM, f. 974, op. 1, d. 11, l. 84-6. In addition to AZLK, Liublinskii District was home to at least twenty other factories and construction brigades that relied on limitchiki for labor.
[79] TSGAGM, f. 974, op. 1, d. 11, l. 90.

before workers moved on to a new job or place of residence. The Committee instructed enterprise directors to become more involved in improving the standards of living in dormitories.[80]

These studies only reaffirmed problems that dormitory directors had already begun to rectify. In 1971, AZLK had 11 dormitories under its control and deemed five of these temporary structures.[81] However, by 1975, AZLK controlled twelve dormitories, ten of which had been completely rebuilt or significantly renovated in the last three years.[82] The dormitory directors and commandants had also worked to combat communicable diseases, namely the flu, that festered under these poor living conditions. The factory committee found that cold, drafty conditions left many in the women's dormitories sick, and as a result, these women missed more days from work. The committee planned to offer flu shots to prevent both illness and lost labor time.[83]

Dormitory commandants complained that men were susceptible to alcoholism and further argued that enterprise directors and workshop foreman paid little mind to the problem because these men still performed adequately at work.[84] The factory committee meeting transcripts show just the opposite. The enterprise administration viewed alcoholism as a leading cause for absenteeism for both migrants and native Muscovites. The committee forced its most serious offenders to undergo treatment for alcoholism and offered monthly seminars to combat alcoholism.[85]

By the mid-1970s, the vospitatel' had the singular most important role in the dormitory – the cultivation of Soviet values and ideology among youthful migrant residents – and his or her

[80] TsGAGM, f. 974, op. 1, d. 11, l. 92.
[81] TsGAGM, f. 653, op. 1, d. 1657, l. 27.
[82] TsGAGM, f. 653, op. 1, d. 1870, l. 12-21.
[83] TsGAGM, f. 653, op. 1, d. 1656, l. 41.
[84] TsGAGM, f. 653, op. 1, d. 1559, l. 2-7.
[85] TsGAGM, f. 1851, d. 1, d. 766, l. 53.

work defined the relationship between migrants and their employing enterprise. The vospitatel' had a relatively large assignment, charged with the physical, educational, and cultural development of all residents. The vospitatel' explored the interests of residents to determine the best way to help in their development.[86] This role went beyond providing areas for study and physical activity to also include the development of clubs, sports teams, and cultural activities that ranged from lectures to excursions around Moscow.[87] While all other parties enforced sanitary norms, which regulated the size of physical space allocated to each resident, and discipline procedures, the vospitatel' "cultivated the spirit of collectivism and camaraderie," and "increased the social activism, general educational, political, and cultural level of residents."[88]

The tendency of the enterprise leadership to conflate migrants from beyond Moscow's borders with youth in general influenced the approach of the vospitatel' to his work. The director of AZLK stated, "It is no secret that we, like many other enterprises, fulfill our quota of workers through the system of hiring limitchiki, meaning we accept youth from outside the city."[89] In his estimation, a limitchik was, by definition, a young migrant. In Soviet parlance, all workers under the age of 30 were youths, and over 94 percent of limitchiki, at least in Liublinskii District, fell into this category.[90]

Since many migrants arrived with minimal, if any, job training, the first order of business was raising their educational level. The factory committee required any worker under the age of 30 who had not graduated from the eighth-grade to complete their education.[91] This applied to

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[86] Sovet Ministrov RSFSR, Postanovlenie, 30 Marta 1967 g. N 227, "Ob utverzhdenii primernogo polozheniia ob obshchezhitiiakh (utratilo silu na osnovanii postanovleniia Soveta ministrov RSFSR ot 11.88)."
[87] TsGAGM, f. 653, op. 1, d. 1769, l. 5.
[88] Sovet Ministrov RSFSR, Postanovlenie, 30 Marta 1967 g. N 227, "Ob utverzhdenii primernogo polozheniia ob obshchezhitiiakh (utratilo silu na osnovanii postanovleniia Soveta ministrov RSFSR ot 11.88)."
[89] TsGAGM, f. 653 op. 1 d. 1775, l. 2.
[90] TsGAGM, f. 974, op. 1, d. 11, l. 88.
[91] In the Soviet Union, graduating the eighth-grade was called an incomplete middle education. Such workers did not attain the incomplete middle level.

only a few individuals. In 1972, only ten of all of AZLK's workers fell into this category, and by 1975, none did.[92] On average, AZLK had 1,000 workers with an incomplete middle education and usually offered 600 annually the chance to work toward achieving a complete secondary education.[93]

The administration required all workers under age 20 to participate in its mentoring program, working alongside veterans of labor to develop their problem-solving skills. Mentors participated in a course of study that included six lectures and two seminars to prepare them to instill a respect for communist labor in their mentees.[94] The mentors were predominantly older workers (*rabochie)* with a completed secondary school education. Of the 790 mentors, 615 were over age 30. Five hundred sixty completed their secondary education.[95] These mentors oversaw the development of approximately 1,200 youths under age 20 every year. It is difficult to gauge the overall success of the program based on the archival information, but at least one young participant found success. A young girl with the last name Vernova arrived at AZLK with no profession in mind. Her mentor encouraged her to enroll in a PTU, which she eventually did. Within several years, she had been elected to the district soviet and credited her mentor with her success.[96]

Limitchiki also pursued a variety of other educational pursuits from enrolling in PTUs and colleges (VUZ)[97] to simply increasing their workplace qualifications. In Liublinskii District, almost 90 percent of all limitchiki had taken a course of some sort. Twenty-five percent of limitchiki enrolled in either a VUZ or PTU, and they accounted for 40 percent of all students in

[92] TsGAGM, f. 653, op. 1, d. 1774, l. 1.
[93] TsGAGM, f. 653, op. 1, d. 1870 and 2235.
[94] TsGAGM, f. 653, op. 1, d. 1884, l. 18-20.
[95] TsGAGM, f. 653, op. 1, d. 1883, l. 22.
[96] TsGAGM, f. 653, op. 1, d. 1997, l. 9.
[97] In Russian: vysshee uchebnoe zavedenie. A VUZ was significantly more prestigious than a PTU.

enterprise-sponsored PTUs.[98] The overwhelming majority of limitchiki took courses to increase their work qualifications instead of enrolling in a formal program of study. Approximately 50 percent of all workers who studied for a new profession received a job in that profession by 1975.[99]

The Communist Party and Komsomol saw youth as the ideological future of Soviet socialism and sought to raise their level of culturedness. For instance, ZIL's factory trade union committee set forth a yearly plan for the cultural development of all its youth workers. In addition to offering courses to increase one's skill level, the committee also created a workplace library with books appropriate for those studying in technical schools. The factory was obliged to offer no less than ten cultural excursions in Moscow and Moscow oblast and hold courses on technological development and factory machinery annually.[100]

In its most basic form, culturedness relied on opening libraries and red corners that honored socialism to expose workers to socialist values.[101] At AZLK alone, 2,000 migrants used the dormitory libraries as a place to complete schoolwork on a regular basis.[102] There were seven red corners among the twelve dormitories, but no information on how they were decorated or maintained.[103] AZLK's dormitories provided thousands of lectures, clubs, and excursions every calendar year to raise the cultural level of migrants. The vospitateli linked this cultural program with rising production and improved efficiency in workshops.[104]

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[98] TsGAGM, f. 974, op. 1, d. 11. Glavmosstroi, Mostelefonstroi, and AZLK each had a PTU in the district.
[99] TsGAGM, f. 974, op. 1, d. 11, l. 90-92.
[100] TsGAGM, f. 1851, op. 1, d. 765, l. 44.
[101] Red corners were found in every Soviet place of employment and educational institution. Red corners honored socialism with posters of Marx, Lenin, and other Soviet heroes, and books on Marxist-Leninist thought. Larger ones functioned as mini-libraries.
[102] TsGAGM, f. 653, op. 1, d. 1559, l. 4.
[103] TsGAGM, f. 653, op. 1, d. 1657, l. 27.
[104] TsGAGM, f. 653, op. 1, d. 1883, l. 12

Lecture series, particularly those on international themes, were an important element of cultural development. It is unclear who gave such lectures and what their content was beyond "modern international life." However, cultural exchange among the socialist world was important, and AZLK hosted in its dormitories car factory workers visiting from Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. Other lecture series were dedicated to discussions on literature and music, and dormitories offered classes on learning to play Estrada music.[105] Guest lecturers included auto-rally drivers, the editorial board of the satirical magazine *Krokodil*, and other artists and actors.[106] Clubs also flourished in the dormitories. Of the 87 clubs that operated at AZLK, 20 were organized by youth in the dormitories and focused on both political and non-political themes.[107]

Cultural excursions played a similar role in the cultural development of youth. AZLK's dormitories offered 240 excursions in the first nine months of 1972 alone. The most popular destinations were historic sites in Moscow and the Moscow region to cultivate the patriotism of workers. Other excursions included trips to museum exhibits and to the theater.[108] Some enterprise dormitories also offered travel beyond Moscow's borders. Shvetsova recalled not only a trip to Leningrad but also to Bulgaria that her dormitory organized in the 1970s.[109] Such trips may have meant something quite different to the workers than the vospitateli. Planners from dormitories selected patriotic locations, residents remembered the excitement of seeing new places, not necessarily the associated political themes.

[105] Estrada music functioned as official popular music, often expressing patriotism in its lyrics.
[106] TsGAGM, f. 653, op. 1, d. 1769, l. 6.
[107] TsGAGM, f. 653, op. 1, d. 1769, l. 7.
[108] TsGAGM, f. 653, op. 1, d. 1657, l. 13.
[109] Shvetsova, interview.

Physical fitness also figured into the dormitory-based "upbringing" of youthful migrants. The provisions for operating dormitories set forth by the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR mandated that each dormitory have outdoor and indoor spaces for exercise. In fact, one of the expectations for worker-residents was to mind the upkeep of these areas.[110] The Komsomol spent over 200,000 man hours building a gymnasium for its dormitory residents to use.[111] Physical activity was also a chance to instill patriotic virtues. One event in AZLK's dormitories invited veterans of war and labor to play sports with the migrant youth to celebrate "Victory over Hitler's Germany in the Great Patriotic War."[112]

Vospitateli promoted not only physical well-being but also organized sports, seeing it as a means for preventing hooliganism and drunkenness. AZLK hired trainers to organize sports teams in each dormitory, hockey and soccer being the most popular sports.[113] In order to encourage participation, the factory committee offered the ultimate prize – an apartment of one's own. Cash was an inappropriate prize for Soviet citizens, but an apartment for the victors was most likely more valuable than any cash prize. It is unclear if every player on the winning team received an apartment or if just one player did, but the victor(s) skipped to the top of the existing housing waiting lists.[114] Perhaps it was the hope of winning that grand prize that drew over 3,000 dormitory residents to participate in the 22 two intramural sports leagues in AZLK's dormitories.[115]

It is difficult to know the depth of success of the educational, cultural, and physical development of limitchiki living in the dormitories. Education might have been the most

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[110] Sovet Ministrov RSFSR, Postanovlenie, 30 Marta 1967 g. N 227, "Ob utverzhdenii primernogo polozheniia ob obshchezhitiiakh (utratilo silu na osnovanii postanovleniia Soveta ministrov RSFSR ot 11.88)."
[111] TsGAGM, f. 653, op. 1, d. 1558, l. 21
[112] TsGAGM, f. 653, op. 1, d. 1883, l. 9.
[113] TsGAGM, f. 653, op. 1, d. 1769, l. 5.
[114] TsGAGM, f. 653, op. 1, d. 1657, l. 13.
[115] TsGAGM, f. 653, op. 1, d. 1883, l. 9.

successful element. PTU graduates were significantly less likely to leave their place of employment when compared to other limitchiki who did not attend a PTU. Forty-four percent of all limitchiki in Liublinskii District left their place of employment, and 75 percent of those who left their place of employment also moved beyond Moscow's borders. While 40 percent of PTU graduates left their place of employment, only four percent moved away from the capital. The overwhelming majority were conscripted into military service, and most planned to return to their enterprise when their service was completed.[116] Even if PTU graduates did not develop an appropriate respect for communist labor, their education had fostered enough ties to encourage them to remain in Moscow, if not at their place of employment. From an enterprise's point of view, providing educational opportunities slowed labor turnover.

It is even more difficult to gauge how limitchiki in dormitories viewed cultural and physical activities. A possible correlation suggests that limitchiki were less likely to participate in absenteeism and hooliganism. Limitchiki accounted for 38 percent of all workers hired in the enterprises studied by the Liublinskii District People's Control Committee in which AZLK was included. Yet, limitchiki accounted for only 30 percent of all cases of absenteeism and only fifteen percent of instances of light hooliganism, which often involved minor infractions of disturbing the peace.[117] This in no way means that dormitory activities kept migrant youth away from trouble, but only suggests that it is one of many possibilities.

What is the most confusing to discern is whether such activities did foster Soviet socialist values. Lectures, clubs, and excursions emphasized international, socialist, and patriotic themes, but certainly some migrants were simply "along for the ride" using official avenues to foster an interest in travel, music, literature, or any other hobby. However, an interest in these very areas

[116] TsGAGM, f. 974, op. 1, d. 11, l. 85.
[117] TsGAGM, f. 974, op. 1, d. 11, l. 92.

was an important element of being Soviet. The desire to seek out culturally meaningful activities, such as theater productions and museum exhibits, marked the post-dormitory life of some limitchiki, including Shvetsova. [118] This engagement with humanist elements was an important aspect of Soviet socialist values that maintained importance for migrants well after they had become Muscovites. As Christine Evans has argued, an important element of the Soviet way of life was a "good feeling" that encouraged productivity, and many migrants, such as Shvetsova on her trips to Leningrad and Bulgaria, got just that. Like repertoires and regimes of migration, official goals and personal desires most likely intersected, and one's engagement with the other acted as a force of legitimization.

Path to Becoming a Muscovite

It is hard to define exactly when a migrant became a Muscovite. In the legal sense, they became Muscovites when they received a permanent propiska, but various social markers continued to indicate that they were migrants. Limitchiki could expect to receive a permanent propiska within several years of beginning their employment, but they often continued to live in the dormitories much longer than that. In the Muscovite (and broader Soviet mindset) having an apartment of one's own marked a personal achievement. For migrants, it often signified the achievement of their own dreams and belonging in Moscow.

Leaving work for any reason, from being fired due to hooliganism to leaving due to personal wishes, resulted in the immediate cancellation of a limitchik's temporary propiska. This cancellation meant almost immediate eviction from the dormitory and left the limitchiki, legally, with only seven days to vacate the city.[119] However, Malle states that Soviet law in the 1970s

[118] Evans, "The 'Soviet Way of Life' as a Way of Feeling," 550-553; Shvetsova, interview.
[119] Matthews, *Party, State, and Citizen*, 209.

required workers to give at least a month's notice before leaving, so presumably, they could find new work, or at the very least, a new residence with a family member, in that window of time.[120] Several limitchiki appeared at the factory committee for ZIL for absenteeism and hooliganism. One limitchik, P.P. Sokolov, abandoned a productive way of life, accruing absences and was headed in a poor moral direction. His workshop foreman begged the committee to fire Sokolov, and the committee, which ultimately dismissed the migrant worker, refused to let him speak on his own behalf.[121]

The Ulianov family also provides another case in point. V.V. Ulianov first appeared in the ZIL factory committee records in 1972 when he received a room for himself and his wife, who was also employed at the factory.[122] He and his wife reappeared two years later when they received a larger living space – two rooms in a three-room communal apartment – due to the birth of their first child.[123] In 1976, the family faced separation and only the fate of the wife, Ulianova, is clear. After missing an unspecified but allegedly significant number of days from work without a respectable reason, Ulianova was called before the factory committee three times. When she failed to appear by the third time, she was fired and her temporary propiska cancelled immediately.[124] It is unclear whether her husband and child remained in Moscow.

For those who did remain in Moscow, receiving a permanent propiska usually took several years, but it depended on continuing employment with the same employer, uninterrupted. Mossovet set no minimum or maximum amount of time needed for enterprises to issue a permanent propiska to workers, but certain circumstances expedited the process. Mossovet

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[120] Malle, "Planned and Unplanned Mobility," 378.
[121] TsGAGM, f. 1032, op. 1, d. 452.
[122] TsGAGM, f. 1032, op. 1, d. 452.
[123] TsGAGM, f. 1032, op. 1, d. 523. Women did need to provide a doctor's note, vouching that they were indeed pregnant, to receive an increase in living space.
[124] TsGAGM, f. 1032, op. 1, d. 604.

recommended that office workers receive permanency after three years of working in the same enterprise. Workers who had originally moved to Moscow to study in one of its PTUs received an advantage as well. As students, they lived in dormitories, and Mossovet considered this time served toward receiving a propiska. These students-turned-workers were to receive a permanent propiska in two years.[125]

While receiving a permanent propiska was an important and necessary part of a limitchik's life story, receiving an apartment, particularly of one's own, was even more important. During the development of the Brezhnev constitution, citizens wrote letters, expressing what they viewed as the rights of all Soviet citizens. One pensioner wrote to the commission, arguing that, "Every individual family and individual single person should have the right to an apartment of their own."[126] Shvetsova and Kalinovsky emphasized the importance of receiving an apartment to their own narratives of becoming Muscovites. Kalinovsky told me, "I was not a limitchik for very long. My wife gave birth to our son a year after we married, and we received a permanent propiska and a one-bedroom apartment when he was born."[127] Kalinovsky's cites receiving both permanency and an apartment as the end of his time as a limitchik. Shvetsova's narrative was a bit more gradual, but she also marked the end of her story with receiving an apartment for her and her son (born while she worked in Moscow) ten years after her arrival.[128]

Placing names on the waiting list for housing became a more complicated manner for workers as the protocols at AZLK demonstrate. Married couples could immediately place their names on the list for housing, regardless of their residency status. After 5 years, a manual worker

[125] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 1, d. 183, l. 2.
[126] GARF, f. 7523, op. 131, d. 300.
[127] Kalinovsky, interview.
[128] Shvetsova, interview.

in the factory could place his or her name on the list for housing. However, the major caveat was that the worker needed to have resided in Moscow for at least ten years. Office workers had to wait ten years from their date of employment, regardless of how long they had lived in Moscow, to place their name on the list for housing. Factory committees knew the personal importance of apartments to workers and removed or lowered the priority for housing of hooligans, drunks, and the chronically absent. Moreover, length of waiting also determined how spacious one's new home would be. Those who waited ten to fifteen years would receive only five square meters per a person, while those who waited over fifteen would receive seven square meters per person.[129]

The types of apartments workers received could vary greatly. ZIL often moved limitchiki into apartments quickly, but the space was often little more than a room in a communal apartment. From there, they waited for better living conditions, and it is unclear how long that took.[130] Workers at AZLK lived in dormitories much longer, but several of their twelve dormitories provided private apartments. These private accommodations were so limited that only couples who both worked at the factory or single mothers could receive them. As a result, families lived separately or in very cramped conditions. Limitchiki at AZLK received apartments in workers' settlements or micro-districts along the outer limits of Moscow, such as Tekstilshchiki, Kuzminki, and Petchatniki.

AZLK ceded that such micro-districts were originally secluded from the center of Moscow, since the construction of the Zhdanovsko-Krasnopresnenskaya line (today's Tagansko-Krasnopresnenskaya line) was not completed until December 1975. Workers relied on busses that were overcrowded, and at times, could not accommodate all workers during rush hours. On the one hand, workers found more stores and movie theaters near their homes throughout the

[129] TsGAGM, F. 974, op. 1, d. 285.
[130] TsGAGM, f. 1851, op. 1, d. 675, l. 5-18.

1970s. On the other hand, the area had only one pharmacy and one bookstore in 1976. The study by AZLK's factory committee also found that it was exceedingly difficult to buy fresh fruit after 6 PM. As a result, many residents purchased their groceries in the center.

Other migrants ran in to trouble with reconciling the time needed to receive a propiska and the time spent on a waiting list for housing. *Mosmetro*, enticed workers to choose them over other enterprises by letting them place their names on the housing waiting list as soon as they began to work in Moscow. However, Mosmetro only issued permanent propiska to its workers after they lived in the city for ten years. Often, this caused no problems because of the long wait times for apartments. However, one limitchik reached the top of his list for housing after eight years of employment, and Mosmetro refused to make an exception to their propiska protocol. They would not issue him a permanent propiska, which was necessary to occupy his new home. Eventually, Mosmetro negotiated to get him an apartment in Lyubertsy, where he was eligible for a permanent propiska.[131]

Other cases turned out to be much grimmer when enterprises directly deceived workers by providing them with false guarantees of housing. K. S. Alekhina wrote a letter to the Priemnaia of the Supreme Soviet on behalf of her husband who began work at the Volgogradskii District Renovation Trest in 1975. Before beginning his work there, he received a guarantee for housing after completing three years of work. In exchange for the promise of rapidly receiving housing, he accepted reduced pay and promised to remain at his place of employment for five years. After five years of living in a 13-square meter room in a dormitory with his wife and two daughters, his promised housing had still not materialized. Alekhina's letter led to an investigation, revealing that 20 workers had been promised housing on the same grounds as

[131] GARF, F. 7523, op. 136, d. 175.

Alekhin. There was not any housing available for anyone, and they would have to wait for housing in the order the promises were made.[132]

What then do all of these stories say about becoming a Muscovite? For one, the road was uncertain and nothing was to be taken for granted. At any moment, poor work performance, bold-faced lies from employers, and the need or desire to return home could jeopardize residency and the chance at an apartment. Limitchiki, like others on the waiting lists for housing, took a gamble on where they might end up. The worker from Mosmetro wound up in Lyubertsy, and not Moscow proper. Even the administration at AZLK admitted that their workers' micro-districts needed improvement. However, receiving an apartment was the final step in becoming a Muscovite in the migrant mindset.

Although the migrants themselves never mentioned this possibility, perhaps the physical expansion of Moscow's borders increased their sense of belonging. Tekstilshchiki, Pechatniki, Kuzminki, and Liublino became less peripheral to Moscow as the city's population grew and its perimeter expanded. While still distant from the center, they no longer suffered the same dearth of amenities that they suffered previously when they became more closely linked to the center. Today, the Tagansko-Krasnopresnenskaya line is the most used in Moscow. Pechatniki and Liublino received their own metro stations as part of the construction of the Liublinsko-Dmitrovskaya Line that connected these areas more directly to the center.

While limitchiki desired a place of their own and believed it signified their belonging in Moscow, Shvetsova and Kalinovsky remembered their time in the dormitories fondly. Kalinovsky remembered living with his brothers and meeting his wife, who lived in the dormitory across the courtyard. He, his brothers, and his wife took trips to Moscow's many parks

[132] GARF f. 7523, op. 136, d. 188, l. 99-103.

with their other friends, spending their days off having picnics.[133] Shvetsova recalled how the other women in her dormitory helped her with childcare as she raised her son on her own. She remembered happily sharing her room with her friend from Volgograd who has since passed away.[134] Certainly, it is possible that these memories are shaded by nostalgia for youth, but perhaps they point to something deeper. While we may never know how "Soviet" their experiences in the dormitory were, they fostered friendships and "good feelings."

Conclusion

The story of temporary labor migration to Moscow in the 1970s is a story of mixed success. Limitchiki tended to slow the process of labor turnover because their legal right to live in the capital depended on their continued employment. While 76 percent of Muscovites hired at the 20 largest enterprises in Liublinskii District between 1971 and 1975 left their jobs, only 43 percent of limitchiki did likewise. However, priority sectors of the economy and enterprises in Moscow were reliant on youthful migrants from beyond Moscow's city limits. Those with lower priorities struggled even more to recruit the appropriate number of workers. Despite these failures, the intertwined repertoires and regimes of temporary labor migration demonstrate the adaptability of Soviet policies that aimed to not only meet economic goals, but also social, political, and ideological ones.

The growth of the city also came at the expense of the countryside. In the Vladimir Region, for example, the Office for the Use of Labor Resources sent workers across the Soviet Union while struggling to find enough workers to staff its own factories. The entire region faced a chronic shortage of workers, numbering between 10,000 and 12,000 annually in 1976. In order

[133] Kalinovsky, interview.
[134] Shvetsova, interview.

to mitigate this deficit, the Office for the Use of Labor Resources in Vladimir restructured itself to better resemble the Office in Moscow, which had been much more successful in recruiting workers. It also adopted the idea that vospitanie was critical for preventing labor turnover.[135] However, the Office in Vladimir was, in a sense, ahead of the curve. Before the Office in Moscow entertained such ideas, planners in Vladimir linked the recruitment of laborers with its plans to increase labor discipline and modernize factories.[136] As will be discussed in Chapter Two, the Moscow Office soon adopted similar plans.

Soviet authorities recognized the stratification between rural and urban and opted to liquidate numerous small villages. The state declared villages with populations under 250 people to be *neperspektivnye derevni*, or villages without futures. Primarily, these former villages were located near Moscow and Leningrad, which had poor soil for agriculture. Villages that had lost productive importance could not be maintained.[137] Temporary labor migration was then both a solution and a problem. It provided opportunities for youth to flee decaying villages, but each migrant who left was a nail in the coffin of rural communities.

The slow decline of the village did not result in the complete undoing of ties between migrants and the village. Shvetsova recalled bringing clothes that she had purchased in Moscow to Volgograd on the May holidays, returning to Moscow with jams and pickles from Volgograd.[138] The slow decay of the countryside complicated these relationships by the late 1980s. The glasnost-era documentary film *Piatachok* demonstrates that a love, if not nostalgia, for the countryside remained. However, as Siegelbaum and Moch note:

> While the rural culture embodied in the piatachok [meeting place] had migrated to and enriched the culture of the city, it died out where it originated. 'I don't like to go back to

[135] GAVO, f. 3761, op. 1, d. 248, l. 4.
[136] GAVO, f. 3761, op. 1, d. 248, l. 10.
[137] A. Artsibashev, "Zud na limit," *Pravda*. March 29, 1989.
[138] Shvetsova, interview.

> play,' says Viktor Alishin, a skilled accordionist who left the village in 1971 with his young bride and found work as a driver for an auto fleet. 'When I go there, I feel like I am disturbing their peace.'[139]

But disturbing their peace is exactly what a cohort of migrant children did in the post-Soviet period. The children of limitchiki who had moved to Moscow in the 1980s maintained their ties to their parents' villages well into the 1990s. As the 2014 documentary film *Post-Limita* shows, these grown offspring visited the village regularly, finding peace and tranquility there during the tumult of the post-Soviet period.[140]

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[139] Siegelbaum and Moch, *Broad Is My Native Land*, 140.
[140] Vladimir Stekachev, *Post limita* (Moscow: Delai Film, 2014).

CHAPTER TWO

Soviet Bureaucracy with a Human Face: Temporary Labor Migration as Stagnation and Stability, 1978-1985

In 1980, Vladimir Menshov's film *Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears* became the third and final Soviet film to win the Academy Award for Best Foreign Language Film.[1] The film follows three young women who moved from the Russian countryside to Moscow in 1959 in search of work, excitement, and an overall better life. Antonina dates and marries a young man, Nikolai. Lyudmila, always on the prowl to "become a Muscovite," works in a bakery and marries a hockey player. Katya, the heroine of the film, studies for a degree in chemistry while working in a factory. Katya, who strives the hardest to become the ideal Soviet woman, also suffered the greatest setback. She became pregnant by a man who refused to act as a father to their child and thus recommended she get an abortion. After showing Katya studying in her dormitory room while caring for her newborn child, the film jumps to 1979, showing the three women in their lives as "Muscovites." Antonina is now a mother and still happily married to Nikolai. Lyudmila's hockey player husband became an alcoholic. They divorced, and Lyudmila works in a dry cleaner. Katya is a single-mother but is now the director of the factory at which she worked twenty years ago. Despite some trials and tribulations, Katya finds love with Gosha, a man she met by chance on the train.

Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears captures the success stories of a cohort of *limitchitsy* who arrived in Moscow earlier than those whom I discussed in the previous chapter. Through hard work and dedication, Katya finds both a successful career that was untenable even for most native-born Muscovites and her happily ever after with Gosha. While the film is deserving of all

[1] Vladimir Menshov, *Moskva slezam ne verit* (Moscow: Mosfilm, 1980).

its accolades, its twenty-year leap forward neglects to address the specificities of how Katya and her friends wound up so successful. Moreover, as women such as Katya moved up the proverbial totem pole, new Katyas continued to fill the entry-level positions they left behind.

A lesser-known movie that debuted in 1989, *Life on the Limit* takes a retrospective look at the experiences of migrants who both held and lacked a propiska.[2] The heroine, Masha, works as a dvornik, a custodian charged with maintaining the grounds of an apartment block. She has a temporary propiska in an apartment that lacks hot water and electricity, which has driven most of the other residents away. She endures such conditions because she flunked out of university and is too embarrassed to return home. Three others – a college graduate who spends his time writing philosophy, an "actress" who is actually a prostitute, and a former boxer turned alcoholic – all lack propiski and join Masha in her building. The plot of the film follows the experiences of the residents as a newcomer joins them. By the conclusion of the film, the police remove all except Masha from the city as part of the campaign to remove undesirables from the city in preparation for the 1980 Summer Olympics.

Together, these films portray the vast array of migrant experiences in Moscow in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The first film highlights the experiences of migrants who arrived earlier but "made it" in Moscow. The second film shows in stark contrast the experiences of the "losers." Masha, the protagonist, uses her work as a dvornik to legalize her situation in Moscow. The police relocate beyond the 101st kilometer Masha's friends who lacked propiski.[3] Migration, as mentioned previously, continued to be a process with multiple steps and varied outcomes. The

[2] Aleksei Rudakov, *Zhizn po limitu* (Moscow: Mosfilm, 1989).
[3] Since the initial passportization campaigns, the 100 kilometer area surrounding regime cities required each resident to have a passport and propiska. The area served as a buffer zone for the city, and "undesirables" were moved to the 101st kilometer.

pair of films shows the most extreme of these: a successful career as a factory director and removal from the city to cleanse the city for the Olympics.

The two films, which portray very different experiences during the last years of Brezhnev's tenure, also demonstrate the two sides of this period: stagnation and stability. While discussing the need for *perestroika* (restructuring of the economy) and *glasnost* (political and social openness), Mikhail Sergeevich Gorbachev described the preceding years as "an era of stagnation" that was "in essence, a fierce neo-Stalinist line."[4] Recent scholarship has questioned Gorbachev's motives for using the word stagnant. Painting the image of a gray, decrepit society necessitated change and reform.[5] Gorbachev's contemporaries recalled similar frustrations during the Brezhnev period. Georgy Arbatov, the former director of the Institute of the USA and Canada, looked to economic markers to note the beginning of Soviet economic decline. He cited 1972 since it became clear in that year that the objectives of the Ninth Five Year Plan would not be met, despite the previous one having been a success.[6] Moreover, Arbatov argued, economic decline went hand-in-hand with re-Stalinization, which was characterized by increased political persecution of dissidents and the protection of privilege.[7]

These views were not completely out of touch with those of some scholars at the time. During the 1980s, some scholars argued that during the later years of Brezhnev's life, state and society struck a grand bargain. Viktor Zaslavsky argued that a new social contract emerged in which Soviet citizens gave their (tacit) support for the Soviet state in exchange for access to consumption, the guarantee of employment, and the tolerance of gray-area market activities to

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[4] Edwin Bacon, "Reconsidering Brezhnev," in *Brezhnev Reconsidered*, eds. Edwin Bacon and Mark Sandle (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 2.
[5] Bacon, "Reconsidering Brezhnev," 2-3.
[6] G. A. Arbatov, *The System: An Insider's Life in Soviet Politics* (New York: Times Books, 1992), 212.
[7] Arbatov, *The System*, 142-143.

improve material conditions. One of the expectations that Soviet citizens held was the ability to move in order to pursue a better life, primarily in the form of temporary labor migration turned permanent to closed cities.[8] James Millar similarly referred to this consensus as "the Little Deal," in which state officials accommodated rising expectations for standards of living at a time in which the state struggled to deliver on the promise of material well-being by turning a blind eye to gray-area market activities.[9]

More recent scholarship has highlighted the conditions that precipitated this Brezhnev consensus. Under Khrushchev, the standard of living and expectations for a higher quality of life rose. For the first time, the promise of an apartment of one's own became a possibility. Khrushchev's abolishment of enrollment fees for upper secondary and post-secondary education also meant that Soviet society became more educated. In his analysis on the end of the Soviet Union and the origins of the Russian Federation, Stephen Kotkin states that many of the promises of the Khrushchev era became a reality under Brezhnev. More Soviet citizens lived in cities than rural areas. Half of urban residents lived in apartments of their own.[10] However, Kotkin also points out that both the CIA and the KGB noted that a "malaise" had overtaken the Soviet Union. The State Planning Committee had become "good – too good – at putting up a rust belt; and unlike a market economy, socialism proved very bad at taking its rustbelt down."[11] Kotkin argues that Brezhnev and his cohort lost any desire to compete with the West in terms of material or moral superiority.

Other scholars have focused on what this malaise meant for youth in the Soviet Union. Hilary Pilkington and John Bushnell have pointed to the emergence of youth sub-cultures in the

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[8] Zaslavsky, *The Neo-Stalinist State*, 145.
[9] Millar, "The Little Deal," 694-697.
[10] Kotkin, *Armageddon Averted*, 39-40.
[11] Kotkin, *Armageddon Averted*, 17.

1980s. In particular, one group known as the *Liubery*, referring to residents of the Moscow satellite city of Liubertsy, consisted of youth from both Liubertsy and Moscow, who sought to preserve Russian culture. Their penchant for violence raised a moral panic by the mid-1980s.[12] Similarly, in his study of the Baikal-Amur Mainline, Christopher J. Ward concludes that Komsomol leaders contributed criminality among youth working on the project to a lack of moral control and poor ideological training. As a result, the Komsomol turned self-policing among youthful workers to curb this behavior.[13]

The newest literature on Soviet history during developed socialism points to the aspects of Soviet life that were seemingly less gray and decrepit. In the previous chapter, I introduced Christine Evans' argument that the Soviet way of life did present the Soviet Union as morally superior to Western capitalism. Soviet officials, at least those in charge of television, connected good feelings with increased levels of productivity.[14] Official concern over popular opinion and its effects on mood and productivity continued into the early 1980s. In his analysis of popular responses in Ukraine to the Polish Solidarity movement, Zbigniew Wojnowski argues that many Ukrainians used their criticism of Solidarity to bolster their patriotic credentials. Moreover, they combined their self-proclaimed patriotism and awkward embrace of official language to justify criticism of state policies. Wojnowski concludes that such discussions resulted in "active and meaningful" interactions between citizens and those who governed them.[15]

I bring these strands of the literature together by acknowledging that a Little Deal did occur between those who governed migration and the migrants themselves. If developed

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[12] John Bushnell, *Moscow Graffiti: Language and Subculture* (Winchester, Mass.: Urwin Hyman, 1990), 157-160; Hilary Pilkington, *Russia's Youth and Its Culture*: *A Nation's Constructors and Constructed* (London: Routledge, 1994): 254.
[13] Christopher J. Ward, "Building Socialism?: Crime and Corruption During the Construction of the Baikal-Amur Mainline Railway," *Global Crime* 8, no. 1 (2007): 58-79, 65-69.
[14] Evans, "The 'Soviet Way of Life' as a Way of Feeling," 543-569.
[15] Wojnowski, "Staging Patriotism," 826.

socialism during the end of the Tenth Five Year Plan and throughout Eleventh Five Year Plans was grayer and bleaker, it had not completely abandoned the most basic of Marxist principles, "from each according to their ability, to each according to their need."[16] Incorporating Soviet ideology into plans for migrant integration fell by the wayside. While cultural development programs continued through the late 1970s and early 1980s, efforts to police hooliganism, absenteeism, and propiska violations became more important when dormitory commandants implemented entry-pass systems and increased the importance of self-policing efforts within the dormitory. Like Ward, I see the rising importance of self-policing as a decline in the importance of ideology.

If ideology became a less important element of migrants' cultural development, ideology was not completely absent in the relationship between migrants and those who governed them. Enterprise directors and factory committees struggled to fairly allocate housing and to issue residency documents in a timely manner. However, petitions made by limitchiki to the Reception Desk (*Priemnaia*) of the Supreme Soviet illustrate that Soviet petitioners during developed socialism embraced official language to communicate their needs to officials. Contributions to building socialism meant something to both letter writers and readers, who were able to engage in meaningful dialogue, similar to that discussed by Wojnowski.[17]

Soviet officials continued to take seriously the needs of its citizens, often favoring those they deemed most vulnerable. The Priemnaia acted as the scissors that cut through layers of bureaucratic red tape, functioning as an empathetic human face in the confusing labyrinth of the Soviet bureaucracy. The work Priemnaia then complicates the conception of the Little Deal and

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[16] Karl Marx, "Critique of the Gotha Programme-Part I," p. 4. Accessed January 23, 2018 from https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/Marx_Critque_of_the_Gotha_Programme.pdf.
[17] Wojnowski, "Staging Patriotism," 826.

the nature of developed socialism in the 1980s. On the one hand, the Soviet bureaucracy failed to adequately provide the material benefits promised to its citizens. On the other hand, officials in the Priemnaia not only turned a blind eye, but even sanctioned questionable methods for improving material conditions, such as squatting.

In this chapter, I draw upon documents from the State Committee for Labor of the RSFSR, the Moscow Office for the Use of Labor Resources, People's Control Committees of the Liublinskii District, and the Priemnaia to examine temporary labor migration to Moscow from 1978 to 1985. The state-sponsored regimes and self-organized repertoires of temporary labor migration changed little during this period. The laws and policies that governed organized labor recruitment and individual arrivals remained largely intact, excepting a few changes made by Mossovet. While many migrants continued to leave the rural regions of the RSFSR, migrants from further afield began to join them. What did change was the number of migrants who arrived in Moscow, which began to noticeably decrease during the Tenth Five Year Plan. Fewer laborers correlated with slowed production and unfulfilled plans that, in turn, complicated the allocation of consumer goods and housing. The Soviet bureaucracy from the Supreme Soviet of the USSR down to individual enterprises repeatedly failed to meet the needs of and promises made to its people.

In this chapter, I argue that the Office for the Use of Labor Resources of the Moscow Executive Committee, the State Committee for Labor of the RSFSR, and individual enterprises that were dependent on migrant laborers, began to realize that migration was no longer a viable solution to labor shortages in the capital. Moreover, the material benefits that encouraged temporary labor migration became fewer and more difficult to procure. These conditions created the context in which in the Little Deal flourished. However, I argue one step further than Millar,

presenting evidence that Soviet officials in the Priemnaia went beyond turning a blind eye to questionably legal practices. Instead, they often sanctioned and normalized activities such as renting and squatting when they found petitioners to be in need.

Migration and the Looming Demographic Crisis

While Moscow's population continued to grow throughout the early 1980s, decreasing births, rising deaths, and the arrival of fewer temporary labor migrants tempered the pace of the capital's expansion. During the Eleventh Five Year Plan (1981-1985), the population grew by five percent, jumping from approximately 8,305,000 to 8,700,000.[18] However, this growth was fueled almost entirely by migration. Natural population growth in the capital was half of what it had been just a decade earlier.[19] Although this vexed officials, it demonstrated that Moscow was indeed an industrialized, modern city that followed international patterns. In the early 1970s, births surpassed deaths by approximately 30,000 annually, but from 1978 to 1985, this figure averaged 14,700 annually.[20] As a result, migration-related population growth was 4 times higher than birth-related growth, even as the number of migrant arrivals fell throughout the early 1980s.[21]

Despite the arrival of fewer limitchiki in Moscow, the repertoires and regimes of temporary labor migration remained largely the same as they had during the Ninth Five Year Plan. Although Moscow's demographic crisis was more severe than elsewhere in the Soviet Union, falling births and fewer youthful workers complicated economic planning across the

[18] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 413, l. 1.
[19] Natural population growth refers to the number of births in comparison to deaths. If the number of births surpassed the deaths, this would result in positive natural population growth.
[20] TsGAGM, f. 126, op. 13, d. 526, 547, 567, 595, 605, 615, 625, 645, 654.
[21] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 413, l. 2.

RSFSR. The State Committee for Labor of the RSFSR found that the number of high school graduates across the RSFSR decreased from 44,500 in 1981 to a projected 39,600 in 1985.[22] As a result, the State Committee for Labor and the Office for the Use of Labor Resources began to rethink its methods for attracting and keeping migrant workers. Limitchiki continued to be the number-one source of new laborers for blue-collar positions in Moscow, but the ethnicity and place of origin of these workers began to change.[23]

Moscow's population was decidedly older than it had been just a decade earlier, affecting the number of workers entering the workforce. In 1980, the last year of the Tenth Five Year Plan, each of the 32 administrative districts within Moscow forwarded fewer native Muscovites onto work. In total, the number of native Muscovites entering the workforce decreased by 20,500 from 1979 to 1980.[24] The problem of finding local youth to work in Moscow's enterprises only became more acute throughout the Eleventh Five Year Plan. The number of high school graduates in Moscow dropped from 16,800 in 1981 to only 7,400 in 1985.[25] Fewer graduates meant fewer workers entering the workforce. Although Moscow's high school graduates achieved full employment in 1980, they eschewed positions in physically demanding and dangerous sectors of the economy. For example, only 500 of Moscow's 17,000 high school graduates in 1980 who went straight into the workforce went in the construction or maintenance sectors.[26] The twelve priority enterprises in the capital even saw a drop in the number of local graduates that they employed, down from 42 percent in 1981 to 36 in 1985.[27]

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[22] For 1981, please see: GARF, f. 10005, op. 1, d. 908, l. 69. For 1985, please see: GARF, f. 10005, op. 1, d. 1183, l. 164.
[23] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 413, l. 1.
[24] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 314, l. 2.
[25] For 1981, please see: GARF, f. 10005, op. 1, d. 908, l. 69. For 1985, please see: GARF, f. 10005, op. 1, d. 1183, l. 164.
[26] GARF, f. 10005, op. 1, d. 908, l. 69.
[27] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 270, l. 4.

Despite the declining numbers of Muscovite youth taking on blue-collar positions, the Moscow Office for the Use of Labor Resources and local enterprises maintained plans, such as those outlined in Chapter One, to attract local workers to such positions. The Ministry of Light Industry opened several training schools, and individual factories under its supervision opened their own courses and PTUs, in particular, targeting the children of their current employees and students in the upper grades who lived in the same district where the factories were located.[28] Komsomol members met with students in the tenth class on a monthly basis to guide their search for a job, explaining skills necessary for certain positions, encouraging youth to find work in deficit areas and bringing openings to their attention.[29]

As in the early 1970s, pensioners and women also remained objects of attention for the Office for the Use of Labor Resources. In theory, Moscow's enterprises had no problem finding enough pensioners to fill labor deficits. Eighty-five percent of all pensioners remained at their place of employment on a reduced schedule after reaching pension age, benefiting both employer and employee. These employees collected their pension in addition to reduced wages while the employer escaped wasting time and resources on training a newer, less experienced worker.[30] Allocating those pensioners who left their original place of employment and later reentered the workforce according to the goals of the five-year plans remained a struggle. Pensioners preferred work in retail, but enterprises charged with supporting public transportation suffered the most significant deficits of workers.[31]

The Office complained that women still left work to care for sick or small children, driven by the lack of child care options available through their places of employment. Others

[28] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 275, l. 1-2.
[29] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 355, l. 1.
[30] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 419, l. 1-2.
[31] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 419, l. 1-2.

claimed that their hours of work also conflicted with child care.[32] Only 140,000 women with small children worked in the republic and soviet level ministries, compared to over 1,000,000 pensioners by age. These women, it seemed, were the most difficult to bring into the workforce due to their familial obligations that pensioners escaped. The Office anticipated bringing only 5,000 additional such women into the city's workforce by 1990.[33] However, if women could not make it to a place of employment, employment could be brought to them. By the mid-1980s, the Office began making plans for how it might allow women with children to work from home, but it remained unclear what sort of work these women would take on.[34]

Migration remained the main source for labor reserves, but ethnic Russians from the rural areas of the Central Region failed to provide an unlimited source of youthful laborers. While ethnic Russians remained the largest group of migrants arriving in the city throughout the 1970s and 1980s, by the early 1980s, Tatars began to outpace all other nationalities except Ukrainians.[35] Throughout the early 1980s, most migrants to Moscow still arrived from other points of origin in the RSFSR, accounting for approximately 75 percent of migration related growth in Moscow. The overall share of migrants from the Central Region fell slightly in part due to prior depletion of labor reserves through labor migration, but migrants from the Urals and Eastern Siberia saw a slight uptick in their share of migration related growth, but only nominally so. Of the other Soviet republics, only Azerbaijan saw a considerable increase in migration to Moscow, jumping to 2,070 in migration related growth in 1984 from 1,245 in 1979.[36] Female migrants continued to play an important role in population growth. Although they did not

[32] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 419, l. 6.
[33] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 419, l. 3.
[34] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 419, l. 12.
[35] TsGAGM, f. 126, op. 13, d. 584, 594, 604, 614, 624, 644, 664.
[36] TsGAGM, f. 126, op. 13, d. 584, 594, 604, 614, 624, 644, 664.

dominate in terms of overall arrivals to the city, they were still more likely to remain in Moscow than their male counterparts. In 1980, Moscow's population grew by 85,000, and 50,000 of those new residents were women.[37]

Organized labor recruitment remained a less popular, but possibly more secure method of temporary labor migration to Moscow. Of the approximately 50,000 temporary labor migrants who arrived in Moscow in 1980, only about 5,000 used organized labor recruitment to find their positions. Only 88 of all migrants who made their way to Moscow in this manner came from the Central Region. Instead, organized labor recruitment provided a means of migration for migrants who lived further afield and lacked the connections to find work on their own in Moscow. Organized labor recruitment provided would-be migrants with information on available jobs further from home and even facilitated their movement through prepaid train rides. The majority arrived from the Volga, Urals, Central Black Earth, and Northern Caucasus regions. Construction enterprises under the Moscow Executive Committee had priority for receiving these workers.[38]

Organized labor recruitment aimed to attract single, unmarried, and educated workers in comparison to those who arrived on their own. Most limitchiki had earned a high school degree with no specialization, but those who arrived through organized recruitment had often earned a specialization or taken classes to learn a specific skill set. In the case of migrants who left Vladimir Region for Moscow through organized labor recruitment, none were married, while 42 percent of all migrant arrivals were married.[39] Organized labor recruitment was more selective and permitted factory directors to hire workers who better met their needs in comparison to hiring new arrivals to Moscow at the gate. However, organized labor recruitment often resulted

[37] TsGAGM, f. 126, op. 13, d. 614.
[38] GARF, f. 10005, op. 1, d. 984, l. 48.
[39] GAVO, f. 3761, op. 1, d. 138, l. 1-2, 6.

in the deskilling of migrants. Skilled labor migrants continued to favor finding work through organized labor recruitment, and the Office funneled the majority of workers hired through this method, some 82 percent, to construction enterprises.[40]

When the State Committee for Labor of the RSFSR and the Moscow Office for the Use of Labor Resources could not completely remedy hiring practices and the employment of workers, it became inventive with finding labor resources. On April 2, 1981, officials from the Soviet Union and Vietnam concluded an agreement that would bring 6,000 Vietnamese workers to the Soviet Union in the following year. This agreement became important to supporting both the Soviet and Vietnamese workers. Soviet industry received the workers it needed. The Vietnamese government received 20 percent of its migrant workers' wages. [41] Despite the importance of this migration to both economies, no comprehensive study on the subject exists.

The State Committee for Labor of the RSFSR planned to put almost all the Vietnamese migrants in factories, coal mines, or power plants but did permit 8 organizers, 120 group leaders, and 75 translators to join the workers. Workers who had previously studied and gained certification in a specific trade could remain in the Soviet Union for a maximum of 5 years. Those without a profession could remain for 6 years and take courses to earn appropriate trade certifications.[42] The recruitment of Vietnamese workers attempted to fill shortages not only in Moscow but across the Soviet Union. Vietnamese labor migrants found their way across the Soviet Union to Moscow, Barnaul, and Volgograd Oblast in the RSFSR, Belarus, and Ukraine. The flow of Vietnamese migrants continued, and by 1985, there were 16,600 workers in the Soviet Union.[43] The migrants provided a youthful labor force for Soviet industries and locales

[40] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 342, l. 2.
[41] GARF, f. 10005, op. 1, d. 931, l. 22.
[42] GARF, f. 10005, op. 1, d. 931, l. 22.
[43] GARF, f. 10005, op. 1, d. 1067, l. 155.

suffering from labor shortages. In Moscow, ZIL received several thousand Vietnamese factory workers. Moreover, return migration posed less of a problem. Vietnamese workers signed contracts to remain for five years and would most likely have experienced extreme difficulty trying to return home on their own.[44]

The preparation for the 1980 Summer Olympic Games highlighted another problem related to labor migration and allocation: the mismanagement of labor resources by Moscow's largest enterprises. Preparations for the 1980 Summer Olympic Games was a microcosm of temporary labor migration to Moscow as it existed in the Ninth and Tenth Five Year Plans. The sheer number of migrants needed and the diversity of jobs that they took on bore a striking resemblance to labor migration unrelated to the Olympics. Even offering material benefits, such as new apartments and educational opportunities, encouraged migrants and even some Muscovites to leave their current jobs in favor of preparing for the Olympics. However, these carrot methods of enticing laborers failed as the antidote to poor labor organization and high labor turnover.

Labor recruitment for the Olympics followed the Moscow Office for the Use of Labor Resources' general schema for finding workers among both Muscovites and migrants. Like the Office, the Olympic Planning Committee favoured single, unmarried, and usually male youth. The Office sought high school and university students within the city to work part time leading up to and during the Olympics. Approximately 30,000 students from VUZ, orhigher educational institutions, in Moscow participated in Olympic preparation.[45] When recruiting workers from outside the city, the Office worked with the Komsomol, recruiting demobilized soldiers within its ranks. Of the original 6,000 Komsomol members sent to Moscow, 4,600 were demobilized

[44] GARF, f. 10005, op. 1, d. 931, l. 40.
[45]TsGAGM, f. 2376, op. 1, d. 95, l. 3-5.

soldiers. For the workers recruited in 1978, 6,000 of the 8,000 workers that the Komsomol recruited were demobilized soldiers.[46] The Olympic Planning Committee also recruited 5,000 young specialists, in addition to several hundred administrators and bookkeepers, from outside the city. The Ministries of Health for the USSR and RSFSR sent doctors and other medical professionals to work just during the games.[47]

The variety of recruitment methods speaks to the diversity of tasks that laid in store according to the Olympic Planning Committee. As late as 1979, the Committee still faced the gargantuan task of building stadiums. Other construction projects had also accumulated. The Committee rushed to repair the city's canals and bridges while also renovating dormitories, restaurants, stores, and busses. Moscow needed to look its best when representatives from around the world descended upon the city, requiring smaller tasks, such as planting trees and flowers.[48] With all these tasks at hand, it is little wonder that the Committee sought out not only construction workers but also vendors, freight carriers, chefs, food packagers, dish washers, bus dispatchers, truck drivers, chauffeurs, ticket takers, doctors, and other medical professionals.[49]

Although over 40,000 limitchiki made their way to Moscow from 1976 when preparation for the games began until their conclusion in 1980 to engage in work related to the games, mismanagement, particularly in the construction sector, ran rife.[50] Return migration and contract violations plagued preparations. An inspection in March 1977 revealed that of the 6,000 arrivals the year before, only 3,250 remained, 1,940 of whom were former soldiers. *Mosstroi* (Main Directorate for Construction in Moscow) and *Mospromstroi* (Main Directorate for Industrial

[46] TsGAGM, f. 2376, op. 1, d. 114, l. 1.
[47] TsGAGM, f. 2376, op. 1, d. 95, l. 1-5.
[48] TsGAGM, f. 2376, op. 1, d. 95, l. 1-5.
[49] TsGAGM, f. 2376, op. 1, d. 96, l. 1.
[50] TsGAGM, f. 2376, op. 1, d. 114, l. 1.

Construction in Moscow) received the largest numbers of workers, but they were also the worst abusers when it came to using workers for their assigned tasks. Of the 1,240 Olympic-related migrant construction workers under Mosstroi, 760 never worked on any Olympic projects. Of the 1,370 migrant laborers sent to Mospromstroi, 815 were relocated to non-Olympic projects. This is approximately 60 percent of workers in both cases![51]

The violations did not stop the swell of migrants who arrived in Moscow. Even if Mosstroi and Mospromstroi abused the system by having workers hired for the Olympics work on other projects, the Olympics required hard and fast deadlines for completion. In 1977, 2,900 more workers arrived, and 8,000 followed the next year. These laborers who arrived in the years before the Olympics worked primarily as general laborers, but plumbers, mechanics, and electricians were also needed.[52] By the end of the games, approximately 24,000 workers who arrived in Moscow for Olympics-related construction work never engaged with such work.[53] Preparation for the Olympics did not exist in a vacuum. The very enterprises that faced extreme shortages of workers and struggled with mismanagement prior to the Olympics misappropriated workers during Olympic preparations to meet their other production demands outlined in the five-year plans.

Concerned over the decrease in migrant arrivals and misuse of migrants for Olympic preparations, the Office for the Use of Labor Resources planned to tighten its control over the free arrivals in Moscow. From 1976 to 1978, Moscow's factories and enterprises received and issued temporary propiski to 178,000 workers, but only 6 percent had been forwarded onto work through the Office.[54] The Office believed that vetting and assigning all workers through the

[51] TsGAGM, f. 2376, op. 1, d. 114, l. 1.
[52] TsGAGM, f. 2376, op. 1, d. 114, l. 2.
[53] TsGAGM, f. 2376, op. 1, d. 114, l. 2-3.
[54] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 277, l. 1.

Office, instead of having enterprises hire workers at the gate, would decrease labor turnover. As a result, the Office and the State Committee of the RSFSR for Labor submitted a proposal, titled, "On the state and measures for improving the organization the employment of citizens in Moscow." The proposal, which Mossovet accepted, gave the Office increased control over attracting and allocating workers. The Office created a special reception office, increased the literature available at employment stands, created more advertisements, and even made calls to the office accessible through the local telephone operator.[55]

The Moscow Office argued that this method had three benefits within its first two years of operation. First, consolidating the reception of workers allowed economists to focus on their planning without the interruption of prospective workers needing assistance. Second, the Office argued that it now hired more quality workers. In 1977, the Office documented 31 cases of poor work or contract violations on the part of out-of-town workers, but in 1978, such incidents had been "practically eliminated."[56] Third, this centralization aided economists in documenting the causes and reasons behind contract violations, in turn, helping the Office prevent additional instances.[57]

In addition to exerting more control over the allocation of migrant laborers, the Office entertained plans for updating technology, noting that many factories relied on manual labor over automatization and technological development. Using existing labor resources efficiently became ever more important as the number of workers entering the workforce decreased every year. Enterprise directors and economic planners had relied on the seemingly endless labor reserves of youth who made their way from the countryside to the capital at the expense of updating

[55] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 277, l. 2.
[56] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 277, l. 4.
[57] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 277, l. 4.

technology. However, the decrease in native Muscovites and migrant laborers entering the work force compelled directors and planners to increase workplace efficiency. While the Office failed to specify which factories had updated their technology, they did indicate that such changes had resulted in the elimination of 28,000 positions on factory floors in Moscow during the Eleventh Five Year Plan.[58]

The Office also argued that how directors and foremen organized laborers affected productivity. Violations of labor discipline, which included but were not limited to drunkenness, hooliganism, and absenteeism, had historically subverted labor productivity in the Soviet Union. As the reality of the shrinking working-age population became inescapable, limiting such infractions to raise productivity became an unavoidable necessity. Upon replacing Brezhnev as General Secretary in 1982, Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov noted that labor productivity was still perilously low. He proposed, "to create conditions – economic and organizational – that will stimulate good-quality, productive labor, initiative and enterprise. Conversely, poor work, sluggishness and irresponsibility should have an immediate and inescapable effect on the remuneration, job status and moral prestige of personnel."[59] For Andropov, who served as General Secretary of the Communist Party for little more than a year, this was a promise he planned to keep. Under his orders, the police and People's Control Committees raided movie theaters, stores, and restaurants to combat absenteeism.[60] Enterprises in Moscow followed his

[58] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 413, l. 2.
[59] Iurii Andropov, "Speech to the Central Committee of the CPSU," November 22, 1982, Accessed from: http://soviethistory.msu.edu/1980-2/our-little-father/our-little-father-texts/andropov-on-the-economy/
[60] An acquaintance in Moscow first brought this fact to my attention. For corroboration, please see: Artem Krechetnikov, "Yurii Andropov: Novyi Stalin ili sovetskii Den Siaopin?" *BBC Moskva*, November 13, 2012. Accessed January 23, 2018 at: http://www.bbc.com/russian/mobile/russia/2012/11/121112_andropov_reforms.shtml.

call to arms. The Office also credited improved labor discipline with decreasing the number of lost labor days by 30 percent in 1985.[61]

The most important change was the adoption of the brigade method created by N.A. Zlobin, himself a former labor migrant to Moscow. Born in 1931 in the Tambov Region, some 450 kilometers to the southeast of Moscow, Zlobin found work as a bricklayer in 1958, building the new city of Zelenograd, 35 kilometers north of Moscow. A decade later, Zelenograd became an administrative district of Moscow, and Zlobin found himself employed under Mospromstroi. In 1970, he introduced the brigade method of construction. A completely self-organized brigade of men built a 14-storey brick apartment block in 80 days instead of the 235 planned days. Zlobin received the status of "Hero of Socialist Labor" the following year. By the end of the decade, Mosstroi had begun to use the Zlobin method.[62] Brigades, the Office argued, raise productivity, lower material spending, and provide higher quality work. Brigades over-fulfilled plans while regular workers fell short.[63] By 1984, Mosstroi, which organized construction projects in the capital, had 54,400 brigades, meaning that 66 percent of all construction laborers worked in this way.[64] Mosstroi often withheld payments to brigades until the completion of a project, which most likely influenced the success of the brigade format.[65] Eager to receive payment, construction workers stopped dillydallying on the job.

Increased control and new means of overseeing labor recruitment failed to act as a panacea for attracting and holding migrant workers in the capital. Despite the Office for the Use of Labor Resources' new policy, enterprises throughout Moscow continued to hire at the gate,

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[61] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 418, l. 1.
[62] Elena Maksimchenko, "Interv'iu s vnuchkoi N.A. Zlobina, odnogo iz pervykh stroitelei Zelenograda," *Zelenograd*, February 19, 2009, Accessed January 22, 2018: https://www.zelenograd.ru/news/2383/.
[63] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 298, l. 1.
[64] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 413, l. 6.
[65] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 418, l. 5.

much to the chagrin of the Office. In the Brezhnev District (today's Cheremushkii District in the southwestern part of Moscow), 18 enterprises, including construction brigades under the control of the Moscow Executive Committee, relied on limitchiki who often arrived on their own. The district had the highest return migration in Moscow. An inquiry by the Office found that these enterprises placed limitchiki almost exclusively in positions lacking prestige and skill. Moreover, they accused four enterprises of not using proper hiring methods and not using laborers rationally. These conditions, the Office alleged, encouraged migrant laborers to return home.[66]

The threat of migrants returning became even more dire as labor migration continued to fall. By the mid-1980s, the trickle of migrants who arrived in Moscow on their own fell from 46,000 in 1983 to a projected 26,400 in 1985.[67] While nearly 5,000 temporary labor migrants arrived in 1981 through organized labor recruitment, only 4,300 did so in 1985. In short, temporary labor migration solved shortages in the 1970s, but declining natural population growth failed to deliver a viable solution for providing the capital's enterprises with future workers. By the end of 1985, Moscow's factories and enterprises were short a total of 54,000 workers.[68] Centralizing the allocation of arrivals and drawing upon migrant labor resources from further away could not alone remedy the effects of an aging population.

Policing the Collective

The Tenth and Eleventh Five Year Plans marked a departure from the Ninth in how enterprises dealt with limitchiki in the dormitories. During the Ninth Five Year Plan, the Office

[66] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 421, l. 2-3.
[67] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 413, l. 3. The document provides actual statistics for the first 9 months of 1985. Organized labor recruitment refers to migrants who were forwarded onto work in Moscow (usually on contracts for 2 years) through the State Committee for Labor of the RSFSR. The overwhelming majority of limitchiki arrived in the capital on their own and were hired on short-term contracts at the gate.
[68] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 12, d. 413, l. 3.

for the Use of Labor Resources, People's Control Committees, and enterprises worked closely to implement cultural development programs that steered young migrant laborers away from drunkenness, hooliganism, and absenteeism toward the path to becoming engaged Soviet citizens, worthy of the title Muscovite. While these organs of power never completely abandoned their programs of vospitanie, they failed to deliver on all its promises. The number families in the dormitories continued to grow as they waited for apartments that failed to materialize while opportunities for travel, education, and receiving an apartment of one's own dwindled. Self-organized vigilantes, or *druzhinniki*, and entry-pass systems eclipsed cultural development as the main tools for combatting drunkenness, hooliganism, absenteeism, and now propiska violations.

The inability to find only young, unmarried men from outside Moscow to solve the city's labor shortages complicated dormitory life. The official protocols that the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR used to govern relationships among residents, dormitory commandants, and enterprise directors excluded families from living in dormitories. Even in the early 1970s, enterprises failed to meet this standard, but by the end of the decade, the problems it caused could no longer be ignored. AZLK had always prioritized finding appropriate accommodations for families, even if it gave preference to single mothers and young families in which both spouses worked in the factory. Between 1981 and 1983, AZLK placed 1,600 families in family dormitories and gave 530 families and 170 single mothers rooms in communal apartments.[69] AZLK was not alone in prioritizing young families. The construction worker Kalinovsky mentioned in the previous chapter also recounted how the birth of his son resulted in receiving a one-bedroom apartment.[70] These limitchiki, who most likely received a permanent propiska within 4 years of their arrival,

[69] TsGAGM, f. 974, op. 1, d. 285, l. 1-4.
[70] Kalinovsky, interview.

presented a paradox.[71] They acted as good Muscovites by having children during a period in which the gap between births and deaths in the capital began to close. Yet, their expanding families complicated life in the dormitories and exacerbated Moscow's housing shortage.

Even as AZLK and other enterprises continued to prioritize families, they simply could not keep up. During the same period of 1981 to 1983, AZLK received a combined 1,500 complaints, applications for improved housing, and letters from dormitory residents. The People's Control Committee of the Volgograd District in the eastern part of Moscow found that AZLK along with Mosstroi and ZIL failed to properly record and respond to all complaints and inquiries.[72] Specifically, the People's Control Committee criticized AZLK for its lack of transparency in allocating housing.[73] Moreover, as Jeff Sahadeo has noted, more than a few migrants easily survived without proper documentation, even if document checks increasingly became a norm of Soviet dormitory life.[74] The commandant of ZIL's dormitory on Tashkent Lane failed to issue temporary propiski to 30 workers who had lived in the dormitory for over three months.[75] Even the Stankoagregat Factory, which the People's Control Committee commended for its cultural development program and entry-pass system, failed to register over 80 children born to mothers who lived in the dormitory.[76] Without proper documentation, limitchiki could not easily receive the social welfare provisions to which they were entitled and possibly turned to informal networks to procure them.

These problems had been a long time coming. Even as the number of limitchiki arriving in Moscow slowed during the early 1980s, enterprises were still coping with the large number of

[71] TsGAGM, f. 974, op. 1, d. 285, l. 1-4.
[72] TsGAGM, f. 974, op. 1, d. 219, l. 8.
[73] TsGAGM, f. 974, op. 1, d. 285, l. 1-4.
[74] Sahadeo, "The Accidental Traders," 523.
[75] TsGAGM, f. 3053, op. 1, d. 60, l. 2-4.
[76] TsGAGM, f. 3053, op. 1, d. 60, l. 5-6.

migrants who arrived the decade before. Ksenia Belkina's story is a case in point. Her mother worked in a warehouse in the First of May Settlement, 40 kilometers southwest of Moscow, while her father was a construction worker from Tula, living in a dormitory in the Izmailovo District of Moscow. A casual encounter between her parents led to her mother becoming pregnant. The young couple married, and when Ksenia was seven months old, she and her mother joined her father in his room in the men's dormitory. The young family expanded to include a younger son, which eventually meant that her father's enterprise relocated them to the family dormitory in 1976.[77] Despite the best planning and protocols on the behalf of dormitories and enterprises, they simply could not predict what life would bring their migrant workers. Even Ksenia's father, the ideal single, male migrant, eventually housed a family of four in his dormitory room.

Although AZLK had renovated all 12 of its dormitories in the 1970s, many other dormitories throughout the city were left wanting. Ksenia recalled that neither the men's nor the family dormitory had showers. Every week, her mother took her to a local banya to bathe her.[78] The Volgograd District People's Control Committee found similar problems in the dormitories operated by Mosstroi. Broken washing machines, unlit and unsanitary hallways, and the absence of wardrobes and showers ruled the day.[79] Mosstroi had come under fire previously, too, when the Olympic Planning Committee conducted dormitory checks on those enterprises that had taken on youthful migrants to build stadiums and the like. Most of its dormitories did not have

[77] Oxf/Lev M-05 PF46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61: female informant, b. 1971. I applied the pseudonym Ksenia Belkina. No name was provided by the interviewer.
[78] Oxf/Lev M-05 PF46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61: female informant, b. 1971.
[79] TsGAGM, f. 3053, op. 1, d. 60, l. 16-18.

the proper inventory of furniture. Gas stoves often malfunctioned, but only one of its four dormitories had a functioning cafeteria for residents.[80]

Dormitory checks in the Volgograd and Liublino Districts in the eastern part of the capital found that most dormitories met the conditions legally outlined by the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR, which dictated sanitary norms and desired inventories of furniture.[81] Most factory and dormitory administrations in the Volgograd District renovated their dormitories, providing wardrobes and nightstands in every bedroom; sinks, gas stoves, tables, and storage spaces in every kitchen; and hot water, showers, and toilets in the communal bathrooms. Even one of Mosstroi's dormitories boasted weekly sanitary inspections and cleaners responsible for each floor of the dormitory. At a bare minimum, dormitories provided fresh linens for residents every 10 days.[82] Moreover, even if People's Control Committees found the physical conditions of dormitories lacking, they intended for such checks to spur positive changes in maintenance and renovations.

The Office for the Use of Labor Resources and other city officials in Moscow continued to see a connection between cultural development and the successful transition of migrants into Muscovites. Educating and training young workers remained a top priority for the Office and the enterprises that employed workers under the age of 18. In conjunction with the Year of Youth, the Office investigated the treatment of youthful temporary labor migrants. Soviet laws on their employment had changed little since the previous decade. Youth could only work seven hour shifts and required thirty days of leave during the summer months. Moreover, Soviet law still required such workers to sign special contracts with a mentor who would guide their integration

[80] TsGAGM, f. 2376, op. 1, d. 114, l. 7-16.
[81] Sovet Ministrov RSFSR, Postanovlenie, 30 Marta 1967 g. N 227, "Ob utverzhdenii primernogo polozheniia ob obshchezhitiiakh (utratilo silu na osnovanii postanovleniia Soveta ministrov RSFSR ot 11.88)."
[82] TsGAGM, f. 3053, op. 1, d. 60, 1. 16-18.

into the workplace and cultivate their respect for communist labor. Labor turnover was decidedly low for youth who entered the workforce before their eighteenth birthday. In 1983, 38 percent of all hired workers under age eighteen (of a total of 4,800) left, but by 1984, only 22 percent (of a total of 4,300) did. These youths continued to improve their qualifications through individual training, group courses, and even enrollment in a VUZ after completing their high school education.[83]

In the Volgograd District, some dormitories continued to engage in serious cultural work, reminiscent of the programs in the early to mid-1970s. One of Mosstroi's dormitories in the district continued to employ several vospitateli and offered recreation rooms, red corners, a library, a photo lab, gymnasium, study rooms, art rooms, television rooms, and an instrument band. Yet, even this paled in comparison to vospitanie in the Stankoagregat Factory dormitory. The dormitory was home to several meeting and recreational rooms, including one designated for table tennis, and a red corner. The cultural program was also impressive, boasting lectures on international relations, propaganda, medicine, and the 1980 Olympics; tickets to theaters and movies; coordination of organizational nights, dance nights, excursions, and four Estrada concerts. The vospitateli there also encourages a healthy way of life, organizing tennis matches, skiing trips, summer camping trips, and fall excursions for mushroom hunting.[84]

The remainder of dormitories that the People's Control Committee in the Volgograd District offered little in the way of cultural development, marking an overall decline in its importance. Almost all dormitories had the required red corners, but one dormitory's red corner had only a lamp with no light bulb. These investigations also suggest that vospitanie in

[83] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 416, l. 1-2.
[84] TsGAGM f. 3053, op 1, d. 60, l. 12-13. The People's Control Committee investigated 18 dormitories. Only 2 had extensive cultural development programs.

dormitories under AZLK and ZIL severely declined in the early 1980s. Each wing of ZIL's dormitory in the Volgograd District had a red corner, meeting room, and workers' library.[85] AZLK, whose vospitanie practices had been most successful in the previous chapter, received one commendation from the People's Control Committee of the Liublino District. It provided a decent advice column for its workers in its workplace newspaper.[86]

The Olympic Planning Committee's educational program highlights how certain elements of training and education remained essential even as cultural development programs began to fall by the wayside. As part of its preparations, the Committee mandated that certain workers undergo training for the specific tasks that they would undertake. With large numbers of foreigners, ostensibly with no knowledge of Russian, arriving in the capital, foreign language skills became essential. By 1979, the Planning Committee had twelve translators – six for English, five for German, and one for Spanish. Five hundred workers, ranging from bus drivers to concessioners, took formal foreign language courses, targeted to the specific vocabulary of their professions.[87]

The Moscow Passenger Transportation Office had the ideal training program that consisted of fifty total hours of classes on politics, history of Olympics, geography of Moscow and current developments, economics, and safe driving. Again, some of the implications are practical. Knowing techniques for safe driving and the lay of the land within Moscow was certainly handy for the bus drivers navigating the streets, especially if they were not from Moscow. Perhaps the history of the Olympics had a twofold purpose: to instill an understanding of why the Olympics, and therefore their work, was important. Politics and economics were most

[85] TsGAGM, f. 3053, op. 1, d. 60, l. 3-4.
[86] TsGAGM, f. 974, op. 1, d. 37, l. 107.
[87] TsGAGM, f. 2376, op. 1, d. 96, l. 2-4.

likely part of typical elements of Soviet education.[88] While the Committee held this practical program in high esteem, it quickly blamed instances of labor discipline violations, drunkenness, and hooliganism on poor cultural development programs.[89]

Implementing security regimes was an important development in dormitory life during the 1980s. Druzhinniki, or self-organized volunteers who policed the actions of their co-residents, superseded the vospitateli in importance. These volunteers were on the front lines of combatting alcoholism and drunkenness, enforcing dormitory rules (which some dormitory commandants required all new residents to sign upon their arrival), and working with the local police to check for passport and propiska violations of which there were many. Moreover, dormitory commandants created an entry-pass system that allowed only residents of the dormitory to enter. These policies intended to reduce crime and hooliganism but did so with mixed success. The Volgograd District's People's Control Committee found that most dormitories had successfully met these criteria with some notable exceptions. ZIL failed to implement an entry-pass system and instead had dormitory residents use their factory entry-pass, thus allowing non-residents to enter. As a result, the police were called to the dormitory 30 times for cases of hooliganism.[90]

The residents, those with proper papers that is, were not inherently opposed to the emphasis on passport and propiska controls. The residents of one dormitory penned a collective letter to the Priemnaia and sent copies to Soviet newspapers, including *Izvestiia*, *Vechernaia Moskva* (*Evening Moscow*), and *Chelovek i zakon* (*Man and Law*). The petitioners complained about the lack of order in their dormitory, where hooliganism, alcoholism, and passport system

[88] TsGAGM, f. 2376, op. 1, d. 95, l. 6
[89] TsGAGM, f. 2376, op. 1, d. 114.
[90] TsGAGM, f. 3053, op. 1, d. 60, l. 2-4.

violations ran rampant. They argued that the situation in the dormitory had resulted in the police arriving to deal with noise complaints and to remove 23 passport violators. The petitioners asked that the dormitory administration institute an entry pass system and forbid residents from entering if they were scheduled to work at the moment of entry. Moreover, the residents desired for the commandant of the dormitory to recruit more druzhinniki. The Priemnaia ordered the local police to meet with the dormitory residents and administration to discuss methods for improving the security regime.[91]

The formation of the ideal temporary labor migrant no longer focused on cultural development but on the rule of order. People's Control Committees encouraged factory and dormitory administrations to implement security regimes that would weed out violators and undesirables. This was most acutely seen with the increasing influence of self-policing groups at the expense of the vospitateli. But, as in the 1970s, this new bargain was not perfect. The Office for the Use of Labor Resources found that of the 720 enterprises that engaged in organized labor recruitment, only 650 kept the terms of their contracts with temporary labor migrants, neglecting living and working conditions.[92] In the case of the Olympics, enterprises racked up 10,000 violations. In one dormitory, only 43 of 780 youthful migrants hired to help with the Olympics possessed a proper temporary propiska.[93]

Personal fulfillment, happiness, and satisfaction had all informed cultural development during the Ninth Five Year Plan, and by the Tenth, workers took these promises seriously. However, enterprises often failed to deliver on cultural development programs that they had previously credited with keeping young migrants safe from the temptations of alcoholism,

[91] GARF, f. 7523, op. 136, d. 231, l. 1-11.
[92] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 342, l. 1.
[93] TsGAGM, f. 2376, op. 1, d.114.

hooliganism, and absenteeism. The successes of cultural development programs varied widely even within dormitories under the direction of the same enterprise. Take for example Mosstroi. One of its dormitories had a top cultural development programs in the Volgograd District, while others under its direction received reprimands for its poor furniture inventory and failure to properly handle complaints from its residents. Success, it seems, relied on individual cases.[94]

The dormitories, however, remained important sites of personal relationships. Ksenia Belkina, mentioned earlier, recalled the excitement of weddings and birthdays that residents celebrated in the dormitory kitchen. Her grandparents visited often, one time even bringing a New Year's tree for the children to decorate. Shvetsova, whose move to Moscow opened the previous chapter, recalled similar circumstances in her dormitory. In the ten years that she lived in her dormitory, most of her female roommates became mothers. In the absence of organized childcare, the young mothers took turns minding each other's children.[95] Although *Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears* presented a best-case scenario of migrants becoming Muscovites, it perhaps accurately portrayed the enduring social bonds that formed in the dormitories. In other cases, migrants chose not to become Muscovites. Frustrated, they continued to vote with their feet. Few left due to discipline violations. Instead, issues such as dissatisfaction with their professions encouraged youth to find new positions.[96]

Procuring Housing in Shortage

Fewer migrants came to Moscow in the late 1970s and early 1980s, but construction enterprises and brigades still lagged in constructing housing for residents across the capital.

[94] TsGAGM, f. 3053, op. 1, d. 60, l. 2-4, 13-16.
[95] Shvetsova, interview.
[96] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 416, l. 3.

While more migrants meant longer queues for housing, fewer migrants meant fewer laborers building these much-needed apartment blocks. In most cases, Muscovites refused to take on such positions. The rising expectations for material well-being in a time of shortage made migrants turned Muscovites resourceful. They argued with factory committees who allocated housing, levying accusations of favoritism. They married into Muscovite families and squatted in apartments that they believed to be rightfully theirs. When all else failed, they petitioned the Priemnaia of the Supreme Soviet to remedy the problems that other organs in the bureaucracy either caused or failed to resolve.

The strategies that the limitchiki and Muscovites undertook to procure housing followed those that had been established following the end of the Great Patriotic War. Charles Hatchen argues that, "Throughout the postwar period, propagandists represented the economic logic of distribution under socialism as a state-sponsored system of rational, centrally coordinated, and meritocratic distribution that gave the productive and the talented the best of everything because they contributed most to the state."[97] By the 1970s and 1980s, Soviet citizens, including the limitchiki, were well-aware of this understanding of how housing should be distributed. According to Hatchen, petitioners in the immediate postwar period wrote letters that emphasized their identities in relationship to the state. According to Christine Varga-Harris, access to personal housing functioned as the extension of the welfare state to citizens, not a means of undermining collectivism.[98] Moreover, petitioners went beyond speaking Bolshevik and presenting themselves as supplicants. They demanded action and engagement from state actors.[99]

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[97] Charles Hatchen, "Separate Yet Governed: The Representation of Soviet Property Relations in Civil Law and Public Discourses," in *Borders of Socialism: Private Spheres in Soviet Russia*, ed. Lewis Siegelbaum (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006): 65-82. Quote on page 78.
[98] Christine Varga-Harris, *Stories of House and Home: Soviet Apartment Life during the Khrushchev Years* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015), 8-9.
[99] Varga-Harris, *Stories of House and Home*, 208-209.

Steven E. Harris also emphasizes citizens' initiative in developing strategies for procuring housing, particularly through people's construction, in which workers built their own housing, and the creation of housing cooperatives.[100]

Petitions to the Priemnaia from limitchiki in Moscow and the Moscow Region, where many limitchiki employed in Moscow eventually found housing, shed light on the complexity of these strategies on the Little Deal that Millar first discussed. At least some Soviet citizens did not hesitate to take matters into their own hands when enterprises and ministries failed to deliver on promises, but this went beyond cultivating friendships and networks that would lead to goods and services inaccessible otherwise. It took the form of voicing entitlement as Soviet citizens, mothers, and workers to adequate housing. The Little Deal also took on the form of engagement with state officials, who, in turn, not only tolerated but also condoned and sanctioned questionably legal practices such as squatting and failing to register family members at their official place of residence.

Soviet authorities had increasingly tolerated, if not encouraged, personal initiative in improving housing prospects, at times even creating officially sanctioned channels for doing so. Collectives of workers built cooperatives while some individuals engaged in construction work on the side to receive housing. The organizers of the housing cooperative "Striker," which consisted of veterans, white-collar workers, and blue collar workers, formed in 1972 and selected ground for their housing cooperative in 1975. They completed the paperwork by 1981, and sought out a construction brigade to build a housing complex during the Eleventh Five Year Plan.[101] In another case, one woman spent 2,500 hours working on the side to construct

[100] Steven Harris, *Communism on Tomorrow Street: Mass Housing and Everyday Life after Stalin* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2013), 154-187.
[101] GARF, f. 7523, op. 136, d. 184, l. 91-96.

apartment complexes while maintaining fulltime employment at a factory in order to receive a 2-room apartment of her own.[102]

Soviet citizens were also legally entitled to switch their place of residence if they could find another household willing to oblige. One man petitioned the Priemnaia on behalf of his mother who wanted to switch her apartment in Tashkent for one in Moscow. She opted for organizing her move in such a manner because she was otherwise barred from placing her name on the list for housing in Moscow. City registers for housing (as opposed to those organized by place of employment) took only those who lived below the 5-square meter sanitary norm. The petitioner's mother, however, lived well above the sanitary norm in Tashkent and hoped to find a Muscovite who would jump at the chance for more spacious living quarters, albeit thousands of kilometers away.[103]

Most would-be migrants and migrants turned Muscovites relied on housing queues through their places of employment, but often dealt with significant bureaucratic red tape. The Ministry of Railways best illustrates the difficulties workers faced as they took on the bureaucracy. The construction, repair, and function of the railroad relied heavily on migrant labor, but administrative coordination proved a logistical nightmare. Railway offices were often located in Moscow or Leningrad but employed workers across large expanses of the Soviet Union. As a result, providing appropriate living and working conditions often fell by the wayside. From 1975 to 1977, the railway newspaper *Gudok* published a call for workers to construct the Bekasovo Junction in the Moscow Region. The construction of the junction began in 1972, but the October Railway, which runs between Moscow and St. Petersburg, struggled to keep a sufficient number of laborers. Over 1,500 individuals responded to the call since it

[102] GARF, f. 7523, op. 136, d. 170, l. 76-83.
[103] GARF, f. 7523, op. 136, d. 262, l. 145-149.

promised apartments as part of the contract.[104] As discussed in the previous chapter, the promise of quickly receiving an apartment of one's own was the ultimate carrot to lure temporary labor migrants to jobs short on laborers.

By 1980, only a handful of workers received apartments. Instead, the overwhelming majority of workers lived with their families in train carriages that had been converted into makeshift homes. In a letter to the Priemnaia, two men relayed their stories. One man had left Perm with his wife and two children. Instead of receiving an apartment, he and his family lived in one of the converted carriages and were number 100 on the waiting list for housing. His co-author was number 350. Neither man received an apartment of his own as a direct result of the letter. The Priemnaia ordered that some of the apartments under the October Railway go to these 1,500 workers and allocated several million rubles to build additional housing.[105]

In 1980, E.C. Golokova and A.V Petrova, who also worked for the October Railway, wrote a collective letter on behalf of the residents of their apartment building in the City of Moscow to Comrade Kuznetsov, who operated the Priemnaia of the Supreme Soviet. The petitioners' apartment building in the far northwestern corner of the city was in decrepit condition, and the two women had harangued the Ministry of Railways since the mid-1970s to begin renovations. In 1974, the October Railway sent representatives to inspect the home, but nothing was done afterward. The offices of the October Railway, which fell under the direction of the Ministry of Railways, were in Leningrad, making it difficult for the women to plead their case in person.[106] The Priemnaia provided a place for them to voice their concerns and plead for the state to intercede on their behalf.

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[104] GARF, f. 7523, op. 136, d. 177, l. 113-118.
[105] GARF, f. 7523, op. 136, d. 177, l. 113-118.
[106] GARF, f. 7523, op. 136, d. 159, l. 14.

The building dated from 1928 and had a strong, stone exterior. The interior, however, found itself in various states of disarray since the building had not undergone any major renovations since 1932. The roof was so shoddy that the top apartments completely flooded anytime that it rained. Ceilings in some apartments had collapsed, and the inundation of water made the wooden floors turn moldy. Despite quite literally swimming in water, the residents had limited access to running water. The apartment offered no hot water, and when the cold water actually worked, it had a funny smell to it. Lighting was intermittent at best. Moreover, the conditions were cramped. The 32 apartments served as homes to 65 families, who lived two to three families per an apartment. These apartments failed to live up to the official standards for communal apartments.[107]

The initial 1974 complaint to the Ministry of Railways was only the beginning of the rigamarole for Golokova, Petrova, and the other residents of 12/14 Vesennaia Street. In 1974, the Ministry told them that construction would begin in 1975 to replace the floors and bathrooms in addition to providing access to hot water. In 1975, they heard that renovations would begin in 1977. The Ministry began some minimal repairs in 1977, but quickly ran out of money. The Ministry finally faced the reality of the situation in 1980. They put the kibosh on the project, arguing that such intense renovations required the Ministry to temporarily relocate the residents. The Ministry lacked both temporary housing and the financial means to undertake this option.[108]

Since 1974, only three of the original 65 families had received housing elsewhere, but some began to find housing on their own. Golokova and Petrova argued before the Priemnaia that by 1980, only 51 of the original 65 families remained. Many left the city altogether, presumably returning to families left behind elsewhere in the RSFSR. Golokova declared that,

[107] GARF, f. 7523, op. 136, d. 159, l. 15.
[108] GARF, f. 7523, op. 136, d. 159, l. 16-24.

"The October Railroad is just waiting for the old people to die, and young people can live in complete mayhem (*koe-kak*)."[109] Petrova seconded Golokova, relaying the plight of raising a seven-year-old son in the dilapidated home. He was too old to go the women's section of the banya, and, in Petrova's estimation, too young to go to the men's section unattended. Her only options were to either bathe him in cold water or leave him unbathed. Somehow, the vacated apartments invited squatters – one can only imagine the conditions they left behind to opt to live in this building! – who lived without proper documentation and did not work under the October Railway.[110]

The Ministry promised to begin renovations again in 1980, but these renovations would not address the floors, bathrooms, or hot water. By mid-1980, repairs of any sort had failed to materialize, resulting in a meeting before the Priemnaia. Prior to the meeting, Comrade I.D. Baranov verified every single one of the women's complaints, but countered that although it would be nice to renovate the apartments, it was too expensive. The difficulties of coordinating with different agencies, particularly when the October Railway was in Leningrad, made the project too much to take on. The best option became to permanently resettle the residents, but the Ministry refused to construct its own housing. The Ministry, it seems, had only invested in housing for workers at its locomotive factory in Moscow. When Kuznetsov asked the minister why they did not build housing, he explained that the Ministry had many dilapidated homes under its care.[111]

The Ministry of Railways agreed to work with Mossovet to allocate housing to the remaining 51 families. The process of resettlement began but stopped just as suddenly as it had

[109] GARF, f. 7523, op. 136, d. 159, l. 16-24.
[110] GARF, f. 7523, op. 136, d. 159, l. 16-24.
[111] GARF, f. 7523, op. 136, d. 159, l. 16-24.

started. The idea of resettlement in the Olympic Village was pitched, but then discarded. Mossovet had promised housing to those working with the Olympics and needed to follow through on those guarantees first. Ultimately, the 51 families moved to new housing in Strogino micro-district.[112]

While a permanent propiska legally gave status as a Muscovite, receiving housing of one's own became the ultimate marker of belonging in the capital. Housing run by the various railways were the most extreme cases brought before the Priemnaia, but they highlight the multilayered problems that migrants and migrants turned Muscovites faced in securing housing. The far-flung offices that oversaw the railroads often failed to coordinate amongst themselves. This resulted in dilapidated homes and broken promises. Moreover, the Ministry of Railways not only needed to coordinate with its own offices but with the various cities within the Moscow Region. In order to issue housing and appropriate propiska to its workers, the Ministry needed the approval from local city officials. Each city in the region, whether Khimki, Lyubertsy, or Kriukovo, had its own policies and procedures that the Ministry needed to observe.

Others who petitioned the Priemnaia found themselves vulnerable due to their temporary residency status. Once fired from a position, limitchiki forfeited their legal right to live within the city. One woman graduated from Moscow State University (MGU) and then began to work there. When she notified her director that she was pregnant, he responded that she would be let go the following month. She went to the Priemnaia in search of help, arguing that her director fired her because she was pregnant and on a temporary propiska. The arrival of another young dormitory resident would tax the already limited space available. Kuznetsov questioned her once

[112] GARF, f. 7523, op. 136, d. 159, l. 16-24.

on her line of thinking, but then accepted it. Instead of trying to convince her boss at MGU to keep her, the he instead found her work at the Academy of Sciences.[113]

In another instance, one woman arrived in Moscow to work as a dvornik in 1976. However, by 1979, she needed surgery that left her unable to perform the physically demanding work of a dvornik. As a result, she left to find work elsewhere, but her first employer told her that she would lose her room in the dormitory. She then left her second place of employment to find another, less physically demanding position with her first employer. For reasons that are not entirely clear, she was barred from applying for work in the meantime. The Priemnaia ordered that she keep her room and provided her with 50 rubles until she could find work again.[114]

Many times, the Priemnaia went beyond turning a blind eye to gray-area and even anti-Soviet activities, sanctioning methods such as squatting to improve one's standard of living. Many squatted to rectify problems they encountered with the Soviet bureaucracy. In Krasnogorsk, an urban settlement bordering Moscow to the northwest, a factory committee had promised crane operator N.N. Syskov an apartment after his first complaint to the Priemnaia. However, the committee then gave this apartment to another family. Time was of the essence for receiving housing since his dormitory was soon to be razed. The dormitory was located too close to the factory, and the pollution made for unhealthy living conditions. As a result, he moved into an apartment in a building newly constructed by his employing enterprise. When the Priemnaia heard the complaints of all sides, Syskov's employers said he was rude and violated Soviet law by occupying the apartment. Despite Syskov's allegedly rude behavior, the Priemnaia mandated that he receive a propiska for the apartment that he occupied.[115]

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[113] GARF, f. 7523, op. 136, d. 239, l. 22-28.
[114] GARF, f. 7523, op. 136, d. 196, l. 105-112.
[115] GARF, f. 7523, op. 136, d. 210, l. 107-111.

Comrades Torop and Kuzmin also used the Priemnaia to legalize their position as squatters. Both men worked for Tsentrolit the southeastern part of the Moscow Region and lived in the same dormitory before receiving apartments of their own. Torop had worked for Tsentrolit since 1972, and in 1978, Tsentrolit promised him and his family an apartment. His seven-year-old son had the same initials as his wife, and the secretary recording the information omitted his son from the list of occupants because she believed his wife's name had been written twice. When he received an apartment of 27.9 square meters in 1980, the oblast officials refused to issue him a propiska since his family fell below the sanitary norm of five square meters per person. The Priemnaia ordered that the family receive a propiska despite the violation of the sanitary norm.[116]

The co-writer, Kuzmin, had worked for Tsentrolit for a much shorter period of time – only eight months. His construction brigade built the new apartment block that was to house those who lived in the dormitory. As part of his contract, he was promised a two-bedroom apartment. His family, which consisted of himself, his wife, and child, received a one-bedroom apartment that put them under the sanitary norm as well, barring them from receiving proper propiska. Tsentrolit argued that the one-bedroom apartment was a temporary measure until a two-bedroom apartment could be provided. However, Kuzmin spied a two-bedroom in his apartment block and occupied it on his own. The Priemnaia acquiesced and legalized his position.[117]

Others of presumably better means relied on renting when housing did not go their way. One single mother from Noginsk in the Moscow Region worked at a factory in the Lenin District of Moscow. She rented a room in the district for 60 rubles a month because the long distance

[116] GARF, f. 7523, op. 136, d. 211, l. 68-75.
[117] GARF, f. 7523, op. 136, d. 211, l. 68-75.

between home and work (approximately 60 kilometers), and her son's poor health made commuting every day impractical. Her landlady would no longer rent her the room, and her factory committee did not have any promised housing with which to provide her in 1980. The Lenin District Soviet argued that they could not provide her with housing either, but the Priemnaia prompted her employing enterprise to promise her housing in 1981.[118]

Marriages of convenience provided another option for procuring housing and permanent residency. One of the most popular stereotypes of limitchiki in Moscow was that they often married Muscovites to legalize their stay and move out of the dormitory. Muscovites were well aware of these motives, but could receive material benefits from such a marriage. Some enterprising individuals, such as Leonid Kazakevich of Baku:

> got into the business when he married Marina to obtain his Moscow residence permit (it cost him a car). To recover expenses and make further profit, he married Lyuba, Natasha, and Margarita in succession so that they could legally live at his address. Then he began to arrange marriages for others. He made thousands of rubles before he was finally apprehended.[119]

The idea of fictitious marriages also figured into popular culture. The film *My Dear Friend* follows a Liusia and her friend Tanya as they journey from the countryside to the city. Liusia calls Tanya from their home village to her dormitory in Moscow, claiming that Tanya's mother has fallen ill. Tanya's mother is fine, but Liusia proposes a marriage for Tanya. Kostia, who is actually Liusia's boyfriend, needs to have a wife to claim his apartment. Without a second person, he will forfeit the apartment. In return, Tanya will receive a Moscow propiska. After backstabbing and betrayal, the two girls realize that Kostia is manipulative and materialistic and return to their village.[120]

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[118] GARF, f. 7523, op. 136, d. 180, l 86-88.
[119] Henry W. Morton, "Who gets what, when and how? Housing in the Soviet Union," *Soviet Studies* 2 (1980): 249.
[120] Aleksandr Kalyagin, *Podruzhka Moia* (Moscow: Ekran, 1985).

The anecdote and film illustrate some clear stereotypes and assumptions regarding those who engaged in fictitious marriages. Most obviously, they are materialistic. Leonid Kazakevich paid for a car in exchange for a marriage that would provide him with a propiska. However, he was not happy with his loss, and therefore used his newly acquired propiska to recover his losses. Similarly, the character Kostia owns a car and seeks a larger apartment through marriage. He possesses a Moscow propiska that he willingly exploits for his gain. However, if spun positively, the Leonids and Kostias of Moscow were enterprising individuals. They understood the system in which they lived, took advantage of the Little Deal, and stood to profit.

Letters to the Priemnaia present a much more humdrum view of the lives of individuals who "married into" a Moscow propiska. The letters do not explain the circumstances of the marriages, but those who received a Moscow propiska following a marriage often found themselves in cramped living conditions. In one of the most extreme cases, A.S. Koptseva petitioned the Priemnaia because her family of nine people lived in an apartment of 31 square meters. Her family originally consisted of her, her husband, and two daughters. The eldest daughter married a man from the Moscow Region who moved in with the family in 1977. The following year, the petitioner's mother moved from Smolensk into the apartment following the death of her husband. In 1980, the younger daughter married a limitchik who moved into the apartment. By 1981, the two young couples each had a child, bringing the number of occupants to nine.[121]

The family Koptsevykh made a number of violations. The grandmother only received her propiska in 1980 despite arriving two years prior. The status of the two young husbands was left unstated. Nine occupants put the family well below the sanitary norm of 5 to 7 square meters per

[121] GARF, f. 7523, op. 136, d. 199, l. 65-72.

person in Moscow. The petitioner never explained why the sons-in-law found it beneficial to live in the apartment versus other accommodations. To the petitioner and those in the Priemnaia, it was self-evident. The daughters would not move to the Moscow Region or the dormitory. The Priemnaia offered the mother, father, and grandmother space in a 19-square meter apartment until better housing was made available through the petitioner's place of employment or district soviet.[122] The two young couples remained in the original apartment.

Marrying a new arrival possibly hurt a Muscovite's chances at receiving improved housing. The two daughters of the Koptsev family were only on the district queue for housing and could not receive housing through their places of employment.[123] In another case, a veteran of the Great Patriotic War had lived in a two-bedroom apartment with his wife and daughter since 1971. In 1979, his son-in-law moved from the Moscow Region into the apartment, and the following year, the young couple had a child. The Priemnaia placed the young family on the district queue for a communal apartment since the son-in-law was a new arrival.[124]

For some, however, marriage did offer help when facing the housing and propiska rigamarole. After graduation, A.P Maiornikov took on work in the Moscow Region, and his employing enterprise promised him a propiska for the dormitory. Although he received a bed there, he never received his propiska. When all dormitory residents faced resettlement, prompted by renovations, the local executive committee denied him a propiska in a new apartment. After petitioning the Priemnaia to rectify his situation, he dropped his petition since he married a woman who had an apartment in Moscow.[125]

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[122] GARF, f. 7523, op. 136, d. 199, l. 65-72.
[123] GARF, f. 7523, op. 136, d. 199, l. 65-72.
[124] GARF, f. 7523, op. 136, d. 200, l. 63-65.
[125] GARF, f. 7523, op. 136, d. 277, l. 22-26.

What can these tales of decrepit housing, bureaucratic red tape, marriages, and squatting tell us about life under developed socialism during the Tenth and Eleventh Five Year Plans? First, migration both exacerbated and solved the problems that had plagued Moscow for decades. Migrants offered a solution to labor shortages and demographic crises. However, the growth of families in dormitories led to overcrowding and added more people to the already long queues for housing. When labor migrants dropped in numbers, enterprises in Moscow found themselves short 54,000 workers by the end of the Eleventh Five Year Plan. Construction enterprises relied most heavily on these workers from out of town. When they no longer arrived in record numbers, housing production, among other things, slowed, deepening the severity of the housing shortage.

Second, individual initiative for improving standards of living was not inherently done apart from the state. In his discussion of the Brezhnev consensus, Zaslavsky posited that in exchange for support of the Soviet state, citizens expected certain means for improving their material conditions.[126] Those who ran the ministries and soviets acquiesced, permitting housing cooperatives and housing swaps. However, activities that Zaslavsky and Millar labelled as gray-area and beyond the pale of officially sanctioned often were not.[127] Squatting became a stepping stone for receiving a permanent propiska when factory committees failed to follow through on promises of housing.

Third, petitioners moved beyond using the ritual lament, described by Golfo Alexopoulos, in which petitioners eschewed official directives to emphasize their contributions to building socialism and instead opted to ask officials to take pity on their current state.[128] Petitioners did describe pitiable conditions but argued that they deserved redress due to their

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[126] Zaslavsky, *The Neo-Stalinist State*, 145.
[127] Millar, "The Little Deal," 694-697.
[128] Golfo Alexopoulos, "The Ritual Lament: The Narrative of Appeal in the 1920s and 1930s," *Russian History* 24, no. 1/2 (1997): 117-129, 120-127.

contributions to building socialism. In his study of Magnitogorsk, Stephen Kotkin first coined the term "speaking Bolshevik," referring to workers adopting official party language to procure certain benefits from the state. On many occasions, this included highlighting one's credentials as a worker.[129] In the over 80 petitions from Muscovites and migrants Moscow and the Moscow Region that I read, petitioners did just that, but they often emphasized other identities as well. Veterans of the Great Patriotic War, veterans of labor, pensioners, woman, and mothers all emphasized these identities in their quests to improve their housing. Women penned over half of all the petitions that I surveyed, emphasizing either their dedication to their families or struggles as single mothers. The most vulnerable, such as single mothers, families with many children, and limitchiki in danger of losing their residency were the most likely to receive clemency. Perhaps the Soviet Union was no longer a workers' state, but it was a socialist state that desired to give its limited housing resources to those it deemed needy.

Fourth and finally, these petitions highlighted the existing tensions between migrants and Muscovites. The popular stereotype that marriages of convenience paved the way to becoming a Muscovite was false, but it suggested frustrations that native-born Muscovites felt. Muscovites also waited in long housing queues as they lived in communal apartments or with their parents. Often, enterprises required a minimum residency of ten years in the capital before receiving housing. This policy favored native-born Muscovites who had lived in the capital their entire lives. Yet, single mothers and families with many children often found themselves moved to the top of the queues. Limitchiki construction workers accepted work on the guarantee of housing within two years. If marriages did not make migrants into Muscovites, this stereotype became the

[129] Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain*, 192-222.

expression of Muscovite displeasure over housing shortages and hierarchies of distribution that favored the more vulnerable.

Conclusion

The eighteen apartment buildings of the Olympic Village became the coveted location to receive an apartment following the Olympics. According to several articles from *Izvestiia*, the soon-to-be residents of the village argued to keep the title "Olympic Village" as part of their legal addresses. All propiski therefore read "Michurinskii Prospect-Olympic Village." The apartments inside the sixteen-floor homes were expansive. Two-room apartments were 32 square meters, and three-bedroom ones were 44 to 45 square meters. The amenities were even better. Each apartment had electric stoves and closets built into them, which contrasted with the norms of gas stoves and freestanding wardrobes. Since the village had originally housed athletes, the micro-district also had a large sports complex with an indoor swimming pool. Busses linked the micro-district, nestled near the Moscow Ring Automobile Road (MKAD; also the outer perimeter road surrounding Moscow), to the Yugo-Zapadnaya Metro Station, located approximately five kilometers away.[130]

[130] Viktor Belikov, "Adres: Olimpiiskaia Derevnia," *Izvestiia*, October 18, 1980, 6.

Figure 2.1: Street sign with address: "Michurinskii Prospekt Olympic Village Street 3"

The cultural amenities more than compensated for the Olympic Village's peripheral location. Grocery stores, cafes, dry cleaners, and hair salons opened along with the necessary schools and kindergartens. The nearby ponds offered great locations for sunbathing in the summer months. Upon his visit to see a friend in the district, *Izvestiia* journalist V. Belikov noted a kiosk "with posters pasted to it, inviting residents to a concert of the soloists of the Bolshoi Theater, to the eccentric-Estrada performance 'Buratino,' to a performance of a popular foreign ensemble of song and dance. Such a repertoire would be rivaled by any concert hall in the center of the city."[131] The community created social clubs that provided lectures, "green patrols" to organize cleaning and maintenance days (*subbotniki*), and a youth music ensemble. When Belikov asked his hosts if they missed their friends and families in their former neighborhoods, they exclaimed no. Everyone was happy to come visit them in the Olympic Village.[132]

[131] Viktor Belikov, "Moskovskii Reportazh: My iz Olimpiiskii Derevni," *Izvestiia*, April 23, 1982, 6.
[132] Belikov, "Moskovskii Reportazh," 6.

But who reaped the benefits of this bright ball of sunshine amid a period that has been described a grey and stagnant? Fourteen thousand Muscovites moved into the over 3,400 new apartments, but leading shock workers, veterans of labor, participants and invalids of the Great Patriotic War received preference. Journalists mentioned pensioners and young parents among the new inhabitants who shaped the new tempo of the village by walking children to school and picking up groceries at the local shops. The Red Proletariat, Red Rose, Moscow Television, Kuntsevskii Weaving, and "Lightning" Factories as well as the Moscow Sewing Association received priority for providing their workers with apartments in the Olympic Village. Those who were on waiting lists for housing through their district and not through their place of employment also received priority.[133]

The builders of the complex also received housing. Ivan Pavlovich Demin, the leader of the 6th Housing Construction Combine that built the village, also received an apartment and became a small-scale celebrity after becoming a Socialist Hero of Labor for his overseeing the construction of the Olympic Village.[134] E.M. Chaikin of the Moscow Television Factory, temporarily worked as a construction worker on the Olympic Village and received a new apartment in exchange for his labor. V. Belikov, the journalist from *Izvestiia*, recalled that his friend, Vasilii Sergeevich Ostromenskii, who had lived in the village of Ochakovo, had finally received an apartment in the city. Construction workers not engaged in with the Olympics also received housing in the village. N.M. Sergachev was a Hero of Socialist Labor due to his expertise in leading brigades in Zelenograd and Vykhino. His innovative methods placed him in charge of building hospitals and later schools. In exchange for his labor, he received an apartment in the Olympic Village.

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[133] Belikov, "Adres," 6.
[134] Belikov, "Adres," 6.

The builders of Olympic structures and housing were also the builders of socialism. Construction kept the economy going. On the day of the construction workers in 1980, the Olympic construction workers received special recognition for the speed with which they built all Olympic structures. Moreover, it was noted, the construction for the Olympics did not slow the pace of other construction projects in the capital. Construction for the Olympics showcased the use of new machinery and methods of labor. Yet, the very same article criticized the construction sector for its poor management, high losses of labor hours, and poor advanced planning of the economy.[135]

The Olympics represented the best and the worst of developed socialism during the Tenth and Eleventh Five Year Plans. Misallocated labor and contract violations affected 24,000 labor migrants who made their way to Moscow for work related to the games. Assigned to other projects, the enterprises that hired them deprived these limitchiki of the accolades and material benefits associated with preparation for the games. The distribution of housing in the Olympic Village emphasized the importance of veterans and Heroes of Socialist Labor, particularly those who contributed to the Olympics. Some limitchiki were included among the numbers who enjoyed the swimming pools and concert halls of the new micro-district. The Olympic Village did not solve Moscow's housing shortage, but it certainly alleviated it.

[135] Karavaev, "Den' Stroitelia," *Izvestiia*, August 8, 1980, 3.

CHAPTER THREE

Neoliberal Losers: Temporary Labor Migration in the Age of Perestroika and Glasnost, 1986-1991

In 1982, a group of young specialists arrived at a factory in the Tushinskii District of Moscow, which fell under the control of the Ministry of Aviation Development. In the Soviet education system, state officials "distributed" all university graduates to work across the Soviet Union for three years following their graduation according to the needs of ministries. Often, this required that recent graduates relocate to medium-size cities, but a decent number made their way to fill vacancies in Moscow. Similar to the case of the limitchiki, employing enterprises provided young specialists with housing in dormitories along with a temporary propiska. Moreover, enterprise directors and factory committees tended to view the young specialists as a solution to problems of labor shortages and turnover, thus often providing the young specialists with access to permanent housing and other benefits once they had completed their three years.[1] In short, the young specialists were like the limitchiki who arrived in Moscow through organized labor recruitment, only with college degrees.

The young specialists in the Tushinskii District passed their first three years unremarkably but experienced problems once they had become eligible to extend their stay in the capital. They petitioned the Soviet Council of Ministers in 1985 regarding their living conditions and relationship with the factory director. They cited among their main complaints: (1) difficulties for single workers to be placed on waiting lists for housing; (2) difficulty receiving a

[1] For an explanation of this distribution system (raspredelenie), please see: Siegelbaum and Moch, *Broad Is My Native Land*, 178-187. For a discussion on how young specialists used this system for social mobility, please see: Daria Svirina, "'The Happiest Days of My Life': The Job Assignment System as the Missing Link Between Education and Labour in the Soviet Union," in *Konstruiruia 'sovetskoe'?: Politicheskoe soznanie, povsednevnye praktiki, novye identichnosti*, eds. A. Boronina et al. (St. Petersburg: European University in St. Petersburg Press, 2018), 128-134.

permanent propiska; and (3) the length of time needed to formalize even a temporary propiska, leaving the workers and their families without their documents.[2]

Their complaints fell in line with the concerns vocalized by Boris N. Yeltsin and Mikhail Gorbachev. Both leaders used glasnost-era discourses to criticize the practice of hiring out-of-town workers for depriving migrants of their basic rights. In their petition to the Soviet Council of Ministers, the young specialists repeatedly emphasized their identities as Komsomol and party members. In 1985, the Council of Ministers and Ministry of Aviation Development sided with the young specialists, ordering the factory director to issue them permanent propiski, provide private dormitory rooms, and place them on the list for apartments. However, the workers repeatedly wrote the Council of Ministers, begging them to enforce their decision since they had not received anything that they had been promised. They penned their last letter in 1987, and received no response.[3]

It is unclear why the Council of Ministers and Ministry of Aviation Development sided with the young specialists, only to ignore them two years later, but this shift suggests larger changes in Soviet views toward temporary labor migration. Even as early as 1985, the year in which the young specialists wrote their first letter, Mossovet decided to suspend the practice of hiring out of town workers in the Twelfth Five Year Plan (1986-1990).[4] As part of its plans titled, "On raising the effective use of labor resources in the Twelfth Five Year Plan," the office stopped temporary in-migration and enlisted the help of the Moscow Institute of Economic Politics, the Economic Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, and the State Committee for

[2] GARF, f. 5446, op. 148, d. 602, l. 2.
[3] GARF, f. 5446, op. 148, d. 602, l. 6.
[4] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 1, d. 441, l. 1.

Labor's Scientific Research Institute of Labor for identifying economically inefficient enterprises by 1987 to begin the process of shutting them down. [5]

These were some of the earliest reforms of perestroika – small-scale economic changes that addressed popular frustrations, often with young, energetic leaders at the helm. As part of his shakeup of the Soviet system, Gorbachev invited a younger generation of cadres to assist him in his reforms. Perestroika was then not only economic restructuring brought on by small and large-scale economic reforms but also a significant shift in who influenced these policies. Gorbachev appointed Yeltsin as Head of the Construction Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in 1985, a position that required Yeltsin to leave his native Sverdlovsk for Moscow. In his new position in the Construction Department, Yeltsin became fascinated by limitchiki who both built and overtaxed the capital's infrastructure, which included housing, public transportation, social welfare provisions, and cultural amenities. Within a few months, Yeltsin became the First Secretary of the Moscow Executive Committee of the Communist Party, a position comparable to mayor of Moscow.[6] Yeltsin argued that abolishing the system of hiring limitchiki was his crowning achievement as First Secretary and lamented that not long after he left that post in 1987, the practice of hiring limitchiki resumed, albeit at a slower tempo.[7]

In his 1990 memoir, Yeltsin captured both the official and popular frustrations voiced against the limitchiki. He described the process of hiring out-of-town workers as something reminiscent of a tributary system. He explained that, "The provinces were eager to give away their grown children to Moscow, at the price of any humiliation. A new word has appeared that was not in the dictionaries until recently – 'limitchik.' These are the young boys and girls who

[5] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 1, d. 441, l. 1.
[6] Boris Yeltsin, *Ispoved' na Zadannuiu Temu* (Moscow: Chelovek, 1990), 30-35.
[7] Yeltsin, *Ispoved*, 30-35.

perform mostly unskilled work for the right to register in Moscow and become full-fledged Muscovites after several years."[8] Even if such migrants subjected themselves to humiliations, Yeltsin believed that Muscovite "snobbism" was also to blame. As a party official from the provinces, he noted in his memoir that he had experienced first-hand the "snobbism" inherent to all Muscovites who looked down on their "backward" provincial compatriots.[9]

Despite his strong condemnation of the Muscovites, Yeltsin readily acknowledged the toll that Moscow's exponential population growth, fueled primarily by temporary labor migration turned permanent residency, took on infrastructure. Like the Office for the Use of Labor Resources had in years gone by, Yeltsin blamed enterprise directors for the large influx of migrants, arguing that such directors erred on the side of laziness. Instead of investing in new technology, the directors relied on the seemingly endless flow of migrants to the capital. Moreover, the marginalization of the limitchiki – from their temporary propiski to their cramped conditions in dormitories and poor working conditions – represented one of the greatest failures of developed socialism in the Soviet Union. [10]

How did temporary labor migration transform from a Grand Bargain that provided Soviet youth with a chance at upward social mobility, marked by their ability to gain access to higher education and housing, into one of the greatest failures of developed socialism? While it is easy to accuse Yeltsin of hyperbole, his analysis highlights the role the structural problems of the Soviet command economy and increasing tensions between migrants and Muscovites in the final years of the Soviet Union. The Grand Bargain had faltered in the early 1980s. By 1985, this bargain was a problem – not a solution – that had created a vicious cycle. Moscow's continual

[8] Yeltsin, *Ispoved'*, 32.
[9] Yeltsin, *Ispoved'*, 32.
[10] Yeltsin, *Ispoved'*, 48,

need for laborers in unskilled positions depleted the populations of the rural areas near the capital, but even this influx did not provide enough laborers to keep up with planned construction and production needs. In order to alleviate this shortage, migrants from further afield began to arrive in Moscow, but with migrants came the need for more housing and material goods. Migrants then both solved and exacerbated these shortages, but ending the hiring of out-of-town workers did little to solve the shortage of material goods. With fewer factory and service workers, Muscovites struggled to procure daily necessities. Moscow and Muscovites could not live with or without migrants.

The existing literature on perestroika has acknowledged that the restructuring of the economy began as a series of limited, gradual reforms to increase efficiency and productivity. Often, scholars hailed the adoption of the Law on Individual Economic Activity as Gorbachev's first major policy change.[11] The law essentially legalized a slew of commonly practiced, formerly gray-area economic activities, such as car repair and hair dressing, that flourished during the 1970s and 1980s. Other reforms, such as the Law on State Enterprises and the Law on Cooperatives, followed, each allowing for more market-based freedom and economic activity. The literature has treated these reforms as ad hoc policies that were part of Gorbachev's larger plans to increase the efficiency of the Soviet economy.[12] In particular, the *khozraschet* system aimed to make enterprises more productive and even profitable by balancing expenses and output.[13] However, Gorbachev became a Dr. Frankenstein, left to grapple with the monster of his own making – glasnost – that undermined perestroika. Glasnost, or the engagement with

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[11] Archie Brown, *Seven Years That Changed the World: Perestroika in Perspective* (New York: Oxford UP, 2007), 72-75.
[12] For studies on the economic reforms under perestroika, please see: David Lane, *Soviet Society under Perestroika*, (Boston: Urwin Hyman, 1990); Filtzer, *Soviet Workers and the Collapse of Perestroika*.
[13] Lane, *Soviet Society under Perestroika*, 23-56. For a discussion of how this functioned in other socialist systems, please see: Janos Kornai, *The Socialist System: The Political Economy of Communism* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1992): 461-473.

previously taboo subjects in public discourse, both allowed more personal freedom and intense criticism. With each decision and policy change, Gorbachev needed to negotiate the Politburo and the public at large.[14]

The existing literature on perestroika and glasnost emphasizes that reforms initially originated from above. Writing before and after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Archie Brown argued that the push from reform originated from above, beginning with Andropov's limited reforms in the early 1980s. Although moderate and not fully implemented, the desire to decrease labor violations and increase productivity became the hallmark of Gorbachev's early restructuring of the economy.[15] Stephen Kotkin looks to Gorbachev's decentralization initiative, which he defines as an imperial retreat, to draw a similar conclusion. While Gorbachev intended to give more power to the republics, this initiative stemmed from Gorbachev, not the leaders in the republics or periphery.[16] Donald Filtzer's analysis is the most critical of perestroika, arguing that perestroika was little more than an attempt to preserve the power of the elite at the expense of workers and their rights.[17]

Even if the clear consensus is that Gorbachev used his new position as General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to initiate reforms, the scholarly literature highlights the continuities with the Brezhnev period that both influenced the need for and the actual implementation of reform. The contemporary Soviet literature traced the need for reform to

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[14] The increasing political openness during glasnost permitted interview projects with Soviet citizens by Western scholars. For works that discuss popular frustrations expressed during glasnost, please see: Nancy Reis, *Russian Talk: Culture and Conversation During Perestroika* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1997); Deborah Adelman, *The "Children of Perestroika": Moscow Teenagers Talk about Their Lives and the Future* (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1991).
[15] Brown, *Seven Years that Shook the World*, 49. Brown also wrote a book that focused solely on Gorbachev, the influences upon his decisions, and his leading role in the reforms. See: Archie Brown, *The Gorbachev Factor* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).
[16] Kotkin, *Armageddeon Averted*, 58-86.
[17] Filtzer, *Soviet Workers and the Collapse of Perestroika*, 4-6.

demographic and social change that began under Khrushchev and Brezhnev. Viktor Perevedentsev discussed the evolution of the Soviet urban population. Although the tempo of urban growth had slowed by 1985, it contributed to the conditions that shaped the need for reform. Industrial growth in urban areas happened at the expense of rural populations who fed enterprise's need for laborers.[18] In large cities such as Moscow, "urban agglomerations" formed when smaller cities in the surrounding region also grew and their inhabitants made daily commutes to Moscow for work. This rapid expansion taxed transportation and housing.[19] Moiseenko and Rybakovskii also argue that by 1985, the number of rural youth who arrived in Moscow fell significantly, which had ramifications for the urban workforce.[20]

The aging Soviet population, deteriorating infrastructure, and slowing economic growth determined which areas of Soviet life Gorbachev deemed in need of reform. Archie Brown identified four main needs: (1) to create pluralism; (2) to create a private sector of the economy; (3) to reconfigure inter-ethnic and center-periphery relations; and (4) to formulate a new type of international relations between the Soviet Union and capitalist democracies.[21] Some works have focused on one or more of these aspects, and many find themselves in agreement regarding the process and outcomes of reforms. Reform started out as something fairly limited to stimulate the sluggish economy and did not question the foundations of the Soviet system. In fact, Gorbachev and the Soviet population at large acted with some ambivalence toward the implementation of markets.[22] Moreover, increased openness in the press and public discourses complicated the

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[18] Perevedentsev, *Molodezh'*, 97; and Rybakovskii, *Migratsiia naseleniia*, 55-56.
[19] Perevedentsev, *Kakie my?*, 26-28.
[20] Moiseenko, *Naseleniia Moskvy*, 10; Rybakovskii, *Migratsiia naseleniia*, 75-9.
[21] Brown, *The Gorbachev Factor*, 158.
[22] Mark Harrison, "Coercion, Compliance, and the Collapse of the Soviet Command Economy," *Economic History Review*, 55, no. 3 (2002): 397–433. Harrison argues, "While significant majorities favoured perestroika and a market economy in principle, most continued to support state ownership of heavy industry and state guarantees of basic incomes and jobs; they did not want such practical outcomes of a market economy such as free prices, unemployment, or rich people." See also: Moskoff, *Hard Times*, 21.

implementation of most reforms. As Brown succinctly put it, since Gorbachev was not a dictator, he could not control the outcomes of his own policies.[23]

More recently, scholars such as Johanna Bockman and Chris Miller have pointed to the neoliberal origins of Gorbachev's economic reforms. Bockman examines the history of economic thought surrounding socialism and capitalism while providing an in-depth analysis of how market socialism functioned in countries such as Yugoslavia and Hungary. She argues that the introduction of market elements to the Soviet economy in the 1980s was not inherently opposed to the ideas of developed socialism. Instead, Gorbachev and others believed market elements would allow for the fairest distribution of the greatest amount of resources.[24] Similarly, Miller studies how China's economic reforms provided a working model for Gorbachev's reforms, which were intended to increase efficiency and productivity.[25]

In this chapter, I argue that perestroika began in Moscow with ending the program of hiring limitchiki. This decision was not an ad hoc experiment. Instead, it was written into the Twelfth Five-Year Plan as part of a larger program to reform the command economy, *not to adopt a market economy*. Economic planners desired to address demographic concerns, labor allocation, and infrastructure by returning to earlier Soviet policies and practices that have been mentioned in the previous two chapters. However, when Gorbachev turned toward market elements, he let the proverbial genie out of the bottle and was left to grapple with rising unemployment and demographic freefall. I argue that the unintended consequences of these reforms bore striking resemblance to problems in neoliberal markets elsewhere: a rollback of social welfare provisions that left society's most vulnerable with no recourse.

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[23] Brown, *The Gorbachev Factor*, 131.
[24] Bockman, *Markets in the Name of Socialism*, 157-186.
[25] Miller, *The Struggle to Save the Soviet Economy*, 11-30.

Problems on the Eve of Reform

The tributary system that Yeltsin mentioned above was beginning to fracture. Yeltsin was correct that ethnic Russians from the rural regions near Moscow *had* previously desired to send their children to Moscow, but the benefits that they would receive in exchange for their labor were less certain. Labor mobility had functioned as one of the cornerstones of the consensus during the Brezhnev era, in which Soviet citizens gave their tacit support for the political regime in exchange for the ability to take personal initiative for improving their material conditions. State actors not only permitted, but endorsed such activities, even in instances when they clearly violated existing policies and laws. Yeltsin highlights how this consensus was on the verge of collapse. Overtaxed infrastructure made the promise of a materially better future difficult for migrants and raised the ire of Muscovites who also began to feel these shortages.

The toll of Moscow's expanding population taxed its infrastructure. Yeltsin mentioned in his 1990 memoir that upon his arrival to the capital in 1985, the population was over 1,000,000 higher than the planned projection set out in 1972, and he saw limitchiki as the main cause of this expansion. He further qualified that everything in Moscow has been pushed to its functional limits, resulting in long queues, dirt, and overcrowding. He also pushed his analysis to the sphere of culture, stating that, "the provision of theater seats per thousand inhabitants was less than in 1917."[26] In this respect, Yeltsin sounded strikingly similar to the privileged Muscovites that he so despised. By the late 1980s, Muscovites were quite quick to complain about the huge toll that labor migration took upon the city's infrastructure, often using relaxed censorship in the press to voice these opinions.

[26] Yeltsin, *Ispoved'*, 45.

Problems in the capital ran deeper than having an "extra" 1,000,000 people since several million people commuted into the capital daily from the cities in the Moscow Region. The rush hour commutes became one popular talking point. The metro and ground transportation operated to serve only 7,500,000, which led to overcrowding and long waits. Even as the pace of labor migration and urbanization slowed in the early 1980s, dormitories remained overcrowded as limitchiki waited to receive housing. As stated in the previous chapter, the dormitory became a serious barrier to migrant family life. The decline in the dormitories was not limited to physical conditions; cultural development continued to decline and was eventually overridden by new policies in the late 1980s. The propiska system failed to meet the purpose that Soviet academics had ascribed to it in the 1970s. It did not prevent hyper-urbanization and its resulting problems that were seen in capitalist countries.

Transportation was not a completely new problem for migrants and Muscovites. The radial lines of the metro system could not keep up with the capital's urban sprawl since the city's boundaries expanded quicker than the metro expanded.[27] Even in the mid-1970s, residents in the AZLK and ZIL dormitories complained that not enough busses ran between the dormitories and the factories, resulting in overcrowding and tardiness at work. Ground transportation had not gotten much better a decade later. In his analysis of migration and urbanization, Perevedentsev recounted how traveling a scarce 3 kilometers could take almost an hour since many busses ran from the periphery of the city to the center but not between districts on the outskirts of the city. When relying on the metro, commuters often needed to travel into the center of the city to change lines before traveling back to the edge of the city.[28]

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[27] Radial lines refer to the ones that cut across the city running from distant corners through the center to other outlying districts. These radial lines cut across the circle line that runs around the center of the city.
[28] Perevedentsev, *Kakie my?*, 104.

Migrants and commuters from the Moscow Region added to the chaos. Many of the metro interchanges were located within 2 kilometers of Red Square, near the major shopping centers: the State Universal Department Store (GUM), the Central State Universal Department Store (TsUM), and Children's World (Detskii Mir). Commuters thus competed with tourists and shoppers as they made their way through the metro. Moreover, over 1,000,000 residents of the Moscow region arrived in the capital's nine major railway stations every day, then using the metro to make it to their final destination in the city. Perevedentsev estimated that 10,000,000 people used Moscow's transportation systems on a daily basis, even though it was organized to only service 7,500,000.[29] The strains on the system were not lost on those using them either. One poet who wrote from the point of view of a migrant recounted the chaos that rush hour brought about, referring to the throngs of people shuffling about listlessly, lost in the sea of the masses.[30]

An underserviced transportation system was only the tip of the iceberg; the real infrastructure crisis in Moscow was housing. In the previous chapter, I explained the difficulties that migrants faced living in the dormitories and securing housing that had been promised to them. By the eve of Gorbachev's tenure as General Secretary, over 500,000 migrants and Muscovites found themselves on the waiting lists for housing. In fact, migrants who began their struggle to improve their conditions in the early 1980s often continued to do battle during the period of perestroika.

What they found more concerning was the poor dormitory conditions that led to high labor turnover. While labor turnover was permissible, even if problematic during the 1970s, by the 1980s, it posed a more serious problem since fewer youth were waiting in the reserves. The Office worded the problems they found in these enterprises in ways that laid the blame on the

[29] Perevedentsev, *Kakie my?* 111.
[30] Vladimir Vishnevskii, *Moskovskaia Propiska: Stikhi* (Moscow: Sovremennost, 1989).

enterprise directors. When "poor-quality" limitchiki found work in these enterprises, the Office for Labor and Social problems accused the directors of hiring poor quality workers. Moreover, factory directors failed to properly use the workers they hired from outside the city. Like the young specialists, the workers in these dormitories did not have access to appropriate housing, vospitanie (cultural development), or educational opportunities. In short, the Office had the same conclusion. These poor conditions directly caused high labor turnover.[31]

People's Control Committees also continued to find faults in dormitories that echoed problems from earlier in the decade. One investigation of professional-technical school (PTU) dormitories 71 and 48, which also housed workers and their families, examined: the physical conditions of the buildings; care of furniture; availability of quality food; the quality of the library; quality of cultural work; organization of excursions; and work combatting drunkenness. The investigation stemmed from a letter the residents sent to the newspapers *Trud* (*Labor*) and *Komsomolskaia Pravda*. Residents accused the factory administration of refusing to implement an entry pass system and failing to keep up with official sanitary norms, particularly changing linens and removing trash. The People's Control Committee largely confirmed these accusations. In PTU 48's dormitory, the heat and water worked only occasionally, and the hot water never worked on the fourth and fifth floors. Poor ventilation led to mold growing on the walls, but the dormitory failed to employ any cleaners. The dormitory for PTU 71 was not much better. The heating worked poorly and the cleaning crew rarely changed the sheets on the dormitory beds. Food was neither transported nor stored safely, and the kitchen often suffered from flooding. Both dormitories had several instances of hooliganism.[32]

[31] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 443, l. 1.
[32] TsGAGM, f. 3053, op. 1, d. 214, l. 2-8.

Overcrowding in dormitories continued to complicate family life for young migrants. Some women initially moved to the city with their husbands or married fellow workers after their arrival. One enterprise, the Pyotr Alekseyev Fine Fabric Mill, permitted husbands and wives to live together. However, as the following story illustrates, the limitchiki, at best, had a tenuous right to family housing:

> The management decreed that husbands would no longer be permitted to live in the dormitories. When asked, "What are we supposed to do, get divorced?" the director merely replied that this was not management's concern and that women shouldn't get married until they have housing. And this response from an enterprise that supposedly looks after its workers![33]

The management expected the husbands to leave and find their own accommodations or return home. Mothers at another plant received family housing if they had children, but management did not permit husbands to live there. Instead, eight mothers lived in four rooms with their children, who often became sick.

In general, dormitories deterred family life all together. Separated by gender, dormitories forbid members of the opposite sex from the dormitories after 10PM. Three journalists explained the difficult logistics of starting a family, stating,

> Usually the couples have only their beds in dormitories meant for single workers. Intentionally or not, enterprise managers keep people from starting families. From their viewpoint, marriage is followed by children, which means that the woman will leave her job for at least 18 months. And she'll also need accommodations in a family dormitory.[34]

Even if couples married, family life was difficult, if not impossible. Furthermore, according to the journalists, limitchiki would not receive housing until after they reached age forty. Because propiska regulations stipulated that limitchiki could not place their names on housing lists until

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[33] Yuri Osipov, Aleksandr Mikhailovsky and Pavel Kritsov, "Stepdaughters of the Big City," *Current Digest of the Soviet Press* 52 (1988): 17-18, 17.
[34] Ibid, 17-18.

they had lived in the city for ten years, limitchiki usually lived in the city for twenty years before receiving a private apartment.[35]

Housing became a major source of tension between migrants and Muscovites. Many – if not most – migrants lived in the dormitory for at least a decade, but some received promises of expedited housing, which incited the ire of Muscovites who also found themselves on long queues. The 1988 documentary film, *Limita, ili chetvertyi son*, mentioned in Chapter One, illustrated the social tensions that had come to dominate the relationships between migrants and Muscovites, contrasting Muscovite stereotypes with the actual words and living conditions of limitchiki. The director introduces the viewer to a group of young men who study and work in one of the capital's factories. The young men explain that they do not wish to exacerbate the housing shortage in the capital. Instead, they came to Moscow due to the dearth of educational and employment opportunities available to them elsewhere in the Soviet Union.

Without futures, without hope became the chorus for most limitchiki interviewed. One woman from Belarus raised her child almost exclusively on her own. Her husband, who was also the father of her child, lived in a male dormitory in Moscow and was only allowed in her dormitory until 10 PM. Other women also expressed their frustrations. Left with the least desirable jobs in the factory, they also faced cramped living conditions with little hope of receiving an apartment of their own in the foreseeable future. The director contrasts these tales of woe with Muscovites complaining about limitchiki. One dormitory commandant stated for the camera that every resident had their own color television, while a band called the limitchiki the sickness of Moscow.

[35] Ibid, 17-18.

The major problem that economic planners faced in Moscow in 1986 was sustaining its already oversized population, not necessarily a major demographic crisis. In fact, births, deaths, and in-migration held steady throughout the entirety of the 1980s. While migrants came from further afield than they had previously, the population growth of the capital due to migration did not radically change during the 1980s. Between 1983 and 1985, the population of Moscow grew by 65,000 annually, but the share of migrants from the Central Region fell by several thousand.[36] In 1989, after the practice of hiring limitchiki resumed in Moscow, this figure remained unchanged. The RSFSR continued to send the most migrants to Moscow, but migrants from the Caucasus and Central Asia increased slightly in numbers. Moreover, this migration followed a trend established by the early 1980. Men and women accounted for almost equal migration-related population growth.[37] How these migrants made their way to Moscow was also different. While ethnic Russians from the Central Region often moved on their own, Central Asians, particularly Uzbeks, relied on organized labor recruitment.

Natural population growth had also held steady throughout the 1980s. From 1980 to 1982, births in the capital surpassed deaths by approximately 10,000 annually, with Russians accounting for 88 percent of these births, almost exactly proportionate to their share of the population in the capital.[38] In 1983, however, the number of births jumped from 109,000 to 123,000, an increase of 14,000.[39] Even though the number of deaths increased by 5,000, natural growth increased to 21,100. While births dropped only slightly during the following year, deaths increased by 5,000, bringing natural growth down to 15,000 for the year.[40] By 1988, births had

[36] TsGAGM, f. 126, op. 13, d. 644, 663.
[37] TsGAGM, f. 126, op. 13, d. 721.
[38] TsGAGM, f. 126, op. 13, d. 615, 625, 635.
[39] TsGAGM, f. 126, op. 13, d. 645.
[40] TsGAGM, f. 126, op. 13, d. 654.

dropped by several thousand so that natural population growth fell just short of 10,000, the levels seen earlier in the pre-perestroika years of the 1980s.[41]

If demographics in Moscow did not radically change throughout the entirety of the 1980s, why the frantic changes? By the dawn of perestroika, Moscow's enterprises were short already 54,000 workers despite constant efforts to recruit mothers, pensioners, students, and temporary labor migrants, shaping the earliest reforms instituted during perestroika. During the early 1980s, the Moscow Office for the Use of Labor Resources began to implement limited reforms to increase both labor discipline and productivity since it became increasingly obvious that neither Moscow nor the RSFSR could provide a sufficient number of workers in either the short or long-term.

Demographics alone could not account for labor shortages; instead, it was also an issue of who was entering the workforce and what jobs they sought. Between 1979 and 1989, the number of youth, defined as anyone under age 30, in the entire Soviet Union dropped from 70 million to 63 million.[42] By the mid-1980s, the number of students graduating high school with either a complete or incomplete diploma had dropped by half. Slightly over 6,600 Moscow teens left school for the workforce, and almost all eschewed physically demanding labor.[43] Moreover, economic planners faced a growing disparity between available jobs and jobs for which prospective workers had trained. Of the 2,530 workers sent to Moscow through organized labor recruitment in 1986, 1,264 used the profession for which they had been trained. However, the slight majority of 1,266 assumed a new profession.[44]

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[41] TsGAGM, f. 126, op. 13, d. 699.
[42] GARF, f. 5446, op. 163, d. 1022.
[43] GARF, f. 10005, op. 1, d. 1247, l. 152.
[44] GARF, f. 10005, op. 1, d. 1199, l. 11.

These labor shortages in the RSFSR negatively affected the political and economic position of youth there. Youth entered the workforce later than ever before. In earlier decades, 90 percent of youth were employed by age 20, but in the 1980s, youth only reached the 90 percent threshold by age 25. The Council of Ministers argued that youth found work later because they spent longer completing their education and job training. Despite increased qualifications, young workers mainly worked in difficult conditions that required skill low levels. Men under age 30 made up 30 percent of all construction workers and 35 percent of those working in automobile production.[45] In Moscow, overqualified workers predominated. Fifty percent of all blue-collar workers and 40 percent of white-collar ones did not use the skills for which they had originally trained.[46]

Faced with seemingly incurable labor shortages and the inability to provide promised material benefits, the State Committee for Labor of the RSFSR and the Moscow Office for the Use of Labor Resources instituted two interrelated policies. The State Committee for Labor reasserted its efforts for professional orientation and cultural development, arguing that its neglect of these programs in the late 1970s and early 1980s exacerbated the problems associated with labor allocation. On the city level, stopping temporary labor migration while closing ineffective enterprises provided the possibility of alleviating the extreme stress being placed on the capital's infrastructure.

New Solutions to Old Problems?

Despite all of its logic, the decision to end hiring out of town workers ignored the reality that had ignited the process years before: Muscovites refused to work in certain sectors of the

[45] GARF, f. 5446, op. 163, d. 1022.
[46] TsGAGM, f. 249, op.2, d. 481, l. 1-3.

economy. By 1988, the then Office for Labor and Social Problems began issuing exceptions to its policy. Some enterprises could not find enough Muscovites to work in construction, light industry, and other forms of monotonous labor. As a result, the Office sought 7,000 out-of-city workers and took on an additional 3,000 workers from Vietnam.[47] While the program's hiatus was short-lived, it signaled an end of the bargain among government officials, enterprise administrations, and migrant workers that had been struck in previous decades. If in the past, officials and administrators provided material benefits for migrants (or at the very least, exhibited extreme permissiveness in allowing migrants to better their own conditions), now migrants could no longer expect material benefit or social mobility to result from their labors.

The movement of people occupied an ambiguous place during perestroika. On the one hand, economic planners in Moscow's housing supply could not deny the need for labor migrants, even if they realized that such migration would soon no longer be a viable solution to labor shortages. On the other hand, Moscow could not accommodate its existing population, let alone more residents. While the introduction of markets would seemingly allow for the free movement of people, Soviet authorities also planned to bring labor to overpopulated areas. As a result, Mossovet and the Office for the Use of Labor Resources focused its energy on Moscow's native population.

While temporary labor migration resumed, the Office for the Use of Labor Resources continued to address the long-term issue of Moscow's workforce. The Office changed its name to the Office for Labor and Social Problems in 1987 and provides an interesting case study of how official policies tied economic and social reform on the local level to improvements in

[47] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 274, l. 1. Burawoy and Hendler found that one enterprise tried to contract Chinese workers, but the plan ultimately did not work. Michael Burawoy and Kathryn Hendley, "Between Perestroika and Privatisation: Divided Strategies and Political Crisis in a Soviet Enterprise," *Soviet Studies*, 44, no. 3 (1992): 371-402.

family life. Originally charged with rallying labor resources within the capital and recruiting labors from outside Moscow, the Office now sought to address demographic problems that went hand in hand with labor shortages. The Office for Labor and Social problems was well aware that the chronically low number of births meant smaller workforces in the future. In the meantime, this demographic stagnation resulted in an aging population that relied on labor migrants to keep factories and construction brigades functioning.

In terms of births in 1987, Moscow ranked 25th out of 30 Soviet cities that had populations over one million people. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the number of births in Moscow surpassed the number of deaths by 10,000 to 15,000 annually. In 1989, however, deaths surpassed births by 5,000, and Moscow fell to last place for births in Soviet cities.[48] In 1991, the year of the dissolution of the Soviet Union, there were 34,000 more deaths than births. From 1971 to 1984, Moscow's population had grown by 50,000 annually due to migration alone.[49] The Office linked these demographic problems to economic ones. In a study on demographic problems, the Office also noted that Moscow's enterprises, like most Soviet ones, suffered from a lack of technological innovation. Approximately 400,000 workers had changed their position in the last two years (1987-1988) alone. This led to Moscow ranking below New York, London, Paris, Tokyo, Chicago, Montreal, Madrid, and Sydney in terms of economic growth.[50]

The Office's solution was a series of long-term goals and plans to increase the natural growth of the city's population – that is to say, population growth by births as opposed to in-migration. The Office, which had long focused on recruiting migrants and monitoring their conditions in the capital, now directed its actions towards its native population (among whose

[48] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 481, l. 2.
[49] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 461, l. 1-4.
[50] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 481, l. 3.

numbers were limitchiki turned permanent residents) to solve both demographic problems and economic ones. Policies now focused on births, marriages, and divorces, not available labor resources, dormitories, and the like. A report from 1987 covered the demographic situation in Moscow and speculated as to its causes. Each year, Moscow officials registered 90,000 marriages, 40,000 deaths, and 125,000 births. Moscow had a total of two and a half million families, but only 350,000 were families in which the spouses were under age 30. In short, Moscow's demographic crisis was on the precipice of becoming even worse. Its birth rate was only 14/1000, compared to the all-Soviet 20/1000.[51]

The focus on the family represented a renewed focus on ideology as well as a shift in ideological focus. The Office argued that divorce was the leading cause of the low number of births, and as a result, the Office tasked itself with combatting divorce. Its guiding principle was to "implement recommendations from research, based on psychology, demographics, and sociology."[52] Psychological problems, it believed, were associated with high number of divorces. The prestige of both motherhood and fatherhood was allegedly underrated. Soviet families suffered from disinterested fathers and mothers with difficult working conditions. This led to degradation of the material conditions of family.[53] The Office for Labor and Social Problems' first course of action was to offer a lecture series titled, "Family and Everyday Life in the Conditions of Developed Socialism." After offering the lecture at several institutes and enterprises, the office reported that over 100,000 Muscovites listened to the lecture over the course of the year.[54] Lectures, like cultural development programs, aimed to shape the vision of

[51] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 465, l. 4.
[52] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 465, l. 2.
[53] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 461, l.1-4.
[54] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 465, l. 6.

what it meant to be a good Soviet citizen, but the emphasis now fell upon increasing births and keeping families together, instead of engagement with Soviet culture.

The Office for Labor and Social Problems also opened a series of clinics to aid the physical and psychological health of Moscow's families. The clinics, named "Marriage and Family", helped address "personal problems, interfamily conflicts, problems with keeping promises, psychological problems with raising families, preparing youth for marriage, and problems with conceiving."[55] Three such units opened in 1988, and the office planned to open more through 2000. All units had a psychologist on hand in addition to medical professionals who could address issues of fertility.[56] These family clinics were of the pronatalist sort, encouraging young families to have children and raise them in stable homes with both a mother and father present.

Emphasis on the family was part of larger Soviet engagement with humanism, or a focus on the individual and his or her needs, and openness, which included both open discussion and transparency in governance. As part of its plans to ratify the UN Convention on the Rights of Children, the Soviet Council of Ministers grappled with the relationships between migration policies and family reunification. At the all-Soviet level, the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union increased the freedom of mobility for Soviet citizens, arguing that restrictions on movement contradicted humanist principles and put undue stress on families. The Supreme Soviet ratified the UN Convention on Rights of Children and found that the propiska system conflicted with raising children in stable households. Mossovet denied propiski to criminals who served in penal colonies, preventing their reunification with their family. Denying their right to live in the city

[55] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 466, l. 1.
[56] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 466, l. 2.

forced criminals to move to other parts of the Soviet Union and made rates of recidivism ten times higher. The Supreme Soviet found these policies "contrary to humanism."[57]

At times, the policy of family reunification conflicted with the Office for Labor and Social Problems' goals of focusing on its own population. The Supreme Soviet received complaints from families in which husbands had relocated for military service. Families returning from abroad found it difficult to locate housing and receive a propiska. Without a propiska, they argued, it was impossible to find work and receive medical attention. The Supreme Soviet proposed that all returning officers be able to receive a temporary propiska in the city of their choosing.[58] Moreover, the Supreme Soviet developed specific guidelines for Moscow. Moscow should have to offer 500 propiski for those in the military who had live in closed cities, abroad, the Far North, or other regions with difficult climates. The Moscow Executive Committee countered that such a policy was impossible due to insufficient housing. It would register only those who lived with extended families and those who had no other options.[59]

The Office for Labor and Social Problems began to cultivate a future local workforce, while central authorities attempted to divert development away from Moscow toward other regions. While the number of youthful workers in the RSFSR plummeted, it skyrocketed in the Central Asian Republics. The Council of Ministers associated the shifting locations of youth with employment problems. The aging population in the RSFSR created labor shortages, particularly in its cities, which encouraged migration among the youth there. However, the burgeoning population in Central Asia tended to be less mobile and thus underemployed.[60] The State

[57] GARF, f. 5446, op 162, d. 1005, l. 3.
[58] GARF, f. 5446, op. 162, d. 988, l. 6.
[59] GARF, f. 5446, op. 162, d. 1006, l. 9.
[60] GARF, f. 5446, op. 163, d. 1022.

Committee for Labor thus attempted to decrease migration to Moscow by bringing work to overpopulated areas.

If the focus on the family left labor migration in an ambiguous position, so did attempts to increase youth political involvement while deemphasizing the central role of the Party. During glasnost and perestroika, workers' dormitories lost their position of privilege for shaping the formation of limitchiki. In 1988, the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR issued new protocols regarding workers' dormitories and legally restructured the relationship between migrant workers and vospitateli. The Council of Ministers no longer tasked vospitateli with "enhanc[ing] the social activity, educational, political and cultural levels of residents in the dormitory."[61] Instead, the protocols embraced the political democratization that called for more voices than that of the Communist Party, which was underway in the Soviet Union and called for each dormitory to create a workers' committee that would "improve education, mass culture, physical wellness and sports activities; assert the norms and rules of a socialist dormitory, a sober and healthy lifestyle; and help the dormitory administration to improve their living conditions and public services."[62] Culturedness, education, and physical activity remained the foci of youth development, but limitchiki now needed to take initiative in their own personal development.

The transfer of responsibility for cultural development from vospitateli to migrant workers is representative of the wider goals of glasnost and perestroika. The development of youth in Soviet dormitories in the 1970s both emphasized the values of the Soviet way of life and attempted to slow labor turnover. Likewise, glasnost and perestroika joined the political and economic by "direct[ing] socialism to humanism, justice, economic effectiveness, and building

[61] Sovet Ministrov RSFSR, Postanovlenie, ot 11.08.1988 n. 328.
[62] Sovet Ministrov RSFSR, Postanovlenie, ot 11.08.1988 n. 328.

of democracy."[63] Placing the cultural development of youthful migrants under the direction of workers' committees was part of this democratization process that sought to undo a hierarchical relationship between party actors and young citizens, giving more personal and political freedom to Soviet citizens. However, the result was that the dormitory lost not only the strength of its cultural programs but also its importance to the Soviet economy. During perestroika, the Office for Labor and Social Problems, the Council of Ministers and enterprises in Moscow imagined a new economic order in which improved levels of education, increased number of higher births, and more employment opportunities in the countryside would render temporary labor migration obsolete. Young families replaced limitchiki as the solution to Moscow's economic problems and the object of Soviet political and social development. Repertoires and regimes of migration became less compatible when the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the Office for Labor and Social Problems attempted to curb temporary labor migration and minimized social welfare provisions in the dormitory. In short, the assured pathway from migrant to Muscovite became a less certain one.

While the dormitory lost its preeminence, cultural development programs that had been central to dormitory life played an important role in wider perestroika-era reforms. The State Committee for Labor of the RSFSR argued that its abandonment of professional orientation had caused some of the problems of the Soviet economy. A lack of guidance meant that youth often adopted skill sets that they later would abandon in favor of developing new ones. The Committee later criticized the failure throughout the Soviet Union to update technology that would lower the number of laborers needed to meet production goals. Even in meeting the new goal of increasing

[63] GARF, f. 5446, op. 163, d. 1023.

international trade, the Committee called for increased job training, this time focusing on acquiring functional use of foreign languages.

Perhaps the most obvious use of past practices was in the fight against alcoholism. The State Committee for Labor of the RSFSR defined the project as "In the light of the new, modern way of thinking, it is necessary to research the reasons and conditions that cause drunkenness, to take care of the liquidation of unpleasant social, economic, psychological, medical-biological, and other outcomes of alcoholism."[64] Although linked to the new way of thinking, the process was little more than a blast from the past. Strengthening vospitanie, they argued, would promote spiritual and physical health in workers, which was necessary for meeting "economic, political, and social goals of perestroika."[65] Family and young workers were central to creating a rejuvenated Soviet culture, but the idea of sports and culture to prevent social-ills regained currency under perestroika-era reforms.

The Outcomes

The new economic conditions in Moscow created a strange irony. The Office for Labor and Social Problems had long rallied indigenous and migrant youth, women, and pensioners to join the workforce. However, in the late 1980s following the Office's name change to the Office for Labor and Social Problems, these very groups became just that: social problems, not labor resources. In a 1989 study, the Office argued that "One problem will increase: employment of youth, women, pensioners, and invalids. At the current moment, these categories cannot be taken on profitably."[66] The Office predicted that unemployment in Moscow would soon mimic

[64] GARF, f. 10005, op. 1, d. 1442, l. 46.
[65] GARF, f. 10005, op. 1, d. 1442, l. 45.
[66] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 481, l. 1-5.

unemployment seen in capitalist countries. Looking to other world capitals, the Office predicted that under economic liberalization, unemployment in Moscow would reach between 4 and 7 percent, leaving approximately 400,000 people unemployed.[67]

Economic liberalization often meant downsizing, which affected both limitchiki and Muscovites. By 1989, 302 enterprises had closed in Moscow, resulting in 14,800 being left without work. An additional 2,750 enterprises downsized, letting go 28,760 workers. The consolidation of government ministries added 5,000 workers to the tally of the unemployed. The overwhelming majority of those let go from work were women, a whopping 64 percent. Youth accounted for 16 percent, and pensioners 27.[68]

The Office sought socialist solutions to these new capitalistic problems. It planned to provide (1) the guarantee of employment for all; (2) training and retraining programs; and (3) access to social welfare resources for families. The Office replaced organized labor recruitment with a labor market that would work in conjunction with enterprises to create more jobs. The guarantee of employment relied heavily on the Office's ability to coordinate with enterprises and workers. Unemployed workers registered with the Office for Labor and Social Problems which then provided them with information on available employment opportunities, courses for retraining, and unemployment benefits. The Office called on all enterprises to register any employment vacancies with the Office so the unemployed could be forwarded on to work.[69]

The economic conditions in Moscow worsened in 1991, the year of the Soviet Union's dissolution. Over 100,000 people sought the help of the Office for Labor and Social Problems for finding work. The overwhelming majority were unemployed because they had been let go from

[67] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 481, l. 1-5.
[68] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 497, l. 13.
[69] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 485, l. 10.

their previous place of employment. Different government ministries planned to release 140,000 from work by the end of the year. The Office predicted that 380,000 to 450,000 people living in Moscow would be in search of work by the end of 1991 due to liberalization policies. Moreover, the 640,000 people of retirement age in the workforce faced the reality that they might be forced out of work and not receive pensions.[70] The Moscow City Council entertained the idea of selling propiski to provide hard cash for unemployment benefits and pensions but such plans never came to fruition.[71]

The reforms initiated by the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the Office for Labor and Social Problems were not inherently neoliberal, but viewed the market as a means for furthering democratization. In her study of the left-wing connections to neoliberalism, Johanna Bockman makes the point that:

> According to Gorbachev, perestroika meant ending totalitarian systems and introducing democratic reforms and freedoms, a pluralistic economy (with many types of ownership, including privatization, free enterprise, and shareholding), and a free market economy. This might sound like capitalism to observers looking back in hindsight, but at the time it represented the most advanced understanding of socialism among economists in both East and West.[72]

Market socialism was the name of Gorbachev's game, and the socialism aspect should be taken seriously. The Office for Labor and Social Problems desired to offer unemployment benefits and pensions. However, the course of economic and social reforms made this difficult, if not impossible. In the 1970s, the dormitory was the center of cultural development and social welfare distribution, so when it lost its place of pre-eminence, migrants lost their relatively easy access to these services. Moreover, market reforms led to a failure of the Soviet state to meet its guarantee of employment for all.

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[70] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 498, l. 1-28.
[71] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 499, l. 1.
[72] Bockman, *Markets in the Name of Socialism*, 180.

There are two ways in which a comparison between neoliberalism on the one hand and perestroika and glasnost on the other can be pursued. The first engages with the short definition of neoliberalism – an increase in personal freedoms and a rollback of social welfare provisions.[73] This happened in the Soviet Union but not because the state embraced a neoliberal platform. Instead, market socialism and increased political democratization made it difficult for a socialist state – that still desired to provide social welfare – to do so. Perhaps another avenue for comparison is with China when it restructured its economy. David Harvey argues that economic reforms in China resulted in:

> the massive proletarianisation of China's workforce, the breaking of the "iron rice bowl," the evisceration of social protections, the imposition of user fees, the creation of a flexible labor market regime, and the privatization of assets formerly held in common.[74]

Some of these elements, such as the proletarianisation of the Soviet workforce and the privatization of assets would become more pronounced in the post-Soviet period when Russia began its journey through "shock therapy", but elements of the other four characteristics can clearly be seen in Soviet Moscow.

David Harvey described the "iron rice bowl" in ways that are similar to the role of the Soviet enterprise and dormitory, primarily a "wide range of welfare and pension benefits" distributed through the state-owned enterprises in China.[75] In the Soviet case, the decline of the role of the vospitatel' and the increasing focus on the family share similarities with the breaking of the "iron rice bowl." Encouraging the democratization of cultural programs within the Soviet dormitory diminished the role of the enterprise in shaping and influencing Soviet youth. Moreover, the social welfare that the Office for Labor and Social Problems offered moved away

[73] Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, 2.
[74] Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, 150.
[75] Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, 126.

from the dormitory to focus on all families within Moscow. The new sites of social formation and welfare were now clinics for physical and psychological care. Moreover, by 1991, the Office for Labor and Social Problems failed to provide employment and social welfare for the most vulnerable – youth, women, pensioners, and the infirm.

The imposition of user fees and the creation of a labor market accompanied the struggling economic reforms in Soviet Moscow. In the Soviet case, organized labor recruitment and personal connections were the channels that funneled workers from labor rich to labor deficit areas in the Soviet Union. However, by the late 1980s, both the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the Office for Labor and Social Problems attempted to stem migration and develop local labor markets. Although labor deficit areas often did not offer sufficient employment opportunities, economic liberalization meant cities such as Moscow, which had long absorbed labor surpluses because of its own deficits, no longer could do so. Instead, the Office developed a citywide labor market based on "the research of domestic and international scholars on labor markets."[76] As local organs in Moscow failed to deliver social welfare, user fees, particularly the idea of charging for a propiska, were debated as a possible means for financing the struggling social welfare system.

All of these in one form or another represent the evisceration of social welfare protections, particularly for migrants, thus complicating the prospects of becoming a Muscovite. The Council of Ministers of the USSR and the Office for Labor and Social Problems planned to tackle to the structural issues that led to labor shortages in regime cities and therefore labor migration. These policies emphasized the importance of families in Moscow, viewing healthy and stable families as a necessary component for creating a local, youthful labor pool. However,

[76] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 485, l. 10.

the development of the family was a long-term plan for Moscow's economic well-being. Such plans left migrant workers out in the cold. Many arrived single and unattached, relying on the dormitory for their economic and social well-being and falling outside of the focus on the family.

Connotations and Uses of the Word Limitchiki

By 1991, limitchiki had become the "unloved sons" and "step-daughters" of the Soviet capital. Arriving in the Soviet capital, these labor migrants struggled to find not only permanent residency but also acceptance from native Muscovites. Derogatory use of limitchik dated back to at least the early 1980s, but the increasing openness in the Soviet press highlighted the plethora of negative connotations associated with the term. Glasnost opened the Pandora's box of discussions, and the limitchiki were one of the many items that escaped. It would be hard to claim that limitchiki were *the* central glasnost-era discussion, but when limitchiki did emerge in public discussions, it was often to emphasize Muscovites' frustrations with the deteriorating economic conditions under perestroika. In interviews with scholars, Muscovites accused migrants of skipping queues for deficit goods and exploiting the native population.[77] The documentary *Limita, ili chetvertyi son* even focused on the tensions between limitchiki and Muscovites, highlighting the stark differences between Muscovite perceptions and the reality of living as a limitchik.[78]

Muscovites used this increasing openness to portray limitchiki as everything negative from job stealers to thrill chasers and fortune seekers. On the one hand, limitchik was more than just a slur to those critical of the new arrivals. The word denoted an internalized world view, one

[77] Reis, *Russian Talk;* Adelman, *The "Children of Perestroika."*
[78] This documentary, *Limita, ili Chetvertii son'* was seen as part of a new wave of glasnost' era cinema, since it was both a documentary by an independent director and a critique of youth problems in the Soviet Union. See: Nicholas Galichenko, *Glasnost—Soviet Cinema Responds* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991).

that aimed to exploit the native Muscovite population. On the other hand, Soviet citizens also coopted the term to emphasize their own suffering in situations in which they felt they had been treated no better than limitchiki. With the exception of one article, limitchiki were seldom cast as job stealers, and instead, complaints centered on the deleterious effects that limitchiki had on the city's infrastructure. This suggests that economic difficulty influenced an upswing in anti-migrant sentiment, but since unemployment became an issue only in 1990, Muscovites initially voiced their frustrations by pointing to other problems.

Legal terms that referred to limitchiki denoted their status as someone from outside the city. Often, enterprises used the term "hired according to the limit" (*nanimali po limitu*) to signify those workers from beyond Moscow's borders with temporary propiski for the dormitories. The Office for Labor and Social Problems opted for "inogorodnie rabochie." *Gorod*, the root of *inogorodnii*, is Russian for city, but the prefix *ino-* refers to someone or something foreign or originating elsewhere. Limitchiki was rarely used in formal documents and was a colloquialism. As early as 1982, Andre Dietrich Loeber commented that in popular parlance, limitchiki was a derogatory term, used to denote inferior workers who produced subpar results.

The first instance of the word limitchiki in the Soviet press appeared in 1983, crying out for the protection of Moscow's native workforce. Muscovites argued that students who left school at sixteen years old could help fill the labor shortages in Moscow, but they were prevented from doing so by their youth and the presence of the limitchiki.[79] One journalist cites as an example youths who left school at age sixteen with a specialty in mechanics and sought

[79] Marina Blagonravova, "Chem Zaniatsia na Kanikuly?" *Literaturnaia Gazeta*, March 31, 1983, 12. The article states that students could leave school at sixteen years old with an incomplete education. They could remain in school until eighteen and complete their secondary education. However, legally, Soviet citizens did not become full adults in the eyes of the state until they were eighteen years old. As a result, youths at the age of sixteen could leave school, but only work thirty-six hours a week, instead of the forty-one adults could work.

work at the Lenin Komsomol Auto Factory. The director told the youth to "turn eighteen, then come back." They then, "leave for home, but almost entirely limitchiki work on the assembly-line."[80]

Although acknowledging that these youths were turned away because of their age, by contrasting unemployed youth with limitchiki workers, Blagonravova implied that the latter were taking away jobs from the children of the readers. She suggests that these youths could solve the problem of Moscow's chronic labor shortages, but Soviet labor laws restricting the work week for youths prevented them from doing so. Through this contrast, Blagonravova constructs the limitchiki as an "other," who intrudes upon the city and seizes one of its most valuable resources: employment.[81] Blagonravova constructed the limitchiki as others because the Muscovites perceived them as a threat to access to employment, thus revealing the tensions between hosts and guests. Because they were not Muscovites, they were unworthy of these positions. However, once the limitchiki took these jobs, the Muscovites scorned them for their lowly positions.[82] Rather than a solution to the state-defined problem of labor shortage, the limitchiki came to be viewed as a cause of a popularly-defined problem of youth unemployment.

Muscovites further mischaracterized motives of the limitchiki and questioned their productive contributions to the city. Native Muscovites accused the limitchiki of desiring only material gain and doubted their roles as contributing members of society. Yuri Osipov, Aleksandr Mikhailovsky, and Pavel Kritsov ascribed these desires to the limitchiki stating, "Provincial young people are lured by the bright lights of the big city; not all of them are keen to improve themselves culturally, get an education and become skilled specialists. The majority

[80] Ibid. For a similar article, see also: A. Murzin, "Chest' Rabochaia," *Pravda*, February 5, 1984, 3.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Loeber, "Limitchiki," 301-306.

wants a good salary and a separate apartment—that's the limit of their dreams."[83] The authors then criticized some women, who manipulated the policies of their enterprises to receive a private apartment. Allegedly, some female limitchiki had "casual encounters" to bear children, which would entitle them to a larger living space.[84] Certainly, the limitchiki, like other permanent residents, dreamed of better housing and employment, but this did not usually overshadow their want of education and acceptance.

Russian construction workers blamed their limitchiki coworkers for the poor conditions of the metro. One native Muscovite, who worked in the *Biblioteka imena Lenina*, or Lenin Library, station at the center of the city, complained that the limitchiki destroyed the stone base of the metro interior as well as monuments near the station. "Limitchiki," he proclaimed. "They don't give a damn. Limitchiki? They really aren't born on our soil."[85] Driving home the contrast between himself and the limitchiki other, he declared: "I could not [destroy the monuments]. I am a Muscovite."[86]

The metro worker managed to blame the limitchiki for a deteriorating infrastructure, while reinforcing the idea of the limitchiki as others. Despite this, the young construction worker only blamed the limitchiki for the destruction of the metro. Furthermore, he made his accusation against the limitchiki in terms which emphasized their otherness. Because they were "not born on our soil" they had no culture and therefore no respect for property.[87] They were uncivilized, in contrast to the native Muscovite, who appreciates the rich cultural history of the city ,and

[83] Osipov, Mikhailovsky and Kritsov, "Stepdaughters of the Big City," 18.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Ol'ga Chaikovskaia, "Soprotivlenie," *Literaturnaia Gazeta*, November 24, 1986, 12.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid.

therefore destroy its monuments. To the native Muscovite, the limitchiki cannot be trusted to either work on the metro or respect the historical monuments of the city.

Muscovites also believed that limitchiki destroyed the culture of the city. They decried the lack of "cultural adaptation," of the new arrivals in the capital, making it "impossible to talk about caring for the city, its traditions and spirit."[88] Moreover, other Muscovites directly urged historians to avoid adopting a "limitchiki spirit" in history. According to one journalist, a "Limitchiki spirit" overemphasized the role of these migrants in shaping Soviet history. He began his article by referencing the reconstruction of a small town outside Moscow and asked what was the role of the limitchiki in the project. The author responds to his own question by stating, they are, "only the 'convenience' of modern mass culture."[89] To him, the limitchiki were not people or citizens with rights; instead, they were expendable tools used to reach a larger goal, in the case, rebuilding the town. This author also emphasizes the foreignness of the limitchiki by directly internalizing the "otherness" of the limitchiki through the use of the word *dukha* or "spirit," which implies that the qualities of the limitchiki are not simply a legal or social category, but an essential part of who they were. He does not clarify what characteristics differentiate the limitchiki to make them an "other," but by essentializing these qualities with the word dukha, he argues that these characteristics are unchangeable.[90]

While ethnic Russian limitchiki appeared similar to their hosts, Central Asians faced discrimination because of their phenotypical difference and linguistic limitations. Russians referred to Central Asian and Caucasian migrants as "blacks," or "*chernye*" and used the epithet "*ponaekhali*."[91] One Central Asian student explained the term by stating, ""The single word

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[88] Nina Moleva, "Moia Sretenka," *Izvestiia*, January 3, 1990, 3.
[89] Vasilii Golovanov, "Vozvrashchenie Klio," *Literaturnaia Gazeta*, April 6, 1988, 13.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Sahadeo, "Soviet Blacks," 348.

ponaekhali means 'they arrived over a period of time, in large enough masses to be an annoyance.' . . . Here the abuse is compact and efficient; two prefixes do the job of a sentence."[92] However, Central Asians believed only lower-class Russians used such terms whereas more educated Russians believed in the Friendship of the Peoples and equality among the Soviet peoples. Moreover, Hilary Pilkington's analysis of Soviet youth provides that those using such terms may well have been Slavic limitchiki. Despite their own liminal status in the city, Slavic limitchiki occasionally joined permanent residents in attacking "immigrants."[93] The ethnic tensions here are more complex than conflicts between the host and guest population. In this case, both hosts and guests placed their Russian Slavic identity in contrast to the Asian, "black," Muslim culture of the other guest workers.

Muscovites often considered all migrants to be similar and applied negative connotations to all of them. In the 1980s, the youths of Lyubertsy, a Moscow suburb, called themselves the Lyubery, traveled into Moscow during the evenings, and attacked youths they deemed as Westernizers. One story described how "Recently, seven boys from Lyubertsy decided to visit a cafe in the Moscow microdistrict of Tekstilshchiki. They were stopped by a police detachment that checked their internal passports and, although there was room in the cafe, wouldn't let the boys through the door. For just one reason—their registered place of residence was Lyubertsy."[94] The story makes clear the tensions between native and suburban residents; native Muscovites viewed the *Lyubery* as interlopers on the capital. According to Aleksandr Kupriyanov, the journalist reporting the story, the Lyubery, "acquired the same negative connotation in Moscow

[92] Ibid, 348.
[93] Pilkington, *Russia's Youth*, 254.
[94] Aleksandr Kupriyanov, "Lyubertsy in the Spotlight, or the Capital's Stepchildren," *Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press*, 39, no. 10 (1989): 4.

schools as limitchiki."[95] While the author remains critical of this conflation, his statement reveals the sentiments of the Muscovites. Both the limitchiki and Lyubery had no place in the city.

Native urban residents conflated these different migrants because, at least in their minds, limitchiki, commuters, and shabashniki[96] posed the same threat: vagrancy. As one urban dweller wrote to *Pravda*:

> We have an acute problem with housing. Plants and factories often cannot offer it to their veterans, contributing people, caring about the affairs of the collective. For some reason or another, apartments are sometimes given to limitchiki, flyers, and different "tumbleweeds." Therefore, we would like it to say in the law that the soviets of the working collectives have the right to deny housing belonging to the enterprise to the incompetent, drunkards, and especially "flyers."[97]

Muscovites classified the limitchiki as vagrants by comparing them to tumbleweeds. Mervyn Matthews notes that the Soviet police continued to classify vagrancy as a crime throughout the Soviet period. The police continued to round up vagrants, especially in Moscow, and fined them for their violation of the passport codes.[98] However, the limitchiki were not vagrants, they were legal, if temporary residents, of Moscow. The conflation of temporary residency with vagrancy reveals Muscovite anxieties over the new arrivals in the city.

Yet, the term limitchik also invoked notions of suffering. Individuals began to use the term limitchiki to describe people deprived of their rights. The first person to use the limitchiki trope of victimhood to claim her rights was an orphan from Orenburg. She wrote into *Pravda* and explained her plight to her fellow readers:

> Dear Editor! Maybe you can help my brother and me, who were left early without parents and were raised in an orphanage, and then in a boarding school, understand the issue of

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[95] Ibid.
[96] Siegelbaum and Moch define shabashniki as "unofficial informal" brigade workers in the countryside. This phenomenon developed in the 1960s and lasted until the end of the Soviet Union. For a complete discussion, please see: Siegelbaum and Moch, *Broad Is My Native Land*, 88-94.
[97] D. Krudriavtsev, "Stroka Iz Pisem," *Pravda*, March 2, 1987, 2. For an article with similar concerns over housing and the limitchiki, also see: V. Posokhov, "Kandidat iz 'oboimy,'" *Pravda*, December 15, 1988, 3.
[98] Mervyn Matthews, *Poverty in the Soviet Union*: *The Lifestyles of the Under-privileged in Recent Years* (New York: Cambridge UP, 1986): 45-46.

> housing. We had an apartment from the factory 'Uraleletromash' in the city of Mednogorsk in Orenburg province, but after the death of our mom, it was taken away. Because we had no close relatives, we found ourselves in an orphanage. After graduating from the eighth grade, I enrolled in technical school and immediately asked the factory where my mother worked and who owned the apartment, about returning the housing. I was promised this after renting a new home. The house was rented, and an apartment was not allocated. They said –wait. This went on for three and a half years. Now, I married and left. My brother is sixteen years old and without housing. How long will we in our own country be others, fundamentally speaking, -- "limitchiki"?[99]

The woman considers herself and her brother to be limitchiki because if their depravation of rights. More specifically, she argues that all Soviet citizens are entitled to housing. While some Muscovites accused the limitchik*i* of only concerning themselves with acquiring housing, this woman's story qualifies their concern with housing. To Soviet citizens, limitchik, permanent resident, or otherwise, private housing was part of a "Soviet dream."

Other times, the use of the term was comical. Following an alleged alien landing in a small village outside of Voronezh, the following joke, titled "Humane Act," appeared in *Pravda*:

> As reported in the press on October 14, 1989, a flying saucer with three aliens on board landed in the town of Obradovsk. Now, it turned out that the landing was forced - while passing the constellation of Capricorn, the rear axle of the spacecraft flew off. Due to the fact that the supply of rear axles is only scheduled to arrive at the Obradovsk station in the first quarter of 1994, an extraordinary session of the District Council of People's Deputies granted the aliens the status of limitchiki (78 for, 8 against, 10 abstentions).[100]

The joke highlights some of the problems during perestroika, such as delays in meeting production plans outlined by the party and state, and even alludes to the pariah status ascribed to the limitchiki. However, without the title "Humane Act," the joke would lose its salience. The People's Deputies of the joke overwhelmingly support giving the aliens the status of limitchiki, and even view their actions as an act of kindness towards to unfortunate aliens. Yet, the readers know it is no great act, but more of a second-class citizenship. The joke then provides interesting

[99] O. Vlasenko, "Dom Dolzhen Byt' u kazhdogo," *Pravda*, April 9, 1990, 1.
[100] V. D. Gamova, "Humane Act," *Pravda*, August 25, 1990, 1.

parallels between the aliens and the limitchiki. The limitchiki arriving in the city were essentially outsiders, but also were the beneficiaries of a humane act in the eyes of the host population. If they had not worked as a limitchik, they would not have made it to the city.

While Muscovite complaints and larger criticisms of life in the Soviet Union dominated glasnost-era discussions on limitchiki, glasnost also provided a chance for limitchiki to voice their own concerns. One limitchik explained his desires for moving to Moscow, stating, "This is already my fifth year working at ZIL. As I rushed here, I believed: this is where my happiness is."[101] To this youth, the city offered a better alternative to life on his collective farm. However, life in the big city failed to meet his expectations. He expressed frustration that he could not place his name on a waiting list for housing and wished he could advance more rapidly in his career. At ZIL, he claimed, only native Muscovites held leadership positions and worked with new machinery. In fact, his boss warned the limitchiki that they "should not count on the transition in the coming years to the shop with the latest technology, with high salaries."[102] However, the young man's solace is his ability to take evening classes not available to him in the village. While some of his concerns, such as overt interest in housing and employment, overlap with the complaints of the native population, he also contradicts the notion that the limitchiki only have material concerns.[103]

Limitchiki also explained the difficulties that they faced through other media such as poetry and film. Vladimir Vishnevskii's collection of poems, entitled *Moskovskaia Propiska*, follows a limitchik as he tries to survive in Moscow. Vishnevskii presents the leader with a world of struggle as the protagonist leaves his dirty construction job to catch a few hours of sleep

[101] Kh. Galimullin, "Neliubimie Synov'ia," *Pravda*, January 7, 1990, 4.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid.

in a shared room. Through poems that highlight his commute, limitchiki are presented as more than faceless actors who have precipitated hardship in the capital. Instead, they too suffer the overcrowded rush hour trains and grapple with a changing society, symbolized by the veterans of the war in Afghanistan who crowd the platforms.[104] Similarly, *Limita*, discussed above, presented the voices of dozens of limitchiki as they undermined popular stereotypes that Muscovites held. By placing their living conditions in contrast to Muscovite complaints, the viewer quickly understands how exaggerated claims that limitchiki lived the good life at the expense of Muscovites were.

Conclusion: Was the Soviet System Reformable?

In 2004, Stephen Cohen posed the question, "Was the Soviet system reformable?" In his introduction to the special issue of *Slavic Review*, Cohen calls out the plethora of assumptions and fallacies that Sovietologists embraced to argue that the system was unreformable.[105] After examining the role of the Party, command economy, and the Union of the 15 republics, he concludes that reform was possible. In contrast, I suggest that by 1985, perhaps the Soviet economy was not reformable if we examine the relationships among demographics, labor migration, and economic reformability.

In the postwar period, temporary labor migration had been a crucial element of the Soviet system, even if an unofficial one, meeting the needs of state planners and Soviet citizens themselves. Under Brezhnev, this Grand Bargain was part of a tacit consensus in which citizens supported the state in exchange for the chance at upward social mobility. When the system was suspended, its centrality to the functioning of the command economy became all the more

[104] Vishnevskii, *Moskovskaia Propiska*, 18-40.
[105] Stephen F. Cohen, "Was the Soviet System Reformable?" *Slavic Review* 63, no. 3 (2004): 459-488.

evident. Gorbachev's reforms minimized what had always been the centerpiece of the Soviet system – the enterprise and its associated dormitories as the center of cultural development and social welfare distribution. While cultural development was not abandoned – in fact, it was renewed at certain times – it was pushed away from its original location.

Most importantly, the introduction of market elements destroyed the ability of enterprises and local soviets to provide social welfare provisions. Certainly, when Gorbachev and his associates introduced market elements, they still intended to provide employment for all or at the very least, economic relief for the unemployed. Yet, the markets as they existed in the 1980s rendered this nearly impossible, resulting in the economic chaos that ensued in the 1990s. Instead of the victims of these reforms, popular sentiment held that the limitchiki had in part precipitated the chaos of perestroika. During the wild '90s, the complaints lobbed at limitchiki – their taxing of the city's infrastructure, their alleged penchant for exploitation – informed anti-migrant stereotypes in the post-Soviet period.

CHAPTER FOUR

'Semi-Legal Limitchiki': Reforming Repertoires and Regimes of Temporary Labor Migration, 1992-1998

On October 1, 1993, the Russian State Duma did away with the propiska system. The propiska had actually been overturned nearly three years prior in 1990 as part of larger glasnost-era program for increasing personal freedoms.[1] However, as the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union created policies to increase the freedom of mobility, it received harsh criticism from Mossovet. Officials from Mossovet argued that such a move would lead to a complete and total inundation of migrants to the capital while Mossovet, the Office for Labor and Social Problems, and Mosstroi struggled to provide adequate housing for the hundreds of thousands of migrants who had arrived in previous decades.[2] By 1993, however, federal authorities argued that the propiska system needed to be abolished in order to make good on the promise of freedom of mobility in the new constitution.[3]

A registration system soon replaced the propiska. The new system was only declarative, and in theory did not provide or restrict any rights. Residents, guests, and migrants only needed to announce their presence at their place of residence, not ask for permission to reside within a specific administrative area.[4] Sergei Glebovich Smidovich, the local director of the Federal Migration Service (FMS) in Moscow, argued that registration was necessary to keep accurate demographic statistics, particularly during a time when Moscow's demographic crisis was reaching its zenith.[5] Moscow, along with other cities that faced an influx of migrants, quickly

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[1] Pilkington, *Migration, Displacement and Identity in Post-Soviet Russia*, 40.
[2] GARF, f. 5446, op. 162, d. 1006, l. 9.
[3] The Constitution was set to go into effect in January 1994. Pilkington, *Migration, Displacement and Identity*, 40.
[4] Pilkington, *Migration, Displacement and Identity*, 40-41.
[5] D. F. Shavishili and L. B. Sheinin, *Politicheskie, Sotsial'nye, organizatsionnye i pravovye predposylki integratsii inostrannoi rabochei sily* (Moskva: Institut ekonomiki RAN, 2013), 86.

used the registration system to restrict in-migration, denying registration to many applicants, thus creating a large class of irregular migrants, or what officials called "illegal" migrants.[6]

The extant literature has focused on what the influx of migrants meant for Moscow's demographics. The consensus is that Moscow's population initially dipped following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, but by 1994, it began to rebound. How and why the population rebounded has been debated and often tied into discussions on emerging migration regimes and repertoires. In separate studies, Galina I. Osadchaya and K. V. Bedunkovich find that the flow of migrants leaving Moscow slowed in 1994, and a large influx of Russian migrants in 1994 allowed for minute population growth.[7] Andrei V. Korobkov and Zhanna V. Zaionchkovskaia similarly argue that in 1993, the flow of migrants leaving Russia as a whole decreased while the inflow of migrants from former Soviet republics increased.[8]

The general consensus holds that the initial waves of migrants in the early 1990s were primarily Russian speakers from the former Soviet republics, but by the late 1990s, they were replaced largely by non-Russians.[9] In the early 1990s, the Russian government instituted a series of plans to help forced migrants from the former Soviet Union who experienced armed ethnic conflict, but a shared Russian identity did not necessarily make for easy integration. In her

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[6] In this dissertation, I opt for using irregular migrants instead of undocumented or illegal. Illegal is a politically-laden term, used to express frustration with migrants. Undocumented, too, is often inaccurate since many migrants arrive with proper paperwork that has expired or possess some paperwork but not all. Irregular captures the varieties of ways in which migrants have not completely regularized their statuses.

[7] Galina I. Osadchaya, "Migrants from Armenia and Georgia in Moscow," in *Transboundary Migration in the Post-Soviet Space: Three Comparative Case Studies*, eds. Nikolai Genov and Tessa Savvidis (New York: Peter Lang, 2011), 126; K. V. Bedunkovich, *Regulirovanie trudovoi migratsii v stolichnom megapolise: sotsiologicheskii analiz: monografiia* **(**Odintsovo: ANOO VPO, 2011), 73.

[8] Korobkov and Zaionchkovskaia, "Changes in Migration in the Post-Soviet States," 486.

[9] Korobkov and Zaionchkovskaia, "Changes in Migration in the Post-Soviet States," 486-7; Sergei Abashin, "Migration Policy in Russia: Laws and Debates," in *Migrant workers in Russia: Global Challenges of the Shadow Economy in Societal Transformation*, eds. Anna-Liisa Heusala and Kaarina Aitamurto (New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2017), 17-21; Shavashili and Sheinin, *Politicheskie, Sotsial'nye, organizatsionnye i pravovye predposylki integratsii inostrannoi rabochei sily*, 56; Light, *Fragile Migration Rights*, 41; Carment and Nikolko, "Post-Soviet Migration," 2.

groundbreaking work, Hilary Pilkington found that returnees often faced discrimination, which was the worst in Moscow.[10] Irina Molodikova summarizes the official stance toward Russians in the former Soviet Union as "to help but not invite."[11] Despite policies that permitted relocation to Russia, Russian officials did little to facilitate migration. Moreover, others have found that as non-Russian migration eclipsed Russian in the late 1990s, restrictions on non-Russians in the former Soviet Union grew tougher.[12]

While the Russian and English language scholarship largely agrees on these points, they diverge on discussions of migrant incorporation in Moscow. Russian scholars have provided brilliant, in-depth overviews of migrant groups who have made their way to Moscow, including migrants from outside the former Soviet Union. However, they have frequently argued that the presence of ethnic enclaves and cultural differences prevented the integration of migrants.[13] In contrast, English-language scholarship has foregrounded the importance of registration as an exclusionary tool.[14] Meredith Roman's study of Central Asian and Caucasian migrants shows how police refused to issue registration to "black" migrants and tended to only ask these migrants for their registration when conducting document checks.[15] Andrea Chandler, studying ethnic Russian perceptions of registration, confirms Roman's assessment that registration

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[10] Pilkington, *Migration, Displacement and Identity*, 109-189.
[11] Irina Molodikova, "Russian Policy Toward Compatriots: Global, Regional and Local Approaches," in *Post-Soviet Migration and Diasporas: From Global Perspectives to Everyday Practices*, eds. Milana V. Nikolko and David Carment (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 126.
[12] Abashin, *Migrant Workers in Russia*, 19; Shavashili and Sheinin, *Politicheskie, Sotsial'nye, organizatsionnye i pravovye predposylki integratsii inostrannoi rabochei sily*, 57-60.
[13] Bedunkovich, *Regulirovanie trudovoi migratsii v stolichnom megapolise*, 61-79. Z. R. Akhunova, *Aktual'nye problemy gosudarstvennogo regulirovaniia migratsii rabochei sily: monografiia* (Ufa: Bashkirskaia akademiia gosudarstvennoi sluzhby i upravleniia pri Prezidente Respubliki Bashkortostan, 2014), 44-45; Ostapenko and Subbotina, *Moskva mnogonatsional'naia*; I. V. Gerasimova, *Vliianie migratsionnykh protsessov na regulirovanie sotsial'no-trudovykh otnoshenii* (Moscow: ID GUU, 2014).
[14] Caress Schenk, *Why Control Immigration?: Strategic Uses of Migration Management in Russia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), 1-6; Light, *Fragile Migration Laws*, 79-85; Pilkington, *Migration, Homeland, and Belonging*, 39-46; Abashin, *Migrant Workers in Russia*, 99.
[15] Roman, "Making Caucasians Black," 12.

became the tool for casting Moscow as a city under siege. Chandler contends that the decline in social welfare and the presence of a visible other led to a spike in Russian nationalism.[16] Moreover, others still have highlighted the struggles that Russian migrants faced in procuring a registration and the problems encountered by living without one.

I draw these various discussions together by placing registration in a longer historical context and demonstrating how it functioned to place labor migrants, refugees, and forced migrants from both the former Soviet Union and beyond in similar positions. Like other scholars, I treat Moscow as an exception and a megalopolis. While my research shows that authorities in Moscow saw the city under attack, it also shows that international migrants, particularly from beyond the former Soviet Union, had arrived in large numbers since the 1990s, influencing official understandings of the city under siege narrative. Moreover, by considering registration in larger context, I demonstrate that it was more than a continuation of Soviet policy. It was actually more restricting and limiting than its predecessor.

As I have argued earlier, the propiska was an important tool for regulating migration, but it was flexible enough to accommodate evolving official needs and viewpoints. In the post-Soviet period, the worsening economic conditions and the emergence of international labor migration meant that registration was often more restrictive and punitive than the propiska had ever been. The Office for Labor and Employment faced a host of issues that seemed similar to those in previous decades, but new realities complicated the Office's approach. Researchers at the Office quickly dubbed Moscow's aging population, its rising number of deaths, and economic difficulties as a public health crisis that would negatively affect Muscovites for generations to come.[17] Moreover, the economic conditions resulted in unemployment in some

[16] Chandler, "Nationalism and social welfare in the post-Soviet context," 63-66.
[17] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 591, l. 1-5.

sectors and persistent shortages in others. While factories cut their employees by the hundreds of thousands, the transportation and construction sectors struggled to find enough workers within Moscow.[18]

Moscow's labor allocation and public health concerns quickly became associated with the regulation of international labor migration. Through a Presidential Decree, Boris Yelstin established FMS, charging it with creating an immigration control regime and organizing the use of international labor. FMS fell under the direction of the Ministry of Labor and Employment, and therefore its local branches were housed with various Offices for Labor and Employment.[19] The Office had focused for decades on the allocation of labor, from rallying local resources to overseeing organized labor recruitment to directing the arrival of Vietnamese workers. In the post-Soviet period, the Office balanced high unemployment in some sectors with the shortages of workers in dangerous, blue-collar jobs. Charged with overseeing international migration, the workers of FMS Moscow spent most of their days determining eligibility for refugee and forced migrant status and devising a temporary labor migration regime.

By placing FMS under the direction of the Ministry of Labor and Employment, temporary labor migration became seen as an international phenomenon. Left to pay unemployment benefits and pensions on a limited budget, the Office focused on rallying local labor resources instead of finding migrant workers. FMS's mandate to oversee international migration meant it grappled with the erection of new borders and the softening of older ones. First, the breakup of the Soviet Union resulted in the erection of international borders where only soft, domestic ones had existed among the 15 republics. Second, the new policies of the Russian Federation opened the borders to migration from beyond the former Soviet Union. The goals of

[18] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 518, l. 4.
[19] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 14, l. 1-2.

each of these organs meant that each largely ignored domestic temporary migration in policy-making and statistic-keeping.

In this chapter, I demonstrate that on the local level, FMS and the Office for Labor and Employment adapted the registration to police a new migration regime that focused its efforts on restricting migration of any type to Moscow. Competition and cost became the overarching fears that informed this new policy. Although Muscovites continued to eschew employment in the construction and transportation sectors, widespread unemployment complicated the arrival of any newcomers, whom native Muscovites quickly viewed as competition during a time of scarcity. Moreover, FMS in particular argued that the City of Moscow could not afford to support any migrants who arrived in the city. Migrants added additional stress to a social welfare system that was already stretched to its limits. FMS specifically targeted refugees and forced migrants, whom federal law guaranteed provisions such as housing and health care, arguing that Moscow faced an unfair burden since the cost of these amenities was more expensive in Moscow than anywhere else in Russia.

I argue that the rampant denial of registration assisted FMS and the Office in both reducing costs and profiteering from its new policing methods. Denying refugees and forced migrants registration prevented them from claiming benefits that had been promised to them under federal law. In terms of labor migration, the registration system invited profits in the form of huge fines levied upon employers who failed to properly register their workers. Russian laws stipulated that residents could register their presence through either their place of employment or place of residence. For labor migrants, federal law required that companies register all out of town workers and pay fees to the municipal government to cover, at least in part, migrants' use of social welfare systems. Companies saved money by not registering their workers, avoiding

taxes and contributions to social welfare institutions. FMS largely turned a blind eye, but occasionally conducted checks, which could include stopping anyone deemed suspicious to verify their documents, and raids, or storming a specific workplace to penalize both workers and employers, at random to search for migrants working without official permission. When FMS found companies in violation of federal policy, they levied large fines that resulted in billions of rubles in revenue annually.

This system worked because migrants continued to make their way to Moscow without the support of previous repertoires. For migrants across the former Soviet Union, organized labor recruitment no longer provided knowledge or assisted in arranging travel for migrants. For migrants leaving points closer to Moscow, large enterprises began to sell off their dormitories, killing the linchpin that had held the temporary labor migration and regime together. Migrants had relied on the knowledge that if they made their way to Moscow, large enterprises would readily provide them with a temporary propiska and space in a dormitory. All of this came at a time when economics played a more influential role in influencing migrants' decisions to leave home. The transition to capitalism that led to unemployment in Moscow also rocked the rest of the former Soviet Union, prompting migrants to seek employment elsewhere.

Migrants continued to make their way to Moscow with few prospects for legitimizing their stay in the capital. I argue that FMS's focus on restricting all forms of international migration resulted in refugees, forced migrants, and labor migrants facing s similar marginal existence in the capital. Regardless of their motivations for moving, the registration system fashioned the overwhelming majority of international arrivals into "illegal" migrants. This not only provided revenue, but also limited the ability of migrants to incorporate themselves into Moscow's social structure. They received almost none of the social welfare provisions that had

facilitated integration in previous decades, and their irregular status dissuaded migrants from seeking recourses to abuses.

Motivations for Moving

The two repertoires that temporary labor migrants had relied on for decades fell apart in the immediate post-Soviet period. Reliance on organized labor recruitment demonstrated the direct overlap of repertoires and regimes of temporary labor migration in previous decades, facilitating the movement of labor migrants who did not necessarily have their own connections in Moscow. For migrants closer to the capital, the closure of the dormitory represented not only the denial of a center of support and social welfare distribution, but also the end of an important repertoire that legitimized migrants' residency in the capital. Temporary labor migrants could no longer expect to find jobs that would provide them with both affordable housing and registration in the capital. The closure of these pathways did not undo migrants' desires to relocate to Moscow. Economic difficulty, often coupled with the loss of privilege or armed conflict, rocked the entire former Soviet Union. Moreover, the opening of Russia's borders to migrants from beyond the former Soviet Union and the presence of foreign companies resulted in the arrival of labor migrants from outside the former Soviet Union.

In the post-Soviet period, large enterprises such as ZIL, one of the largest recruiters of labor migrants, slashed its number of employees and struggled to become economically viable in a capitalist economy. Large factories in Moscow relied on raw materials and manufactured parts that came from across the Soviet Union. When the Soviet Union dissolved into 15 independent republics, it became unclear how these materials would make their way to Moscow due to the

erection of international borders and the possibility of tariffs.[20] Migration served as crucial component in negotiating trade agreements with member countries of the former Soviet Union. In order to continue the movement of necessary goods and resources to factories in Moscow and elsewhere in Russia, the State Committee for the Affairs of Federation and Nationality used the future status of migrants in Russia as leverage to coax favorable trade agreements.[21]

Favorable trade agreements were not enough to create demand for goods manufactured in these factories or to reverse the trend of laying off workers that began during perestroika. ZIL and the Hammer and Sickle Factory illustrate the difficulties that large factories in Moscow faced in the post-Soviet period. On the eve of the perestroika reforms, ZIL employed over 250,000 workers across the Soviet Union, 200,000 in Moscow alone, where these workers produced over 500 vehicles a day.[22] Enterprises and state and collective farms purchased these machines, necessary for industrial development and farming. For example, Ukraine usually received 27,000 vehicles annually in the 1980s, but in 1994, only 27 made their way to Ukraine. Production dropped to 80 vehicles a day, while debt accrued to a staggering 420 billion rubles. ZIL cut 160,000 workers in the capital. One journalist, Sergei Leskov of *Izvestiia*, pointed out that the reductions were even more drastic when "Vietnamese and semi-legal limitchiki," who made up an additional 60,000 workers in Moscow, were considered.[23]

The economic difficulties facing these factories spelled disaster for dormitory life. Having arrived in previous decades, many had lived in dormitories for over a decade (sometimes

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[20] Sergei Leskov, "ZIL mozhet opiat' okazat'sia flagmanom nashei industrii, no teper' po chasti bankrotstv," *Izvestiia*, January 20, 1995.
[21] GARF, f. 10121, op. 1, d. 133, l. 14.
[22] Leskov, "ZIL mozhet opiat' okazat'sia flagmanom nashei industrii, no teper' po chasti bankrotstv." Leskov does not state where he found these statistics that seem absurdly high. Lewis Siegelbaum has placed the number of workers at 43,000 in the postwar period. However, Leskov refers to ZIL functioning as an "entire state (*tseloe gosudarstvo*)," so perhaps his statistics refer to those who staffed the dormitories, apartments, hospitals, gyms, and resorts under the direction of ZIL that Siegelbaum mentions. (Siegelbaum, *Cars for Comrades*, 32).
[23] Leskov, "ZIL mozhet opiat' okazat'sia flagmanom nashei industrii, no teper' po chasti bankrotstv."

even two), waiting for their housing to materialize. In 1993, the government of the city of Moscow adopted resolution N 1150, which set out plans for transforming dormitories into permanent residences. At that time, 275,000 former limitchiki and their families lived in dormitories that accounted for three percent of the living space in the city. In 1993, 63 dormitories were transferred from enterprises to city authorities. This policy enabled enterprises to relieve themselves of maintenance costs and provided limitchiki with a permanent registration for their dormitory-turned-apartment accommodations. In 1994, these transferences abruptly stopped. Unable to receive a permanent registration for their accommodations in dormitories, these residents were effectively barred from privatizing their rooms or exchanging them.[24]

Enterprises were left to keep these dormitories running as they faced increasing deficits. Selling dormitories provided revenue and therefore a solution to balancing the books. The Hammer and Sickle Factory in Moscow did just that, using profits from selling dormitories to avoid bankruptcy. The resulting eviction of residents left them with two options: to put their names on new municipal housing queues or buy an apartment at market value. One required a decade of waiting, the other exorbitant sums of money.[25] Moreover, the labor force reductions and sell-off of dormitories left future would-be labor migrants without a regime to legitimize their stay in the capital. Dormitories provided migrants with accommodations and a temporary propiska that regularized their stay in the capital. Larger factories also offered cultural programs that facilitated cultural integration. In the post-Soviet period, migrants were left to strike out on their own with little hope of finding work or affordable housing.

The dissolution of the Soviet Union also undermined the process of organized labor recruitment. Prospective migrants from outside the Central Region had relied heavily on

[24] Natalia Vdovina, "Problema: Krepostnye moskovskikh oshchezhetii," *Rosiisskie Vesti*, July 17, 1997.
[25] Ekaterina Babenko, "Serp, molot, i rynok: khochesh zhni, a khochesh kui," *Segodnia*, April 16, 1997.

organized labor recruitment, which had been sponsored by the Ministry for Labor, the precursor to the Ministry of Labor and Employment. Those hoping to move to Moscow contacted their local Office for Labor and Employment, which found work and a spot in the dormitory for these labor migrants. In the post-Soviet period, labor allocation became decentralized. Would-be migrants tended to contact the central offices of the Ministry, which responded to all employment inquiries with a boilerplate letter that provided the contact information for the regional office in the location to which the prospective migrant had expressed interest in relocating.[26]

The letters sent by these migrants are indicative of the needs and motives of "Russian returnees," who were ethnic Russians living outside the RSFSR and later the Russian Federation. The dissolution of the Soviet Union accelerated a process that had its antecedents in the Soviet period – the "unmixing of peoples." From the 1970s onward, Russians, who had spread to the other republics of the Soviet Union, migrated back to the RSFSR. According to Siegelbaum and Moch, 2.53 million Russians left the fourteen other republics for the RSFSR during the fifteen years that preceded the breakup of the Soviet Union. Following that, over 500,000 Russians arrived annually from the "near abroad" – that is to say, the former Soviet Union – between 1993 and 2003.[27] Not all of these migrants made their way to Moscow. Their letters show a strong preference for relocating to the Russian capital but also limited means to do so.

Letters to the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR illustrated the motives of Russians who lived in other republics to "return" to the RSFSR. From 1984 to 1989, the Council of Ministers received only a combined 150 letters, but during the final two years of Soviet power, the number jumped to 700, a number still comparatively low when compared to the number of letters

[26] Almost all petitioners whose letters are stored under GARF, f. 10158, op. 7 have these responses.
[27] Siegelbaum and Moch, *Broad Is My Native Land*, 150.

received by various ministries in the immediate post-Soviet period. In its summary report, the Council of Ministers found that almost all letter writers cited anti-Russian sentiment among native populations that they often associated with their deteriorating economic conditions.[28]

These Soviet-era petitioners lamented the loss of privilege and its practical implications. One petitioner called for the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR to evacuate all Russian speakers from Vilnius, Lithuania. The independent Lithuanian government, the author argued, planned to remove the economic privileges associated with veteran and invalid status. Another woman explained the difficulty she faced getting her prescriptions as a Russian speaker living in Tajikistan since Russian no longer functioned as the *lingua franca*.[29] The Council saw a common theme. The economic crisis, wrought by perestroika-era reforms, increased competition for jobs and consumer goods during a time in which the nature of Soviet power was being rethought and nationalist sentiments were rising. As a result, ethnic Russians were often the first to be excluded from access to social welfare, thus linking the loss of privilege and economic difficulty.

In the post-Soviet period, would-be migrants from across the former Soviet Union petitioned the Ministry of Labor and Employment for assistance in finding work and often housing in Moscow, illustrating the emerging repertoires and regimes of migration in the post-Soviet period. Most petitioners were between 20 and 40 years of age and had claimed Russian citizenship. Hilary Pilkington explains that "The Law on Citizenship" (February 1992):

> grant[ed] Russian Federation citizenship to all those permanently resident in the Russian Federation before that date [February 6, 1992]. In addition Article 18 of the law allows all those who held USSR citizenship on that date and were resident in a former Soviet republic prior to that date to receive Russian citizenship if they applied within three years of the law's promulgation and were not already citizens of another republic.[30]

[28] GARF, f. 10121, op. 1, d. 27.
[29] GARF, f. 10121, op. 1, d. 27.
[30] Pilkington, *Migration, Displacement, and Identity*, 38.

The law technically opened citizenship to all Soviet citizens but in particular aimed to help Russians living in the fourteen other republics. While the Russian law gave citizenship to every permanent resident, other republics adopted more stringent citizenship laws that required competency in the national language, leaving Russian speakers in a vulnerable position. The Russian citizenship law prevented them from becoming stateless persons.

What all petitioners had in common were "the difficult moral and material conditions" that they faced in their home republics and the desire to invoke their Russian citizenship to gain assistance in relocating to Russia with Moscow often being their first choice. For a handful of petitioners, their main goal was to leave the republic in which they resided, irrespective of where they would wind up in Russia. One man wrote:

> A family of Russian citizens, since 1993, write you. We request from you help for us to move to Russia, finding employment and housing, so there can be some sort of roof over our heads. We cannot live here in Latvia any longer, neither morally nor materially. The powers here took from us (meaning, Russian-speakers, honest people) housing, work, freedom, took all that that can be taken from a simple, honest person.[31]

The petitioner argued that increasing anti-Russian sentiment in Latvia led to his family's economic marginalization and reduced morale. His main concern was using his Russian citizenship to escape these conditions, regardless of where he wound up in Russia. He was not alone. One woman from Kazakhstan, a 24-year-old single mother to a 5-year-old son, was a nurse by profession, but she found herself without employment or housing. She was willing to take on any work for which she was qualified – even in the rural economy – so long as it was in Russia.[32] For a handful of petitioners, push factors mattered more than the pull of Moscow or any other location in Russia.

[31] GARF, f. 10158, op. 7, d. 7.
[32] GARF, f. 10158, op. 7, d. 5.

Most petitioners, however, desired to relocate to the Central Region in general, and Moscow in particular remained the most desired destination. Migrants willing to work in the rural economy often mentioned the Central Region as a possibility.[33] Rural-to-urban migration in previous decades had depleted the workers there, and despite the lower standard of living, it still was in close proximity to the capital. Moreover, the conception of where Moscow began and ended became more expansive. One informant, Farkhonda Salimova who was not a Russian citizen, explained the expanded conception of Moscow. She had moved with her mother to Moscow from Tajikistan during her teenage years in the 2010s to follow her father who had moved during the 1990s. He worked in Russia as a translator for an NGO that protected migrants' rights, and regularly returned home to Tajikistan. When I asked her where her family lived in Moscow, she responded Kaluga, a small city nearly 200 kilometers away. She lived in a dormitory within the official boundaries of the capital to attend university, while both her parents worked as translators in Kaluga. "It's really not that far away," she said in English. "Many people make the commute daily."[34]

More often than not, difficult moral and material conditions pushed Russian citizens residing outside Russia to dream of Moscow. Most letters used difficult moral and material conditions to segue into descriptions of chronic unemployment that was coupled with other difficulties – single parenthood, perceived discrimination, physical ailments – that added to their burdens. For example, one woman introduced herself stating, "A Russian citizen who lived in Latvia writes you. I, Mikhailova Anna Mikhailovna, a Russian citizen from Latvia, request from you help and advice. I am in very difficult moral and material conditions."[35] She went on to

[33] GARF, f. 10158, op. 7, d. 10.
[34] Farkhonda Salimova, interviewed by Emily Elliott, Moscow, Russia, January 2016.
[35] GARF, f. 10158, op. 7, d. 7.

explain that in 1990 she had given birth to her daughter who had a "critical medical condition."[36] The following year, she lost her job, and since then, she, her mother, and her daughter had survived only on her mother's pension. She asked for assistance finding work that provided housing in Moscow or the Moscow Region. Mikhailova provided one of the most detailed accounts of her life after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, but she was joined by nurses, construction workers, and transportation workers in seeking information on jobs with housing.[37]

While the majority of petitioners wrote in hopes that the Ministry would provide assistance for their relocation, a few of more privileged means had already made their own way to Moscow. A professor of physics, T.I. Zyl' wrote the Ministry for Labor to find employment for her and her husband in Moscow. Zyl' had worked at Karaganda State University in Kazakhstan after defending her dissertation in 1989. By 1997, she claimed that the university had replaced ethnic Russian workers with Kazakhs, and she had not received pay in several months. Despite his willingness to take any work that came his way, her husband could not find a job. Zyl' asked to find work as a professor of physics in Moscow. While she was still in the process of finalizing her Russian citizenship, she had found housing in the Moscow Region.[38]

Zyl' and other petitioners illustrate the continued importance of relying on their own repertoires of migration. The federal Ministry of Labor and Social Development's reluctance to provide monetary or material support to prospective labor migrants left them to find their own way to their desired locations. As an academic, Zyl' may have possessed connections in the Moscow Region to facilitate her movement there. For the less lucky, finding work brigades

[36] GARF, f. 10158, op. 7, d. 7.
[37] GARF, f. 10158, op. 7, d. 7, 5, and 11.
[38] GARF, f. 10158, op. 7, d. 6.

provided another avenue for temporary or seasonal migration. One Russian citizen from Ukraine petitioned to find work in Moscow because he had already worked there on a temporary basis.

It is unclear how many of these migrants, excepting Zyl', actually made their way to Moscow, but statistical evidence suggests that Russians from inside the Russian Federation and from the former Soviet republics made up the absolute majority of all arrivals to Moscow. The Federal State Statistic Service (Goskomstat) provides us with some limited information for 1993. Although the population of Moscow fell by 17,000, the population was not static. Approximately 53,000 Russian citizens from points unknown arrived in Moscow, but over 63,000 left Moscow. Tatars, many of whom were Russian citizens, also moved to Moscow, along with Ukrainian, Belarussian, and Armenian citizens.[39] However, only Armenians remained on a permanent basis, most likely unable to return to their homes due to ethnic conflict in the Caucasus.

By 1994, Goskomstat's statistics show that Moscow's migration-related population growth amounted to 11,000, driven primarily by migration from Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. Russian citizens predominated in migration from Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and the Central Asian republics, but this did not hold true in migration to Moscow from the Caucasus. In these cases, the titular nationality dominated in the number of migrants leaving.[40] It seems clear that Russians from anywhere in the former Soviet Union continually made up 70 to 75 percent of migration-related growth in Moscow from 1992 to 1998, with Ukrainians and Armenians averaging roughly 10 percent each.[41]

In contrast, in 1994, FMS focused on international migration, and highlighted the significant number of temporary labor migrants arriving from beyond the former Soviet Union.

[39] TsGAGM, f. 126, op. 13, d. 782, l. 4.
[40] TsGAGM, f. 126, op. 13, d. 796, l. 4.
[41] TsGAGM, f. 126, op. 13, d. 767, 782, 796, 806, 819, 829, 833.

In 1994, when migration to Moscow was still extremely low, Ukraine was the only former Soviet republic that sent over 1,000 migrants, sending 4,700 total. Turkey and Yugoslavia approached these numbers, sending 3,300 and 1,100 respectively.[42] However, within one year, the number of migrants arriving in Moscow rose to 57,000. Ukraine continued to rank first among migrant sending countries, with 17,000 migrants arriving in Moscow from there. Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, and Moldova also sent well over 1,000 migrants each. Turkey and (the former) Yugoslavia continued to send several thousand migrants annually.[43]

Nationality	**1995**	**1996**	**1997**
Azerbaijan	117	182	185
Armenia	1,596	1,834	1,402
Belarus	2,599	3,418	400
Georgia	4,215	4,664	3,533
Kazakhstan	117	127	38
Kirgiziia	2	5	7
Latvia	27	97	50
Lithuania	30	32	15
Moldova	2,700	3,762	2,713
Tajikistan	19	116	106
Turkmenistan	3	16	12
Uzbekistan	754	767	275
Ukraine	17,052	21,089	10,447
Estonia	20	22	55
Former Yugoslavia	3,753	3,079	4,078
Bulgaria	524	1,212	924
Vietnam	926	1,901	2,547
China	1,671	3,272	4,753
Poland	1,340	1,756	971
Turkey	10,892	13,433	12,952
CIS Total	**29,251**	**36,131**	**19,228**
Non-CIS Total	**27,920**	**33,059**	**35,292**
Total	**57,171**	**69,190**	**54,520**

Table 4.1: Total Temporary Labor Migrant Arrivals to Moscow[44]

[42] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 4, l. 2.
[43] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 9, l. 3-4.
[44] Statistics drawn from: TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 9, 19, and 27. The statistics for 1994 were incomplete. Therefore, they are mentioned only in text and not in the chart. TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 4.

These statistics placed in context suggest some additional motivations for moving to Moscow. First, Russian returnees from the former Soviet Union were significant, but perhaps no more significant than Russians within the Russian Federation who moved to Moscow. In 1995, Goskomstat recorded the place of origin of migrants. Significant numbers of migrants arrived from Siberia, the Far East, and the Far North. It is unlikely that these migrants faced nationality or ethnicity-based discrimination in the places that they left behind, but more likely, economic difficulty encouraged their movement. Siegelbaum and Moch note that after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, many who had moved to severe climates to benefit from the northern increment, a pay increase for working in these conditions, desired to leave.[45] Some certainly made their way to Moscow since the Organs for National and Regional Politics invested billions of rubles in building housing in Moscow and the Moscow Region for these internal returnees.

Second, the statistics from FMS suggest that temporary labor migration from beyond the former Soviet Union played a crucial role in post-Soviet movement to Moscow. The former Yugoslavia, Turkey, Bulgaria, Poland, Vietnam, and China served as the largest sending countries for migrants to Moscow. Vietnam had previously sent thousands of migrants to Moscow in the Soviet period, but despite the importance that these migrants played in both the Soviet and Vietnamese economies, no comprehensive study on this migration exists. In the case of Yugoslavia, it seems likely that chaos and discord there resulted in migrants seeking out a new life. Lastly, Turkey, the number one sender of migrants to Moscow after only Ukraine, opened many construction companies in Russia. The Office and FMS both lamented that Turkish firms tended to only publish advertisements in Turkey, resulting in a large Turkish temporary migrant population.

[45] Siegelbaum and Moch, *Broad is My Native Land*, 144-6.

Third, conflict propelled a significant refugee and forced migrant population to Moscow. During the late 1980s, the decentralization of power, more open discussions, and political pluralism flamed ethnic tensions and ignited conflict. Following dissolution of the Soviet Union, conflict became the norm along the southern tier of the former Soviet Union, from Moldova in the west to Tajikistan in the east.[46] Within Russia, the separatist movement in Chechnya led to two bloody wars in the 1990s. These conflicts led both Russians and non-Russians to seek safety in Russia. Goskamstat's statistics suggest that forced migrants from the northern Caucasus and refugees from Armenia accounted for thousands of arrivals in Moscow in the mid-1990s.[47]

While many relocated to towns and cities along Russia's southern border, Moscow remained a popular destination for refugees and forced migrants. One informant, Sofi Hagopian, recalled her family's decision to flee Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, for Moscow in 1989. Although her mother's immediate concern was to flee the violence aimed to Armenians living in Azerbaijan, she chose Moscow since it was home to the Red Cross and other humanitarian organs.[48] The stream of refugees who also considered Moscow a better location due to the promise of material support continued after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. In 1992, a 22 year-old Russian woman who had fled the conflict in Abkhazia recalled how Moscow's railway stations, stating, "Whole families, with children and old people. From Armenia, Tajikistan, Baku ... living on the benches and the floor."[49]

The adoption of international laws and norms that had begun during the final years of the Soviet Union also opened pathways for refugees from beyond the former Soviet Union to make their way to Moscow. In 1990, the Council of Ministers signed onto the UN Convention of the

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[46] Perevedentsev, *Migratsiia naseleniia i demograficheskoe budushchee Rossii*, 21.
[47] TsGAGM, f. 126, op. 13, d. 815, 826, 836.
[48] Sofi Hagopian, written interview responses to Emily Elliott, New York, New York, May 2017.
[49] Interview with Olga V. from Alexievich, *Secondhand Time*, 245.

Rights of Children and made plans to increase the freedom of mobility to keep families together.[50] In 1992, the Russian Federation continued this trend by becoming a signatory to the 1951 United Nations convention and the 1967 protocol on the status of refugees. By signing on to UN treaties, Russia became a country of first resort for refugees outside the former Soviet Union, and FMS reported that refugees from Somalia and Afghanistan poured in. On the federal level, FMS claimed that by 1994, 500,000 such migrants were in Russia, 18,000 in Moscow alone.[51] One organization run by the Afghan diaspora claimed that as many as 30,000 Afghan refugees resided in Moscow, but not all had been properly registered.[52]

Economic motivations continued to govern most migrants' decisions to relocate to Moscow. For some, the loss of privilege or conflict accompanied or informed their reduced means. Moscow continued to act as a magnet for migrants, but it had less to offer than in previous decades. While some migrants, particularly those from Central Asia and the Caucasus, relied on repertoires of migration that brought them to Moscow's bazaars and markets, other repertoires had ceased to exist.[53] Large factories that had relied on limitchiki now laid off thousands of their workers and closed their dormitories. Organized labor recruitment ceased to facilitate the movement of workers from beyond the Central Region. Migrants made their way to Moscow in reduced numbers, and found themselves to be unwelcome guests.

[50] GARF, f. 5446, op. 162, d. 1006, l. 9.
[51] GARF, f. 10121, op. 1, d. 62, l. 2.
[52] GARF, f. 10121, op. 1, d. 134, l. 24.
[53] For the origins of these Caucasian migration trends, please see: Iunusov, "Azerbaizhandtsy v Rossii," 104–113.

Demographic Decline as a Public Health Crisis

All of the formerly socialist countries in the Eastern Bloc experienced economic depression during their transitions to capitalism.[54] The Soviet economy had already been integrated into global systems as early as the 1960s, but shock therapy stripped away the protections against the markets that Soviet citizens had enjoyed, such as considerable state subsidies that allowed for domestic price setting well below global market values.[55] Instead of solving the economic problems that had emerged during perestroika, shock therapy only worsened these issues. The Economic Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences critiqued the belief, prevalent among economists in the 1990s, that the markets would solve everything.[56] Similarly, Kotkin asserted that ordinary Russians expected "American wealth with European social welfare."[57] Both economists and the public at large had their hopes dashed.

Moscow was not immune to these problems, and the capitalist markets added new complexity to older problems. The Office for Labor and Employment had spent decades rallying pensioners, women not in the workforce, and migrant workers to fill vacancies in the industrial, construction, and transportation sectors. Reductions and closures of enterprises, coupled with the liquidation and reshuffling of state ministries, left both white and blue-collar, skilled and unskilled workers without jobs. However, the newly unemployed continued to avoid the most dangerous and physically demanding jobs. The Office thus struggled to pay unemployment benefits to Muscovites while relying on migrant laborers to fill jobs in the construction and

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[54] Janos Kornai, *Highway and Byways: Studies on Reform and Post-Communist Transition* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995), 161.
[55] Kotkin, *Armageddon Averted*, 120-124. Kotkin's work discusses from the 1970s onward. Oscar Sanchez-Sibony traces this history to even earlier origins. Please see: Sanchez-Sibony, *Red Globalization: The Political Economy of the Soviet Cold War from Stalin to Khrushchev.*
[56] A. N. Barkovskii and B.A. Kheifets, *Privlechenie trudovykh migrantov ili autsorsing?: materialy kruglogo stola* (Moscow: Institut ekonomiki RAN, 2011), 13.
[57] Kotkin, *Armageddon Averted*, 115.

transportation sectors. Moreover, the Office argued that Moscow was in the midst of a public health crisis. Poor economic conditions had led to significant drops in male life expectancy and a sharp increase in the number of deaths affecting working-age males. In grappling with these new post-Soviet issues, the Office argued that migrants, who had long been viewed as a solution to these problems, now exacerbated them.

Unemployment began to manifest itself as a significant problem for the Office in 1991, brought on by economic liberalization under perestroika. In an effort to increase economic efficiency, enterprises streamlined their labor forces. Downsizing at 2,750 enterprises left nearly 29,000 workers without jobs. The closure of 300 "ineffective" enterprises resulted in an additional 15,000 without work. Even the government apparatus let go of workers as some ministries reorganized and others closed, resulting in 5,000 employees losing their jobs.[58] The Office then began to brace for the worst. All-Soviet and republic level ministries let go of an additional 140,000 workers in Moscow, and the Office projected that and additional 400,000 workers of various skills and employment types would enter the workforce in search of work due to privatization and liberalization.[59]

Before the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the Office had already begun its efforts to mitigate the effects of rising unemployment by implementing programs for job placements and career consultations, which would advise workers of other jobs and the skills needed to perform them. The Office tried to implement plans to streamline the allocation of unemployed workers to new jobs, but these plans required district offices throughout Moscow to work with the enterprises in their districts to compile lists of the newly unemployed and vacancies that had

[58] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 497, l. 13.
[59] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 499, l. 6.

opened.[60] The inability to fully coordinate among branches and the varying skill sets of the unemployed made finding work difficult.

The majority of workers who went to the Office for consultations sought new jobs in the fields in which they had previously worked. Consultations took on a variety of forms, including: inquiring about professions available, education necessary for specific professions, switching place of employment, and employment laws. However, too few were interested in switching careers. Almost 60 percent of the recently unemployed had a higher education, and many others had been engineers with specific skills.[61] While the educated were losing jobs, the majority of positions available in 1992, a whopping 92,000 jobs were blue-collar positions, primarily in the construction and communication sectors.[62] By the end of 1993, the Office struggled to find construction workers and general laborers.[63] Former white-collar workers were particularly reluctant to take on blue-collar work.

Although private sector jobs began to appear in Moscow, they did little to stop rising unemployment. In 1992, 150,000 newly unemployed went to the Office to seek either unemployment benefits or consultation on finding a new career.[64] The fields in which migrants had traditionally sought employment, particularly construction, were affected. The construction sector had a 14 percent reduction, factory work 10, and transportation 7.[65] By 1994, overall unemployment continued to rise, despite the creation of new jobs in the construction, transportation, and communication sectors. Government-owned enterprises let 393,100 workers go, and an additional 212,000 left industry and 61,000 scientific services.[66] However, the

[60] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 500, l. 1-2.
[61] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 497, l. 11.
[62] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 498, l. 1-2.
[63] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 557, l. 6.
[64] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 518, l. 1.
[65] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 518, l. 4.
[66] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 606, l. 13.

workforce decreased by only 273,500 since the non-governmental sector began to grow, adding 119,500 jobs.[67] The creation of new jobs primarily fell into the sectors in which migrants predominated.

Rising unemployment led to restrictions on how long one could claim unemployment. By the end of 1992, only 5,400 of the 25,000 removed from the Moscow unemployment register found employment.[68] Even two years later, despite a net loss of 273,500 workers in the workforce, only 45,000 registered as unemployed. Simon Clarke notes that across Russia, unemployment dropped by 25 percent from 1990 to 1998, but only half of those who were no longer unemployed found work. The other half left the workforce completely.[69] More recently, Tony Wood has pointed out that many of the employed in Russia failed to receive their wages for months at a time, but kept their positions in fear of losing their jobs and associated benefits when payments resumed.[70] In Moscow in 1992, the percentage was slightly higher. Of the 150,000 who sought the help of the Office, only 40,000 were registered to receive unemployment. Nearly 25,000 were removed from the list by the end of year, but only 5,000 had found work. Another 5,000 began to receive pension payments, which meant 15,000 had simply been removed.[71]

The demographic crisis that the Office had always seen on the horizon arrived at the same time the Office was grappling with the coexistence of unemployment and labor shortages. By January 1995, the population of Moscow had fallen by 236,500 since 1992 for a total of 8,628,000 residents. Population loss was 17 times higher than in 1989, and the demographers at

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[67] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 606, l. 14.
[68] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 518, l. 1.
[69] Simon Clarke, *Making Ends Meet in Contemporary Russia: Secondary Employment, Subsidiary Agriculture, and Social Networks* (Northampton, MA: E. Elgar, 2002), 3.
[70] Tony Wood, *Russia Without Putin: Money, Power and the Myths of the New Cold War* (New York: Verso, 2018), 69.
[71] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 518, l. 6.

the Office argued that this process was similar to the 1920s, 30s, and 40s, when famine and war led to millions of deaths.[72] FMS acknowledged that migration had always been a successful tool for increasing the population of Moscow, but argued that this time, it was simply too costly to bring in more people when the city government could not find employment for all of its residents.

The Office and the local branch of Federal Migration Services quickly linked the rising number of deaths to shrinking male life expectancies, dubbing it a public health crisis. In the 1970s, infant mortality in the Soviet Union rose and life expectancy decreased, a trend that continued throughout the remainder of the Soviet period. However, by 1989, the mismatch between the number of births and deaths reached a crisis level. Demographers in the Office lamented the declining number of births in Moscow for decades since Moscow often ranked last among Soviet cities, and the falling number of births led in turn to a need for migration. Russian families had moved from an average of two children to one.[73] However, Russia's decline in births may have been less about social problems and more about Russia falling in line with international trends. In industrialized nations, families tend to have fewer children.[74]

The low number of births became catastrophic when the deaths began to skyrocket. In 1988, 117,000 births in Moscow surpassed the 107,000 deaths by 10,000, but the following year, the trend swung in the opposite direction.[75] The 112,000 deaths surpassed 106,000 births by 6,000. By 1991, natural population decline continued when the 82,000 births failed to compensate for the 116,000 deaths in the capital.[76] This downward trend continued until it

[72] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 606, l. 2.
[73] Perevedentsev, *Migratsiia naseleniia*, 27.
[74] Light, *Fragile Migration Rights*, 40.
[75] TsGAGM, f. 126, op. 13, d. 699 and 722.
[76] TsGAGM, f. 126, op. 13, d. 759.

peaked in 1995 when deaths reached their highest point at 157,000, surpassing the number of births by 88,000.[77] Even if falling births were associated with industrialized societies, it seems that the economic conditions in Moscow levied an effect on the drop. In the 1970s, births averaged 90,000 a year, and throughout the 1980s, births were often close to 120,000 annually. In 1990, the numbers began to decline.

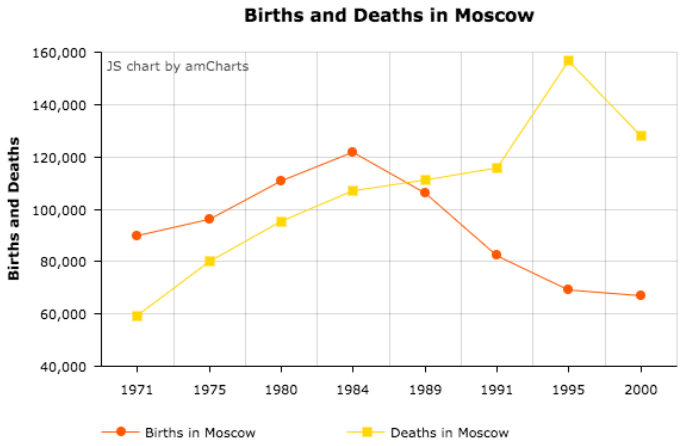

Figure 4.1: Births and Deaths in Moscow

The number of deaths began to climb well before the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Beginning in 1971 the number of deaths in Moscow was 59,000, jumping to 80,000 in 1975, 95,000 in 1979, 107,000 in 1984, and 111,000 in 1989.[78] However, births had mitigated, if not compensated for this spike. Deaths rose slightly to 116,000 in 1991 and reached its zenith in 1995 when it hit 157,000.[79] From there it decreased, but always remained above its Soviet levels. In the immediate post-Soviet period, it seems possible that the increasing number of deaths was a continuation of Soviet trends, but by 1994, it is likely that something else was also acting as a

[77] TsGAGM, f. 126, op. 13, d. 808.
[78] TsGAGM, f. 126, op. 13, d. 524, 566, 604, 663, 721.
[79] TsGAGM, f. 126, op. 13, d. 757 and 805.

contributing factor. The Office quickly attributed this spiral to the poorer quality of health care and the stress of dealing with poverty.

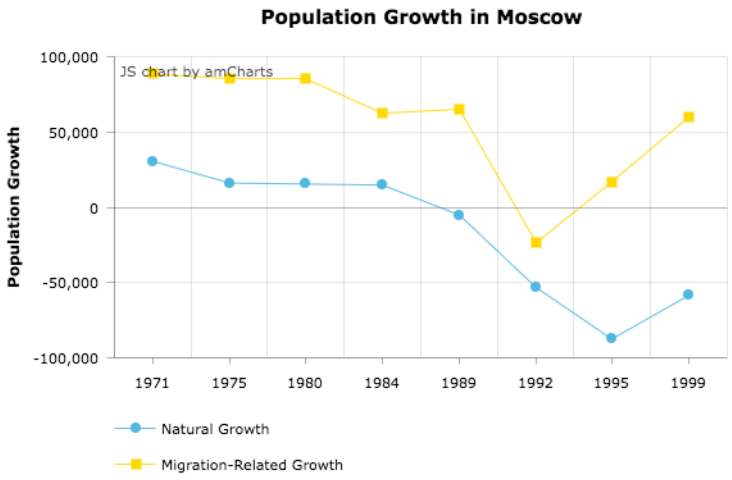

Figure 4.2: Population Growth in Moscow

The Office was most alarmed by who was dying – working age males. For men, life expectancy dropped a full three years from 65 to 62 years in the 1990s. The local office of FMS attributed the death of working age males to deteriorating workplace conditions. [80] FMS also linked poor public health to a host of other social conditions. Poorer health meant increasing difficulty for couples wishing to conceive. The stressors of poverty also affected interpersonal relationships, particularly intimate ones. Divorce continued to increase, which further lowered living conditions for the mother and child. Demographers also noted the negative effects of separating children from their fathers. This overall decline, the Office argued, would weaken the health of future generations born to "unhealthy" parents.[81]

For women, the drop in life expectancy was relatively small, from 74.2 to 73.8 years, but the economic transition left them particularly vulnerable.[82] Women struggled to find work in the

[80] TsGAGM, f. 126, op. 13, d. 606, l. 2.
[81] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 77, l. 1.
[82] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 77, l. 2.

new market economy despite needing employment more than ever before. During the Soviet period, single mothers received access to additional social welfare benefits and priority on housing queues. Although the Office had viewed women as a steady labor reserve in decades past, it reported that in the mid-1990s, women experienced unemployment two times higher than men, despite the Office for Labor and Employment asking enterprises in 1991 to create working spaces for women.[83] FMS suggested that biological differences and stereotypes from culture, religion, and morals led to the marginalization of women in the workforce.[84] It seems unlikely that working-age Russians, who had spent the majority of their lives under Soviet influence, so quickly adopted a radically different viewpoint on women in the workforce. Instead, the introduction of a capitalist, free market system and the rollback of social welfare provisions left the most of those vulnerable in an even worse position. Moreover, rising divorce left more women without a second income at a time when they experienced disproportionate levels of unemployment.

The Office quickly associated migrants with this public health crisis. While temporary labor migrants both made Moscow's population younger and filled jobs, unemployment complicated the role of migration in solving Russia's demographic crisis. Although migrants filled positions that Muscovites continued to shun, they were quickly accused of being a burden on the city's social welfare provisions. While federal law and FMS differentiated among labor migrants, refugees, and forced migrants in policy, FMS in Moscow also focused on creating a legal/illegal dichotomy, which cast all migrants as a serious social problem.

The Office even went as far as to write the Presidential Commission on the Rights of Man, asking for the federal government to intercede in removing migrants from Moscow. The

[83] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 518, l. 3.
[84] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 77, l. 1.

Office lamented how expensive it was to provide the 14,000 refugees in Moscow with their rights, particularly their right to housing. The Office for Labor and Employment saved the severity of its wrath for discussing refugees from beyond the former Soviet Union, whom they accused of faking their refugee status and of carrying infectious diseases, such as AIDS. The letter concluded that, "The high concentration of refugees from Asian and African countries can become the reason for an epidemic outbreak in Moscow."[85]

Registration Regime

The Office for Labor and Employment and FMS adopted a policy of encouraging movement away from the capital and dissuading new arrivals. Refugees and forced migrants, who were legally entitled to social welfare provisions, including housing, drained the limited funds that FMS had. Throughout the 1990s, FMS received approximately 50 percent of its promised budget, severely limiting its ability to help migrants.[86] It thus pursued a policy of rerouting refugees and forced migrants to other locations in Russia while drawing in profits through its policing of the registration regime. By denying registration to refugees, forced migrants, and labor migrants, all three groups found themselves in a marginalized existence, labelled as "illegal" by local authorities.

Instead of encouraging migration to solve the shortages of laborers in the transportation, communication, and construction sectors, the Office used another tactic in its arsenal – rallying the local workforce. The Office recorded that local labor resources totaled 5,900,000, or 68 percent of the population, even while only 5,000,000 were considered working age. Pensioners filled 400,000 positions and youth another 2,300. Drawing upon pensioners to fill menial

[85] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 591.
[86] Korobkov and Zaionchkovkaia, "The Changes in the Migration Patterns in the Post-Soviet States," 481–508.

positions assisted the Office in avoiding pension payments that it could not meet. Moreover, the Office encouraged commuter migration, drawing upon labor reserves in the nearby Moscow Region.[87]

This old tactic did little to solve labor shortages. Throughout the mid-1990s, the Office still recorded approximately 90,000 vacancies annually in the construction, transportation, and communication sectors. The number of pensioners, students, and commuters from nearby regions could not meet this demand, rendering migration necessary, even if the Office did not encourage it. The construction sector usually took on 35,000 migrants a year between 1995 and 1998, while the transportation sector rose from 8,500 migrant workers to 15,000 in the same period. Moreover, with the advent of capitalism, local bazaars and markets increased in importance and relied on migrant vendors, doubling in numbers from 4,500 in 1995 to over 10,000 in 1998.[88]

FMS oversaw the implementation of an international labor migration regime. In the mid-1990s, Russian citizens made up around two-thirds of all new arrivals, but neither the Office for Labor and Employment nor FMS made any effort to record their movement. Between the Office and FMS, over 50 staff members focused their energies on migration. FMS had 32 directly under its supervision, and another 19 in the Office worked directly answering questions related to international labor migration. In its retrospective report on its activities from 1992 to 1994, FMS stated that its primary functions had been to implement practices for attracting and using foreign workers; to ensure foreign workers were granted their rights; and to coordinate among Moscow organs the need for foreign workers.[89]

[87] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 606, l. 22.
[88] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 39.
[89] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 14.

Despite FMS's alleged efforts to create a new temporary labor migration regime, it exerted little actual control over the flow of temporary labor migrants to the capital. The reality was that companies often recruited migrant laborers with little oversight from FMS. By the mid-1990s, the Ministry of Labor and Employment permitted companies to hire foreign workers and placed the responsibility of registering foreign workers on the hiring company. Companies often shirked this responsibility. Unsurprisingly, the countries that sent the largest numbers of migrants also had the most migrants who resided in Moscow on an irregular basis. Among CIS members, Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia, and Armenia sent the highest number of workers who were found without registration, while migrants from Turkey, China, Vietnam, and the former Yugoslavia ranked at the top for failing to procure registration.[90]

Some migrant laborers, such as a group of construction workers from Smolensk, were lucky. The men completed construction projects for the city of Moscow. They spent 15 days working in the capital, receiving meals and accommodations in addition to their pay, followed by 15 days at home. This was the exception and not the norm.[91] One man from Ukraine, Refat Dzhalilov found himself living in a cramped trailer on a construction site, and his employer deducted the cost of meals from his wages. After six months, he had saved only 250 rubles.[92] Some companies required that migrants make their own way to Moscow and pay significant fees for assistance in finding a job. In most cases, such migrants wound up hawking products in the markets, while companies made off with these "finders' fees." Petitioners to the Ministry for Labor and Employment confirmed these schema, stating that they would like to find permanent work in Moscow after repeatedly working in the capital on a temporary basis.[93]

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[90] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 76, l. 1-3.
[91] Korotkova, "New 'Quota' Workers," *The Current Digest of the Russian Press* 1 (1999): 3.
[92] Korotkova, "New 'Quota' Workers," 13.
[93] GARF, f. 10158, op. 7, d. 6.

FMS's oversight tended to be in the form of verifications or *proverki*, in which FMS partnered with the local police to check if companies had properly registered workers. Companies repeatedly failed to register their workers, complicating their access to social services and legal recourse in the case of withheld wages. Information is not available for the period of 1992-1998, except where noting that proverki were executed. However, FMS investigated 600 enterprises that employed foreign workers in the year 2000, including 250 market places, 163 construction sites, and 23 transportation centers. It found that 25 to 30 percent engaged in illegal hiring practices. The City of Moscow demonstrated little interest in combatting these illegal practices since it collected billions of rubles annually in fines levied against companies that failed to register their workers.[94] The arrival of undocumented temporary labor migrants created a strange symbiosis between companies and city authorities. By not registering workers, companies could more easily engage in other money-saving abuses, such as withholding wages. For the city apparatus, the selective issuing of fines provided a windfall of cash for its coffers.

At the federal level, officials argued that Russians should be given preference for all jobs but contended with the difficulties of implementing such practices. In order to maintain Moscow's privileged status and provide preference for Russian citizens, FMS implemented a quota system to limit foreign access to the capital's labor market, claiming that the quota system attempted to solve a variety of problems. The major problems FMS saw were: companies operating without licenses, failing to register all workers on time, violating contracts, and not using workers in the positions for which they were hired.[95] The quota system, according to FMS, would provide a chance to monitor companies to ensure that they complied with all federal laws regarding the rights of foreigners working in the Russian Federation. FMS consulted with

[94] TsGAGM, f. 3261 op. 1 d. 89, l. 3.
[95] TsGAGM, f. 3261 op. 1 d. 20.

companies to assess the need for certain positions in specific sectors of the economy. Companies could apply to FMS to claim work permits, but the numbers varied from year to year.[96] In 1997, it was set for 50,000.

While migrants were able to make their way to Moscow to fill various needs in the economy, they no longer had a regime that legitimized their stay in the capital. FMS complained that Moscow was a hotbed for irregular migration that hurt the city's economic prospects. International labor migrants accounted for less than two percent of Moscow's labor force, and together with labor migrants from Russia, accounted for four percent of the city's unemployed. The idea of casting migration as "illegal" was a double-edged sword. On the one hand, FMS promoted policies that made it more difficult to work legally in Moscow. While migrants from many former Soviet republics had the right to enter Russia visa-free for 90 days, this did not guarantee the right to work or registration. On the other hand, the focus on international migration and casting irregular migration as "illegal", FMS cast foreign labor migrants under suspicion.

Refugees and forced migrants fell under a distinct migration regime that distinguished between migrants from the former Soviet Union and elsewhere. In handling forced migration, Russian officials intended to distinguish between those fleeing former Soviet republics and those who were never citizens of the Soviet Union. The law on refugees defined refugees as:

> A refugee is an individual who does not have citizenship of the Russian Federation and who has, or wants to, come to the Russian Federation and who has been forced to leave, or who has the intention of leaving, his or her place of residence on the territory of another state as a result of violence or other form of persecution towards him or herself, or who is under real threat of being subjected to such on the grounds of his or her race, nationality, religion, language, affiliation to a particular social group or political conviction.[97]

[96] TsGAGM, f. 3261 op. 1 d. 14, l. 4.
[97] Pilkington, *Migration, Displacement, and Identity*, 37.

Forced migrants were defined in a separate law, "The Law on Forced Migrants," as

> A forced migrant is an individual who has citizenship of the Russian Federation and who has left, or intends to leave, his or her place of residence on the territory of another state or on the territory of the Russian Federation as a result of violence or other form of persecution towards him or herself or members of his or her family, or who is under real threat of being subjected to persecution on the grounds of his or her race, nationality, religion, language, affiliation to a particular social group or political conviction in connection with the conducting of hostile campaigns towards individuals or groups of individuals, mass violations of public order or other circumstances significantly restricting human rights.[98]

The laws, passed on the same day, intended to distinguish between citizens of the former Soviet Union and those who had never been citizens. However, the laws became complicated since not everyone entitled to Russian citizenship had claimed it before fleeing. Pilkington notes that citizenship laws essentially required would-be forced migrants to return to their place of origin and then return to Russia to claim forced migrant legal status. In the end, many instead claimed refugee status first and then underwent the process to become a citizen as a refugee.

For migrants who made their way to Moscow, the process for claiming either refugee or forced migrant status was complex. Migrants could only claim forced migrant status if they had a family member in Moscow who could provide them with housing.[99] FMS hoped that this would deter would-be migrants from entering the city. Moreover, federal law stipulated that refugees and forced migrants needed permanent registration to claim their benefits, but FMS refused to issue either group anything besides a temporary registration. Moreover, forced migrants and refugees accused FMS of intentionally failing to register them.[100]

Upon their arrival in Moscow during the Soviet period, forced migrants were placed in hotels and dormitories, which were considered temporary dwellings. They therefore only

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[98] Pilkington, *Migration, Displacement, and Identity*, 38.
[99] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 14, l. 2.
[100] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 591, l. 9.

received temporary propiski, and later, temporary registration. Sofi, mentioned earlier, who fled from Baku as a child with her parents in 1990 recalled that:

> Upon arrival in Moscow she [mother] realized that she would not be able to legally work in Moscow. Because of the *propiska system* [italics that of informant] in the capital, my father and mother could only work as cleaners. For many long years, they constantly changed jobs only with help of their Azerbaijani or Armenian friends. When we first arrived in Moscow, we had to stay in the airport for few weeks, in order to register us as displaced migrants.[101]

Sofi and her family stayed at the Yugoslavskaya hotel before being moved to Vostryakovo district in southwestern Moscow, another temporary dwelling. Although registered as forced migrants, both parents took on positions associated with labor migrants. Others who had fled conflict sat at airports and train stations until family members came to assist them. One woman spent weeks at Belorusskaia Station waiting to hear from an aunt with whom she had not communicated with years. Without her aunt, she was barred from claiming residency in Moscow and starved until her aunt's arrival, which permitted her to move to Voronezh.[102]

FMS further used registration to bar refugees and forced migrants from claiming their status and the social welfare benefits associated with it. As early as 1994, the FMS complained that the city was inundated with refugees and forced migrants who drained the limited funds that city had to help them. FMS argued that under federal law, Moscow needed to take on more refugees than any other city in Russia since refugees were allocated in proportion to population size. As the largest city in Russia, the Office argued, it took on 36 times the refugees of medium size cities such as Belgorod, where the cost of living was much lower. The high cost of food, services, and housing for refugees was too much to bear, according to the Office. By requiring all refugees have a permanent registration (something they often could not get because they did

[101] Hagopian, written interview.
[102] Interview with Olga V. from Alexievich, *Secondhand Time*, 245

not have proof of refugee status) to claim their benefits, the City of Moscow barred many from gaining access to their rights.[103]

Refugees from the beyond the former Soviet Union also arrived in the tens of thousands in the mid-1990s. Of all the refugees in Russia, 680,000 were from Africa and Asia.[104] The Afghan Committee for Organizing Help for Refugees cited the presence of 30,000 registered Afghan refugees in Moscow. The Committee argued that the UN should pay for the construction of housing for Afghan refugees and called upon the UN and local and federal officials to create educational and medical services as humanitarian aid.[105] However, by the mid 1990s, FMS had constructed only 10 centers, equipped to house refugees and forced migrants.

With the chronic inability of FMS to provide for migrants, non-governmental organizations became increasingly important. As early as 1992, federal organs argued that partnerships with non-governmental organizations were necessary to assist in bearing the burden of caring for migrants. It is ironic that the state-society relationships that Gorbachev so desired became instrumental in supporting refugees and forced migrants. Gorbachev had intended that such partnerships would build a more democratic society, but in the post-Soviet period, they filled the voids created by the failures of the new liberal order. One international organization, Paternal House, wrote the Ministry for the Affairs of Federation and Nationality, offering its assistance in an "historical epoch in which people are starting from nothing."[106] Its primary focus was finding employment and building housing for forced migrants. It planned to build 50 houses for 200 people in Dubnya in the Moscow Region, and the ministry readily approved its request to air three specials on television to publicize its work. Paternal House had corralled the mayor of

[103] TsGAGM, f. 249, op. 2, d. 591, l. 10.
[104] GARF, f. 10121, op. 10121, op. 2, d. 135, l. 3.
[105] GARF, f. 10121, op. 10121, op. 2, d. 134, l. 18.
[106] GARF, f. 10121 op. 1 d. 135, l. 42.

Moscow, the vice president of the Russian Federation, and regional governors to talk about the crisis, making their work visible to both forced migrants in need of assistance and possible financiers.[107]

Other NGOs, initially formed to assist refugees and forced migrants, quickly adapted to assist temporary labor migrants from the near abroad. The organization *Migratsiia i zakon* (*Migration and law*), began as *Fond Tajikistan* in the mid-1990s to assist the forced migrants and refugees from the former Soviet Union in the capital. Gavkhar Dzhuraeva initially founded the organization to provide legal services and limited financial support to forced migrants, but her small collective of workers quickly assumed the responsibility of providing assistance to labor migrants who found themselves in legal trouble. Some had failed to properly register, while others had their wages withheld. Migrants who had not received their wages were given a small grant to cover their expenses, and Dzhuraeva and her team petitioned the local authorities for the migrants to receive registration and indemnities.[108]

The financial situation of Moscow's city government was dire, but the application of the registration policy often exhibited growing xenophobia, aimed at non-Russian residents of the city. It is undeniable that unemployment benefits coupled with limited federal support for refugees and forced migrants were a large burden for the city to bear. While registration could assist in creating a hierarchy of the needy as existed in the Soviet period, officials often denied registration in a way that kept non-Muscovites out. The Office became consumed with regulating international labor migration while ignoring the possibility of domestic labor migration. Almost immediately, dirty, difficult, and dangerous jobs became associated with non-Russians. While

[107] GARF, f. 10121 op. 1 d. 135, l. 42.
[108] Gavkhar Dzhuraeva, interviewed by Emily Elliott, Moscow, Russian, December 2015.

foreign labor was necessary to keep the economy running, registration was the most important method to exclude migrants from social welfare and protections.

Conclusion

If popular discourse branded limitchiki as the downtrodden, in the mid-1990s, migrants to Moscow were now invaders and money makers. In 1994, Denis Evstigneev released his film, *Limita*, which covered the lives of two friends who had moved to Moscow as limitchiki from Piatigorsk in southern Russia in 1977. Evstigneev had initially titled the film *V.I.P.* to highlight the financial success of the two limitchiki-turned-New Russians. One of the friends pursued a lucrative career as a successful banker in the immediate post-Soviet period, while his friend became a hacker, gaining money through complex and illicit connections to the mafia. The new title of *Limita* emphasized uniquely post-Soviet "pull yourself up by the bootstraps" stories as the two men moved from being ordinary limitchiki to wealthy new Russians. The director stated in an interview that Russia would be better off if its 150,000,000 residents possessed the same passion for financial gain as the two men in the film, even if it meant confronting the issue of putting wealth before friendship.[109]

The movie brings to the fore what was Soviet and post-Soviet. Emphasis on humanism had defined the Soviet period. Cultural development programs had offered not only the skills needed to increase workplace qualifications but also engagement with humanistic elements through lecture series and excursions to theaters and museums. In the post-Soviet period, the marker of success was no longer being cultured. Instead, as *Limita* demonstrates, financial success gained more importance in the capitalist environment. How Muscovites and state

[109] Oleg Goriachev, "Russkie 'novye; imena starye. Evstigneev vtoroi," *Argumenti i fakty*, August 10, 1994, 5.

officials grappled with this new marker shows both the endurance of some Soviet worldviews and the adoption of "postcolonial" tropes to make sense of the new Russia.

In the Soviet period, jokes and anecdotes associated Caucasians, particularly Georgians, with illicit financial gain, but those individuals who transgressed were always offered a chance at redemption.[110] While Muscovites and officials governing Moscow may have believed that Caucasians were more prone to engaging in small-time trade, officials worked with Georgian Komsomol and party members to rehabilitate those who had gone astray. As early as 1960, a brigade of Georgian Komsomol members traveled to Moscow in order to censure Georgian youth who "were sullying the [Georgian] republic's good name," by working in Moscow as "parasites and rogues…on the streets and in the markets of the capital."[111] The Komsomol members admitted that limited trade was legal but countered that the particular Georgians mentioned in the article had exploited the Soviet collective. The leaders then rebuked both the idlers and their parents for engaging in non-productive labor and ordered to youths to work in the factories of Tbilisi, the capital of the Georgian republic.[112]

Soviet emphasis on collectivism facilitated the rehabilitation of individuals. While it is possible – and even likely – that Muscovites more readily viewed Georgians as loafers and parasites, Soviet discourses and practices emphasized that the hardworking collective could save the misguided few. Soviet newspapers published the names of parasites, laying the blame on their shoulders, not those of an entire republic. In the post-Soviet period, making money and small trade became even more important to survival, but it also formed the basis of Muscovite tropes that cast entire national groups as others and outsiders. Caucasians and other migrants

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[110] Emil Draitser, *Taking Penguins to the Movies: Ethnic Humor in Russia* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1998), 36-39. Draitser provides both history and analysis of jokes that he collected.
[111] T. Badurashvili, "Society Judges, Society Educates," in *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, 44 (1960): 12.
[112] Ibid, 12. The Komsomol brigade actually found available jobs in these factories for their "parasitic" counterparts.

were different than previous cohorts of Russian migrants because they moved for financial gain, not to seek out the cultural amenities that Moscow offered.

Few in Russia shared Evstigneev's optimism that the alleged migrant go-getter attitude would solve much, and instead cast migrants in Moscow as exploiters, drawing comparisons to migrant groups elsewhere in Europe. One journalist exclaimed that Russia was for Caucasians and Central Asians what the German Federal Republic was for the Turks, arguing that these migrants sought to profit from the labor market in Russia.[113] This comparison imagined Moscow as a migrant receiving city, and hinted that Caucasians and Central Asians were unassimilable, like the Turks in West Germany. In addition to this, Russians believed that this search for "prosperity [was] exacerbating economic and social tensions."[114] Russians drew on imagery of postcolonial and guest worker migration patterns to cast Moscow as a city under siege. In both cases, migrants, who were ethnically distinct from their hosts, took on unskilled labor. Host populations racialized these migrants by emphasizing their phenotypic and class differences. In the Russian case, racializing the Caucasians and treating them as outsiders provided a scapegoat for emerging social and economic problems.

Muscovites reimagined their city as a "postcolonial" metropole even though the Soviet Union had ostensibly *not* been a colonial empire. Muscovites shaped the image of a "postcolonial" society by claiming ethnic Russians "bore the burdens of empire."[115] Russians became increasingly concerned with the frightening demographics they now faced. Ethnic Russians experienced a higher number of deaths and lower life expectancies that their Slavic

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[113] Aleksandr Bekker, "Migration is Becoming a Problem of State Security," in *The Current Digest of the Russian Press* 45 (1993): 21.
[114] Bekker, "Migration is Becoming a Problem of State Security," 21.
[115] This term reoccurred with some frequency in my research. For examples, please see, Boris Gorzev, "The Demographic Burden of Empire," *The Current Digest of the Russian Press*, 48 (1996): 11-12; and Aleksandr Iskandaryan, "Underground Workshops of Russia," *New Times Magazine*, October 1, 1999.

counterparts, the Belarusians and Ukrainians. One journalist noted that this trend dated back to 1897, the year of the first imperial census. According to him, the imperial state sent ethnic Russians to the periphery to settle the land there. However, these Russians could not easily adapt, especially in the Caucasus and Central Asia, where, he argued, the climate and culture was too radically different. Moreover, during the Soviet period, Russians were the vanguard of industrialization causing even more deaths.[116] Discussions such as these ignored other issues causing these problems but provided a scapegoat for the problems facing the young Russian Federation. If Russians portrayed Russia as a postcolonial state, they could blame those non-Russian citizens of the Soviet Union for its problems.

The press then associated these migrants with rising crime in Moscow to further emphasize their outsider status. According to some journalists, these markets doubled as hotbeds for criminal activities and referred to those working there as members of "the great watermelon mafia."[117] While selling watermelons, Azeris also sold drugs and weapons. When certain customers came for watermelons, the vendor also handed them marijuana or cocaine, taped to the bottom of the fruit. Moreover, Azeris hid guns and alcohol under the watermelon piles, which they then sold to their compatriots under the cloak of darkness.[118]

The official and public focus on international migration highlights the stark differences between the Soviet and post-Soviet periods. As Jeff Sahadeo's work has shown, cases of Muscovite xenophobia toward non-Slavic migrants in Moscow existed before the dissolution of the Soviet Union, but shared Soviet citizenship made these cases fewer than in the post-Soviet period.[119] What was different in the post-Soviet period was not only pervasive prejudice, but also

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[116] Gorzev, "The Demographic Burden of Empire," 11-12.
[117] Grigorii Sanin, "Nesladkaia sud'ba astrakhanskovo arbuza," *Segodnia*, August 12, 1997.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Sahadeo, "The Accidental Traders," 521-540.

the limited recourses available to migrants. Gone was the bureaucracy with a human face that I described in Chapter Two; within its wake, citizens of the former Soviet Union found a cash-strapped state apparatus that repeatedly failed to implement the democratic and just values that it allegedly vowed to uphold.

In previous decades, migrants could petition ministries and local offices for help, while fully admitting to having violated the propiska regime. This did little to bar them from receiving assistance. The petitions to the Ministry of Labor and Employment, mentioned earlier in this chapter, were strikingly similar to earlier ones sent to the Priemnaia, in which petitioners explained their hardships and invoked multiple statuses from citizen to invalid. They called upon those in power to make good on implementing the values – this time democratic ones – that the state claimed to support. In the Soviet period, the Priemnaia cut through bureaucratic red tape on behalf of citizens to remedy their situations. In the post-Soviet period, however, the Priemnaia ceased to exist and the ministries that received similar petitions exhibited at best the inability and at worst extreme disinterest in doing anything for petitioners. The Ministry of Labor and Employment sent only boilerplate responses to thousands of petitioners like those mentioned in this chapter.

Growing xenophobia and limited options for recourse created a strong paradox. In the Soviet period, stereotypes about loafers and parasites were often associated with non-Slavic peoples, but Soviet citizens were often able to seek out individual help in which their individual stories mattered more than their nationality or ethnicity. In the post-Soviet period, the lack of options for recourse fashioned entire groups as dirty, other, or illegal. This focus on outsiders first and migrants as individuals second resulted in labor migrants, refugees, and forced migrants

facing similar fates: marginalization in unskilled and dangerous positions. The “postcolonial” tropes that Muscovites used also speak to the nature of the post-Soviet period. The “postcolonial” trope cast migrants as outsiders and exploiters, drawing upon racial differences to do so. Even if the “postcolonial” conception was inaccurate, by using it, Muscovites exhibited some similarities with residents of other colonial metropoles – the practice of excluding phenotypically-different migrants and blaming such migrants for economic and social programs.

CHAPTER FIVE

Moscow: A European Capital in the Age of Global Migration

During the spring of 2000, the Forum of Migration Organizations petitioned President Vladimir Putin to request that he instruct the Ministry for the Affairs of Federal, National, and Migration Politics (*Minfederatsii*) to create a comprehensive immigration system that clarified the rights and benefits accorded to specific migrant groups. The petitioners argued that many migrants were highly qualified and should be able to find work at a level not lower than their qualifications. These migrants, the petitioners continued, were needed in Russia to replenish the population, whose numbers had dwindled due to rising deaths and emigration following the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The Forum accused the federal government of abandoning migrants who had "returned to their historic homeland because of their love for Russia."[1] The Forum countered the official line that the federal government lacked the funds to support migrants, pointing out that the money put toward one month of the Chechen War could fund FMS for two years. The real national security threat, the Forum concluded, was a failure to develop a comprehensive system for regulating migration. [2]

The petitioners from the Forum of Migration Organizations were aware of the new ways in which federal authorities understood migration. In late 1999, the Ministry for Labor and Employment relinquished control of FMS to the Ministry for the Affairs of Federation and Nationality, which was renamed Ministry for the Affairs of Federation, Nationality, and Migration Politics to accommodate its new oversight of migration. On the local level, FMS became the Committee for Migration Affairs, working under the government of the City of Moscow. The transfer signaled a new ideological approach to governing migration. Under

[1] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 147, l. 153.
[2] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 147, l. 154.

Minfederatsii, the Committee for Migration Affairs associated its policies with not only labor allocation and demographic rejuvenation but also national security concerns. If FMS had previously adopted a policy of "to help but not invite" and attempted to restrict all forms of in-migration, Minfederatsii now conceded that migration was a necessary element to reverse Russia's demographic decline.[3] However, it was reluctant to invite just anyone, opting to favor educated, ethnic Russians while increasing its security regime for policing non-Russian temporary labor migrants who arrived in the hundreds of thousands.

In the previous chapter, I elucidated how FMS exerted little real control over migration regimes in the immediate aftermath of the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Both federal and local authorities understood migration as a threat to the well-being of the native population, casting migrants as usurpers of jobs and social welfare provisions. Although large numbers of labor migrants and refugees who arrived in Moscow departed from points beyond borders of the former Soviet Union, FMS in Moscow understood migration in the context of the breakup of the Soviet Union. Not only did FMS use a Soviet-era tool – registration – to police migration, but it also viewed migration in relationship to the economic chaos precipitated by the end of the Soviet Union.

In this chapter, I argue that Minfederatsii created a comprehensive migration regime that focused on securitization.[4] Minfederatsii studied migration repertoires to, from, and within

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[3] Molodikova, "Russian Policy Toward Compatriots," 126.

[4] Although securitization is a term also used in the field of economics, I use it here because it is the most widely used term in migration studies to discuss the phenomenon under consideration in this chapter. I will explain the migration-related context in the main text, but I would like to expand further on its economic meaning here for clarification. Martin Lengwiler, an historian, defines securitization in this realm as, "the transformation of financial risks into investment products in order to sell them on the financial market." He provides the historical context as well, saying while the practice existed before the 1970s, it expanded significantly in that decade. He explains that, "The basic conditions were laid down in the 1950s by epistemic innovations in economics and actuarial science, in particular the development of mathematical models for option pricing and other price mechanisms on the financial markets. The other factor is constituted by the drastically increased demand for innovative financial products which emerged in the 1980s, and has ever since driven the trend towards securitization." Please see: Martin Lengwiler,

Russia during the 1990s in an effort to create migration regimes that would effectively regulate these repertoires. Minfederatsii concluded that immigration *and* emigration were both crucial components of international migration, and both had become primarily economically motivated by the late 1990s. What became more important for how Minfederatsii decided to regulate migration was its position that migration was a threat to national security. Officials asserted that Moscow was more than just a destination for migrants across the former Soviet Union. Instead, it was part of a global migration system that linked Asia to Europe, which required a robust visa regime and deportation program that would protect native Muscovites' job prospects, their Russian identity, and their physical security.

What made Russia part of a global migration system was Minfederatsii's securitization approach to governing migration. The Copenhagen School of security studies first put forth the concept of securitization, referring to any non-security issue being pushed into the arena of security concerns.[5] According to Anthony M. Messina, the securitization of migration occurs, "Whenever a critical number of political elites – especially, but not exclusively extreme right political actors – within the receiving countries attempt to exploit the general public's unease with immigration by rhetorically framing migrants as a threat to its economic, cultural and/or physical security."[6] In addition to these speech acts, everyday "mundane bureaucratic decisions

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"Risky Calculations: Financial Mathematics and Securitization since the 1970s," *Historical Social Research* 41, no. 2 (2016): 258-279. First quote on page 259; second on 261.

[5] The origins of securitization theory can be traced to Barry Buzan, *People, States, and Fear: The National Security Problem in International Relations* (Brighton, Sussex: Wheatsheaf Books, 1983). However, the school's position and analysis of how securitization functions in multiple sectors is best and most famously discussed in Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver, and Jaap de Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1997).

[6] Anthony M Messina, "Migration as a Global Phenomenon," in *Handbook on Migration and Security*, ed. Philippe Bourbeau (Northamton, MA: Edward Elgar Pub., 2017), 15-38, 27.

and practices" that play upon existing anxieties to justify the state's importance in providing security also play an important role in migration securitization.[7]

In the United States and Europe, the move to restrict labor migration began in the 1970s as their economies floundered. Public discourse in European countries that had experienced high rates of in-migration in the postwar years branded migrants as "free-riders" of the welfare state, and by the mid-1970s, many had implemented more restrictive measures for immigration.[8] In the United States, immigration also became a political hot topic, and by the 1980s under the Reagan administration, open borders became associated with security threats.[9] The securitization of migration continued to rise in importance in Europe following the end of the Cold War, when economic migrants and refugees left formerly state socialist countries for western Europe.

At first, public and scholarly opinion held that the end of the Cold War created a globalized world, free from impermeable borders like the Berlin Wall.[10] The strengthening of the European Union and the establishment of the North American Free Trade Agreement symbolized this new global order. However, scholars soon began to see how the increased movement of people resulted in discourses that fashioned migration as an existential threat and resulted in policies that increased or expanded methods for policing migration, even before September 11, 2001.[11] In her introduction to the volume *Border, Fences, and Walls: State of Insecurity?*, Elisabeth Vallet points out, "the speed with which walls sprang up suggests the existence of a

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[7] Philippe Bourbeau, "Migration, Exceptionalist Security Discourses, and Practices," in *Handbook on Migration and Security*, ed. Philippe Bourbeau (Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Pub., 2017), 105-124, 108.
[8] Lucassen and Lucassen, *The Immigrant Threat*, 1-24.
[9] Massey, Malone, and Durand, Beyond Smoke and Mirrors, 43-87.
[10] Corey Johnson and Reece Jones, "Where is the border?" in *Placing the Border in Everyday Life*, eds. Reece Jones and Corey Johnson (New York: Routledge, 2014), 1-14: 1-4; See also: Elisabeth Vallet, "Introduction," in *Border, Fences, and Walls: State of Insecurity*, ed. Elisabeth Vallet (New York: Routledge, 2014), 1-7, 1-3.
[11] Bourbeau, "Migration, exceptionalist security discourses, and practices," 105-107. Pierre Bourbeau noted that despite a decrease in immigration in the early 1990s, French officials used the specter of increased global migration to pass laws that extended the state's ability to detain migrants.

latent tendency that predated 9/11, at least at the ideational level."[12] In the age of the global war on terror, policing terrorism became a crucial new pretext for restricting migration. Policy makers the world over associated porous borders with the clandestine arrival of terrorists, even if these cases were few and far between.

Scholars of migration in post-Soviet spaces have laid out Russia's increasing securitization of migration, even if not using the exact term. The Russian-language literature has focused on Russia's geopolitical position, pointing to a correlation between demographic decline and Russia's diminishing importance in world politics.[13] While acknowledging the need for migration, Russian scholars have homed in on the existence of ethnic enclaves in Moscow, illustrating both local Russian xenophobia toward migrants and the barriers to assimilation that migrants themselves allegedly created within their enclaves.[14] English-language scholarship has also considered Russian xenophobia toward migrants by examining unfair policing methods in Moscow as well as popular and official anti-migrant discourses.[15]

More recently, scholars of migration in the former Soviet Union have embraced securitization theory to understand Russia's migration politics. Mikhail A. Alekseev's study of securitization in Russia points out that Russians tended to link their fears of migrants with their perception of the central state as weak. From this viewpoint, Russians associated tougher policies

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[12] Vallet, "Introduction," 2.

[13] For discussions on the relationship between Russian demographic decline and its association with perceived diminished political power, please see: Akhunova, *Aktual'nye problemy gosudarstvennogo regulirovaniia migratsii rabochei sily*, 44-45; Perevedentsev, *Migratsiia naseleniia i demograficheskoe bydyshchee Rossii*, 21; Gerasimova, *Vliianie migratsionnykh protsessov na regulirovanie sotsial'no-trudovykh otnoshenii*, 68-133.

[14] Bedunkovich, *Regulirovanie trudovoi migratsii v stolichnom megapolise*, 61-79. Akhunova, *Aktual'nye problemy gosudarstvennogo regulirovaniia migratsii rabochei sily*, 44-45; Ostapenko and Subbotina, *Moskva mnogonatsional'naia.*

[15] Roman, "Making Caucasians Black," 12; Chandler, "Nationalism and social welfare in the post-Soviet context," 63-66; Pilkington, *Migration, Displacement and Identity*, 109-189.

on migration with the strengthening of the state.[16] In terms of state policy toward migration, the scholarship marks the early 2000s as a transition point toward more selective migration policies that favored Russian speakers. Despite a continued open visa regime with former Soviet republics that allowed migrants to enter Russia for 90 days without a visa, the increasingly high bar to procure registration and other necessary documents for employment rendered most migrants irregular in status.[17] Moreover, these restrictions on migration and increased irregularity pushed migrants towards crime and criminal elements for support.[18] This alleged criminality coincided with renewed conflict in Chechnya and the global war on terror, providing justifications for the securitization of migration.

I contribute to these literatures by using migration securitization to elucidate how Minfederatsii constructed its new migration regime. I suggest that post-Cold War migration securitization had a boomerang effect. Fueled by anxieties of increasing global migration, European countries used the specter of migrants from formerly state socialist countries to restrict other forms of migration. Within less than a decade of this approach taking root in western Europe, it swung back to Russia, where officials in Minfederatsii adopted a securitization approach for creating new migration regimes. Minfederatsii viewed Russia as the center of a global migration system that brought migrants from the global south to Europe. However, the upswing in European securitization left thousands of migrants stranded in Russia, with Moscow bearing the brunt of this burden. This approach continues the work of other scholars who have compared Soviet and post-Soviet migration patterns to those in Europe by drawing comparisons

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[16] Mikhail A. Alekseev, "Russia and Central Asia," *Handbook on Migration and Security*, ed. Philippe Bourbeau (Northamton, MA: Edward Elgar Pub., 2017), 363-394, 370-374.
[17] Light, *Fragile Migration Rights*, 75; Osadchaya, "Migrants from Armenia and Georgia in Moscow," 126; Abashin, "Migration Policy in Russia: Laws and Debates," 17-21; Molodikova, "Russian Policy Toward Compatriots," 144-5.
[18] For an overview of case studies, please see: Robert W. Orttung and Anthony Latta, eds., *Russia's battle with crime, corruption and terrorism* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

between these repertoires and guest worker and post-colonial migrations.[19] By the end of the twentieth century, temporary labor migration regimes were more than just strikingly similar to guest worker and post-colonial migrations. Instead, officials saw temporary labor migration to Moscow as something deeply embedded in European migration and governed it as such.

In this chapter, I argue that Minfederatsii desired to create migration regimes that would balance demographic rejuvenation and economic growth with its emerging securitization concerns. Fear of increasing migrant criminality, reduced job opportunities for Russians, and renewed conflict in Chechnya precipitated its decision to prioritize the arrival of educated Russians over non-Russians who took on menial jobs. This regime, however, ignored that Muscovites continued to shun these jobs, and increasing restrictions resulted in more irregularity. In combatting what authorities called "illegal" migration, authorities in Moscow turned to European practices. I further argue that police in Moscow readily adopted one of the most crucial elements for implementing migration securitization – the expansion of locations where the border is policed.[20] The Committee for Migration Affairs in Moscow built new check points at airports and train stations while simultaneously bringing the border to migrants through raids, removals, and deportations.

Securitization Regime

By the late 1990s, both federal and local authorities sought to understand how migration repertoires developed throughout the 1990s and the relationship of these repertoires to national security concerns. Minfederatsii conceived of Russia as the center of a migration sub-region that

[19] Sahadeo, "The Accidental Traders," 522; Sahadeo, "Soviet 'Blacks'," 340; Madeleine Reeves, "Black work, green money," 108-134; Roman, "Making Caucasians Black."
[20] For an overview, please see: Johnson and Jones, "Where is the border?" 1-4

acted as a transit point between the global south and Europe. Open borders and lax visa arrangements between former Soviet republics and their neighbors meant that migrants from Africa and Asia entered republics in Central Asia and made their way to Russia either to find work or to move onward to western Europe. In Moscow, local authorities complained that the city housed thousands of migrants who entered Russia, but had their hopes of moving to western Europe dashed by Europe's increasing restrictions on migration. While Russia dealt with the erection of hard borders where only soft ones had existed, member countries of the European Union dealt with the softening of internal borders. The free movement of people within European resulted in increased efforts to secure its external borders, thus leaving migrants stranded in transit countries, such as Russia.[21] Moreover, the high numbers of unemployed and economic instability had pushed Russian citizens to find work elsewhere in Europe, forming another migration-based link between Russian and western Europe.

In this new conceptualization, Minfederatsii sought what it considered to be European solutions to post-Soviet issues. The dissolution of the Soviet Union precipitated a considerable outflow of ethnic Russians, an increasing number of deaths, and a falling number of births. This created a demographic crisis that Minfederatsii perceived as a threat to Russian preeminence in geopolitics. Although other developed countries also faced aging populations by the end of the twentieth century, the Russian case has become more severe since 1992 when deaths surpassed births. By 2050, Russia's population is projected to drop to 126,000,000, surpassed by Ethiopia, Pakistan, Egypt, and others in terms of population.[22] However, as Russia became a country of immigration, it understood itself as both outside Europe and European. On the one hand, the brain drain and Russia's position as a transit country made it a gateway to western Europe. On

[21] Matthew Carr, *Fortress Europe: Dispatches from a Gated Continent* (New York: The New Press, 2012): 1-9.
[22] Wood, *Russia Without Putin*, 161-162.

the other hand, Minfederatsii sought German guidance on the best methods for regulating labor migration. Although migration securitization was well underway outside of Europe, Minfederatsii understood securitization as a European solution to European problems – and a solution to be implemented in Russia.

These new migration patterns informed how Russian officials developed their approaches to national security issues. The outflow of ethnic Russians, the increasing number of deaths, and the falling number of births had created a demographic crisis that threatened Russian preeminence in geopolitics and Russian identity at home. While the arrival of non-ethnic Russians mitigated the effects of demographic decline, it also generated new problems from the standpoint of those governing migration. At the dawn of the twenty first century, these officials argued that migration was primarily an economic phenomenon, which encouraged the perception of migrants as job stealers. Moreover, the arrival of non-Russians complicated the development of a Russian identity. While Minfederatsii entertained ideas for creating a civic Russian identity, it failed to develop any concrete plans for creating an identity accessible to other ethnicities. In Moscow, Muscovites continued to shun positions in the construction and transportation sectors, but both local migration policies and popular discourses underscored migrants as a threat to economic and social stability.

Minfederatsii, charged with investigating migration to and within Russia, struggled to understand emerging migration patterns and their relationships to economic development and state security. In one study on migration in the former Soviet Union, researchers for Minfederatsii argued that departure from Russia marked the period of 1989-1994, followed by a period of increased immigration from the former Soviet republics in 1995-1999.[23] However, the

[23] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 318, l. 13.

statistics provided in the research contradicted this major premise of their understanding of migration. Relocation to Russia from the former Soviet Union had always been a phenomenon in the immediate post-Soviet period. In fact, it reached its peak numbers in 1994, when migration to Russia added 915,000 people to the total population.[24] It was not that immigration surged following 1994, but that emigration slowed, allowing for immigration to play a more important role in compensating for demographic decline. By the end of the decade, both immigration and emigration slowed, and migration-related population growth dropped to only 267,000.[25]

The dissolution of the Soviet Union spurred a brain drain, particularly of young ethnic Russians, that vexed Russian officials. Emigration began when Germans and Jews whose families had lived in Russia for generations began to emigrate to their putative historic homelands where they could claim citizenship and find better economic opportunities. This first wave of emigration included multiple generations, but Minfederatsii began to see the phenomenon as a brain drain when young, educated Russians began to leave. Youth trained as engineers, programmers, and specialists in the fields of economics and the humanities found employment with international firms in Russia. Those who knew a foreign language were most likely to work for these companies, and then signed contracts to work abroad. Often, temporary stints turned into permanent stays, resulting in dwindling numbers of youth in Russia's workforce.[26]

While this demographic crisis was a post-Soviet problem, Minfederatsii argued that this outflow and its effects on population size posed a national security threat by diminishing Russia's geopolitical position, but it was difficult to stem the tide of emigration. As late as 2000,

[24] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 318, l. 14.
[25] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 318, l. 13.
[26] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 388, l. 7-8.

the Committee for Migration Affairs in Moscow consulted migration experts to develop a program for assisting Muscovites in finding work elsewhere in Europe.[27] The Committee still struggled to close the gap between those seeking work and those actually employed. Just a year before in 1999, the Committee found that 71 percent of Moscow's population sought work, but only 63 percent of its 8,600,000 residents were employed.[28] Sending Muscovites abroad alleviated unemployment at home and offered long-term benefits, even if it failed to solve immediate demographic and geopolitical concerns. After pursuing temporary work abroad, Muscovites could bring their new experiences and skill sets home to develop the national economy.

Shaping a Russian identity after the dissolution of the Soviet Union was another post-Soviet issue tied to securitization. Minfederatsii recognized that immigration played a crucial role in Russia's demographic rejuvenation and economic development but worried that the arrival of migrants who did not speak Russian or lacked cultural ties to Russia would threaten national security. Between 1989 and 1999, ethnic Russians accounted for two-thirds of all arrivals throughout those 10 years, but their overall share of arrivals dropped with each passing year.[29] While ethnic Russians accounted for almost all migrants from the former Soviet republics in 1991, they accounted for three-fourths in 1993, and only 55 percent in 2000.[30] Minfederatsii did not stop the arrival of non-Russian migrants but debated how to integrate migrants who were not Russian. It feared that lack of language skills and the creation of diaspora communities would make them insular and hinder their assimilation. Despite these concerns, Minfederatsii reaffirmed its dedication to building a civil, *rossiiskii* identity, devoid of ethnic and religious

[27] TsGAGM, d. 3261, op. 1, d. 59, l. 19.
[28] TsGAGM, d. 3261, op. 1, d. 53, l. 3.
[29] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 318, l. 14.
[30] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 318, l. 14.

affiliations. However, such a program needed to be coupled with a "selective immigration policy that will match the pragmatic economic and geopolitical interests of the Russian Federation."[31] In part, this declaration drew upon the reality that the only way to solve Russia's demographic crisis was through migration, but Minfederatsii asserted that such aims needed to be balanced with protecting the interests of the state. Foreign obligations needed to recognize the need for migration and protecting the human rights of migrants while securing Russian borders.[32]

Minfederatsii also perceived immigration as a threat to economic development since it exercised little control over the arrival of migrants. If fleeing armed conflict and the chaos of the breakup of the Soviet Union had encouraged migration to Russia in earlier years, the reasons for migration had stabilized by 2000, with most migrants arriving in search of work.[33] By the dawn of the new millennium, Minfederatsii considered economic motivations the most important factor for migrants leaving other republics in the former Soviet Union for Russia. By the late 1990s, Minfederatsii estimated, labor migrants accounted for 45 percent of all arrivals in Russia.[34] About 240,000 foreign workers annually registered in Russia after signing contracts for work. However, all negotiations took place between employers and employees, often beyond the watchful eye of the state. Two major factors fueled the facilitation of these contracts. First, foreign companies had the legal right to recruit workers from abroad outside of any quota restrictions that Minfederatsii placed on foreign laborers. Second, these labor migrants, like labor migrants of years gone by, took on work that the rest of the population shunned. As a result, over 85 percent were in the construction and transportation sectors.[35]

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[31] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 388, l. 7-8.
[32] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 388, l. 7-8.
[33] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 318, l. 15.
[34] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 318, l. 15.
[35] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 318, l. 16.

In Moscow, migration trends varied from national patterns. While in-migration to Russia peaked in 1994, migration to Moscow reached its post-Soviet zenith in 1999. In 1994, when nearly 1,000,000 migrants from the former Soviet Union arrived in Russia, Moscow's population grew by only 15,000 due to in-migration. Moscow reached its peak number of migration-related population growth in 1999, with migration-related grown hitting 73,000. Throughout the 1990s, migrants' preference for Moscow only grew. In the mid-1990s, approximately 20 percent of all migrants to Russia went to Moscow, but in 1999, 35 percent did so. While visa-free travel brought primarily citizens of the former Soviet Union to Russia, migrants from beyond the former Soviet Union made up over 50 percent of all migrants to Moscow.[36] But, what Moscow shared in common with the rest of Russia was a reliance on labor migrants to fill positions in the transportation and construction sectors.

The Moscow Committee for Migration Affairs worked with federal authorities to "develop a program for giving Muscovites and Russian citizens priority in filling labor vacancies over foreign laborers," demonstrating the mounting xenophobia in the city.[37] The Committee envisioned a hierarchy of employment that placed Muscovites at the top, followed by Russian citizens, and then foreigners. The Committee began working with federal agencies to compile lists of vacancies and the unemployed in Moscow. Just as the Office for Labor and Employment had planned to do a decade earlier, the Committee planned to create a database that matched the unemployed and those in search of work with available jobs. It proposed beginning this experiment in the construction sector where foreign workers dominated. Doing so would meet the program's goal of replacing foreigners with Muscovites and Russians.[38]

[36] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 75, l. 1-3.
[37] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 129, l. 1.
[38] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 129, l. 2.

Surveillance became an important element of the securitization regime. At the federal level, Russian authorities planned to monitor migrants within Russia to meet "economic, socio-political and national security concerns."[39] The process began with creating several distinct visa types: transit, transfer, tourism, study, employment, and marriage.[40] For work visas, Minfederatsii desired to limit the number of workers who could work in certain sectors of the economy. All information was then entered into a database that tracked the arrivals, stays, and departures of all foreigners in Russia. Minfederatsii could then check that all foreigners obeyed their stated reasons for entering the country and then deport violators of the visa regime.[41]

This visa regime was a crucial element for combatting the alleged crime that migration bred. The Security Council of the Russian Federation commented that the national labor market contained a growing criminal sphere filled with migrants. Across Russia, it noted, foreigners committed 32,000 crimes, a 4.1 percent increase from the previous year.[42] Moreover, Minfederatsii believed that Russia's role as a transit point between the Global South and western Europe exacerbated this problem. The Ministry found that:

> Tough immigration politics in the governments of western Europe and the absence of a mechanism for readmission with the governments of the Commonwealth of Independent States, creates conditions for increasing illegal migration to Russia, migrants' attraction to illicit professions, organization of ethnic, semi-legal groups, and the emergence of a lack of control over the market of goods and services.[43]

Russia had become a location of more than just labor migration. It had become a transit point for migrants awaiting their day to head to western Europe. However, when European countries

[39] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 387, l. 1-3.
[40] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 387, l. 1-3.
[41] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 388, l. 17-18.
[42] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 148.
[43] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 388, l. 4.

denied entry to these labor migrants, they remain in Russia. Without the necessary paperwork to find work, they turned to crime.

In Moscow, the Committee for Migration Affairs believed that migration not only embedded the Russian capital in a global system but also bore striking resemblance to European systems. As a result, it formalized semi-annual meetings of a Moscow-Berlin seminar series on migration-related programs. This working group had two main purposes. First, since large numbers of Russian speakers had made their way to Germany following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the group often discussed the integration of these new arrivals that numbered somewhere around 100,000.[44] Second, and more importantly, Moscow's city government viewed Berlin as their ideal model for coping with immigration. The Russians argued West Germany had not been a traditional country of immigration until its postwar reconstruction, and Russia until after the dissolution of the Soviet Union.[45]

In both cases, the first wave of migrants possessed the same ethnicity and native language as their hosts. Following the Second World War, the Federal German Republic and West Berlin faced a wave of ethnic German arrivals from the East and later guest workers from throughout Europe and Turkey. Like Russian returnees, ethnic German expellees from eastern Europe relied on a shared language and cultural practice to facilitate their integration. Eventually, the flow of expellees and returnees slowed, and new migrants continued the process of filling labor shortages. The presence of temporary labor migrants in Moscow bore resemblance to guest workers in West Germany, where migrants from Southern Europe and Turkey took on blue-

[44] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 70, l. 1.
[45] In her dissertation, Bethany Hicks traces the relationship of postwar German migration to post-Cold War ones. Please see: Bethany Hicks, "Germany After the Fall: Migration, Gender, and East-West Idenities," (PhD diss., Michigan State University, 2010), 1-66. For another work on the topic, please see: Ulrich Herbert, *A History of Foreign Labor in Germany, 1880-1980.*

collar jobs that made the West German economic miracle possible in the 1950s and 1960s. As in Russia, ethnic Germans at times protested against the benefits provided to non-German migrants.[46]

As the millennium ended, Berlin and Moscow faced similar problems. Germany too faced a shrinking native population and grappled with whether it should increase foreign migration quotas. The benefits for West Germany in previous decades had been obvious. One member of the group explained that, "They [foreign labor migrants] moved to West Germany when they were between 25-35 years old, and they did not need to receive a pension. They paid taxes and contributed to pension funds, meaning they supported pensioners, rooted in German citizenship."[47] The German participants encouraged their Russian counterparts to use the 850th anniversary of Moscow to open itself fully to the world and liberalize its migration systems. By increasing the number of labor migrants legally allowed to work in Moscow, officials would benefit from the taxes that they could collect.

The Germans conceded that it was nearly impossible to eradicate the shadow economy. Berlin was a center of migration within Europe and home to many large-scale construction projects. The presence of migrants and existing repertoires of temporary labor migrants made it possible for a shadow economy to flourish. In these conditions, migrants both fell victim to and participated in the sale of people, drugs, and weapons. In Berlin, the police combatted "black work" in the shadow economy, but never completely eradicated it. In addition to the concerns of Minfederatsii, officials in Moscow linked the growing criminal sphere with prostitution and

[46] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 70, l. 2. For a discussion on the integration of guest workers through education, please see: Brian Van Wyck, "Guest Workers in the School? Turkish Teachers and the Production of Migrant Knowledge in West German Schools, 1971 – 1989," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 3 (September 2017): 466-491.
[47] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 98, l. 1-5.

seemed to have learned few lessons from the police force in Berlin in the near impossibility of ending such practices.[48]

Russian federal and Moscow local authorities struggled to make sense of migration at the dawn of the twenty-first century and often saw Europe as a source of both misery and salvation. In Moscow, Minfederatsii and the Committee for Migration Affairs bemoaned the presence of transit migrants – those using Moscow as a layover before receiving the right to move to Europe as either a refugee or labor migrant. This perceived inundation of migrants from points beyond the former Soviet Union also suggested some commonality with Europe to those governing migration in Russia. What Minfederatsii believed made Russia European above all else, however, was its confrontation with irregular migrants.

Gastarbaitery: Unwelcome Guests of the City

In March 2002, Sergei Glebovich Smidovich, the director of the Committee for Migration Affairs in Moscow, sat down for an interview with Ekho Moskvy, a radio station in the capital. The questions that Muscovites posed exhibited their growing nativist concerns, and his responses the growing securitization regime. "Why are only gastarbaitery working on construction sites in the capital?" posed one listener.[49] The adoption of the German word gastarbeiter for guest workers alone spoke volumes. Muscovites viewed the capital as more than a regional hub of migration that attracted migrants from the former Soviet Union. Instead, it was a migration center that suffered the same problems as other European cities. Smidovich responded that although 30,000 Vietnamese and 25,000 Chinese lived in Moscow, foreigners made up only 5

[48] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 102, l. 1-3.
[49] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 123, l. 2-3.

percent of construction workers.[50] However, the question points to the anxiety that Muscovites felt, fearing that foreign laborers were pushing Muscovites out of the labor force. By the dawn of the twenty first century, securitization of migration in Moscow included not only speech acts described in this chapter's introduction but also complex practices of policing migration, often bringing border checkpoints to migrants at their homes and places of employment.

The preponderance of non-Russian guest workers had been a growing concern in the Russian press since the mid-1990s. The use of gastarbaitery eclipsed that of limitchiki and was often deployed to describe labor migrants from both the former Soviet Union and anywhere else around the world. One journalist noted in 1998 that:

> Guest workers in Russia have long since lost their novelty; at times it seems that Russian workers are becoming the real novelty. The guttural sounds of Turkish speech at Moscow construction sites have long since replaced the Russian cursing we used to hear, and we're now accustomed to hearing Moscow's public transit drivers speak in the soft tongue of independent Ukraine...There's hardly a thrifty homeowner who hasn't sought out Ukrainians or Belarussians to remodel his apartment. Turkish and Yugoslav construction workers are eagerly sought by affluent businessmen, who put quality, speed and low labor costs ahead of patriotism.[51]

The reader can hear the cacophony of sounds and disembodied, shadowy voices of these migrants. This journalist was certainly not alone in associating specific nationalities with sectors of the economy, while viewing migrants as a collective of foreigners that threatened Russian national well-being. The presence of irregular migrants prompted a series of stereotypes and tropes. In one study on international labor power in Moscow, the Committee for Migration Affairs compiled a list that associated specific nationalities with sectors of the economy. Allegedly, Ukrainians, Turks, and Yugoslavs populated Moscow's construction sites. Chinese

[50] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 123, l. 2-3.
[51] Valeria Sychova, "Friendship of the Peoples Cemented by Off-the-Books Jobs – Every Fifth Guest Worker in Russia Works in Moscow," *The Current Digest of the Russian Press* 15 (1998): 23-24. Quoted on page 23.

and Vietnamese could be found in the food industries, and Armenians in markets. Ukrainians and Moldovans drove busses and trains.[52]

What else is known about these migrants beyond their supposed affinity for specific types of labor? Migrants from beyond the former Soviet Union predominated in Moscow, accounting for 55 to 60 percent of the 70,000 temporary labor migrants who arrived in Moscow annually in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Turkey, China, Vietnam, and the republics of the Former Yugoslavia were the largest sending countries. Among the former Soviet Union, Ukraine dominated while Moldova and Georgia came in a distant second and third.[53] It became increasingly difficult for temporary labor migrants to parlay their work into permanent residency. The number of migrants receiving permanent status fell from 86,000 in 1991 to only 27,000 in 1997. Who received permanent residency also began to change, shifting from limitchiki who worked in Soviet enterprises to primarily doctors and more educated migrants in the 1990s.[54] The preference for providing educated migrants with permanent residency echoed the calls of Minfederatsii's overarching migration regime to prioritize the immigration of educated Russian youth.

[52] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 94, l. 5.
[53] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 51, l. 1.
[54] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 53, l. 1.

Country	Total Arrivals
Azerbaijan	164
Armenia	1,691
Belarus	0
Georgia	3,417
Kazakhstan	156
Kirgizia	41
Latvia	203
Lithuania	36
Moldova	4,823
Tajikistan	194
Turkmenistan	10
Uzbekistan	270
Ukraine	15,837
Estonia	299
Former Yugoslavia	4,221
Bulgaria	1,764
Vietnam	3,870
India	1,243
China	8,573
Poland	795
Turkey	13,211
Other locations	12,284
Commonwealth of Independent States Total	**27,142**
Non-Commonwealth of Independent States Total	**46,061**
Overall Total	**73,203**

Table 5.1: Total Arrivals to Moscow in 1999[55]

[55] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 51, l. 1. Due to the economic union between Russia and Belarus, Belarussian migrants were allowed free access to Russian labor markets. Therefore, Belarussians were not counted in these statistics.

Migrants in this period were markedly older and more male than in previous decades. If the temporary labor migrants in the Soviet period had been youth leaving the countryside, by the 2000s, they were primarily middle aged with over 50,000 of the 70,000 arrivals in 1999 falling between the ages of 30 and 55. Only 15,000 were under the age of 30.[56] By the end of the twentieth century, temporary labor migration to Moscow was a male phenomenon, as men outnumbered women nearly six to one.[57]

The Committee for Migration Affairs in Moscow devoted little time to understanding migrants' motivations for moving, besides the assumption that they sought money in Moscow. However, Minfederatsii provided some insights into motivations for migrants leaving republics across the former Soviet Union for various locations within the Russian Federation. In the Caucasus, deep rooted economic crises and ethnic tensions in Armenia and Azerbaijan sent over a million migrants (not only ethnic Russians) to Russia. While migrants from both often found homes in southern Russia, they also favored Moscow. Approximately 1,000,000 migrants left Georgia as well, and by 2001, Russian authorities had implemented a visa regime along the Russian-Georgian border.[58] In Central Asia, civil unrest in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan forced migrants to leave.[59] However, the declining importance of the Russian language, coupled with high unemployment and low economic development acted as the main factors in encouraging migration to Russia. For migrants leaving Ukraine, and to a lesser extent, Belarus, the Ministry argued that cultural ties to Russia played an important role.[60]

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[56] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 60.
[57] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 51, l. 1.
[58] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 318, l. 18-20.
[59] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 318, l. 20-22.
[60] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 318, l. 23.

In understanding migration, the Committee for Migration Affairs in Moscow never stopped seeing migration in relationship to demographics, unemployment, and labor allocation. Deaths, which were highest among working age males, continued to pose a considerable demographic problem.[61] While women fared better in terms of life expectancy, they felt the pains of unemployment. Seventy percent of the 75,600 unemployed in Moscow were women.[62] The Committee for Migration Affairs noted that the profile of the unemployed person in the capital had changed during the tumultuous 1990s. Not only were the unemployed mostly women, they were also middle aged, falling between the ages of 30 and 55. Moreover, lower levels of education appeared to stymie the attempts of these women to find adequate employment.[63] For some Muscovites, unemployment turned into permanent removal from the labor force.

The arrival of migrants was seen as a necessary evil in popular discourse and official discussions. One journalist noted, "Foreigners are often invited to work at jobs you couldn't pay Russians to take. If not for the Ukrainians, for instance, Muscovites would have to slog their way across the city on foot: The Moscow city transit system sometimes has as many as 10,000 vacancies."[64] Temporary labor migrants agreed with this assessment. One Ukrainian, identified only as Roman, told a reporter that, "Muscovites want a lot at once: to get good money and to work in a 'clean' place. Personally, I just go to the construction sites and ask: 'Do you need workers?'"[65] The Committee for Migration Affairs in Moscow also faced the reality that it could not rally Muscovites to take certain jobs. When it received requests from companies to find

[61] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 53, l. 2-4
[62] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 53, l. 2-4.
[63] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 53, l. 2-4.
[64] Sychova, "Friendship of the Peoples Cemented by Off-the-Books Jobs," 23.
[65] Olga Bobrova, "My gorozhane: zhizn' v 'priatki'," *Obshchaia gazeta*, March 3, 2002, 6.

unemployed Muscovites for construction jobs, it almost never able to supply the needed workers from the ranks of the native workforce.[66]

In 1999, the Committee for Migration Affairs had implemented plans for limiting the number of foreign laborers. In 1999, Yuri Luzhkov, the mayor of Moscow, signed off on a new program to further regulate migration in the upcoming two years. The motives were mainly nativist and protectionist, casting the labor migrants as interlopers who stole jobs. In order to meet the goal of limiting migration, the Committee for Migration Affairs implemented a quota system for hiring foreign laborers, restricting the number of foreign workers in Moscow to 50,000 in 2000 and 45,000 in 2001.[67] The quota system did more than set a maximum for the total number of laborers allowed to enter the city. It also broke down the number of foreign laborers by sector of the economy. It examined which sectors had over fulfilled its quotas and set quotas based on which sectors it felt needed development.

Muscovite disdain for certain jobs meant that in 2000 migration to Moscow surpassed the allotted quota since the Committee for Migration Affairs decided to direct foreign workers toward shortages in the construction, transportation and industrial sectors.[68] By 2001 the number of foreign arrivals fell below the quotas set. Only 41,500 of a projected 45,000 foreign laborers found work in Moscow.[69] Despite anxieties over the influx of foreigners, the Committee for Migration Affairs more than doubled its quota for foreign laborers in 2002. If in 2001 the Committee had permitted 45,000 foreign laborers in Moscow, it planned for 93,000 in 2002.[70]

[66] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 128.
[67] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 59, l. 2.
[68] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 69, l. 1.
[69] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 94, l. 1, 5.
[70] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 95, l. 4.

To the Committee for Migration Affairs, limiting legal migration was not enough; it also needed to combat irregular migration. The Committee also engaged in increasing its securitization of migration, mimicking concerns voiced at the federal level. Local authorities considered Moscow to be the nexus that linked Asia to Europe. Official policies in Moscow operated from the starting point that, "Migration problems in Moscow are the result of several labor forecast socio-economic and political processes that today occur in the country and in the world."[71] As a result, the main priority became protecting the labor market in Moscow from excessive in-migration, policing irregular migration, and warning "about the appearance of infectious and parasitic diseases due to the concentration of various types of migrants in the city."[72] In short, the securitization quickly took root in Moscow and accommodated the specific anxieties of local authorities there.

The relative freedom granted to companies for recruiting and hiring workers allegedly bred conditions for wage suppression and crime. Minfederatsii clearly outlined the legal requirements for both companies hiring foreign workers and foreign workers seeking employment in Russia. Companies first needed to receive permission for recruiting such workers, which then gave the employer the right to provide them with permission for working in Russia. Once a worker was hired, the company needed to provide registration, to pay appropriate taxes, and to provide workers with a means of leaving when their contract ended.[73] In order to legally work in Russia, workers needed to provide employers with documents about their education and medical documents that proved their ability to work and absence of infectious diseases.[74] All contracts were legally valid for only one year, and Minfederatsii assumed the

[71] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 59, l. 3.
[72] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 59, l. 19.
[73] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 302, l. 17.
[74] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 302, l. 16.

responsibility of ensuring that federal laws met the conditions outlined in international agreements.[75]

This system gave companies more oversight over the recruitment of workers than the federal government, resulting in few companies legally registering their workers. Minfederatsii believed that many companies only legally registered a fraction of their workers and estimated that companies across Russia had actually recruited over 2,000,000 from abroad.[76] The majority arrived on a legal basis at first, but then overstayed their visas. Over one-third entered through the visa-free regime between Russia and other former Soviet republics, and one-fifth hailed from points further afield, entering on transit visas and never leaving. An additional one-third lied about their reasons for entering Russia, and thus worked on a visa that did not permit them to do so.[77]

Muscovites complained that the presence of irregular migrants drove down wages. Even if Ukrainians kept the city's busses running and Turks built new housing, it was not without a cost. One journalist argued that, "It must also be acknowledged that 'illegals' from the CIS have indeed driven down the incomes of Russians...Our former countrymen are prepared to work for token pay (by Russian standards), and the only punishment...is deportation of the foreigner to his place of residence at the employer's expense."[78] Roman the Ukrainian referred to above also dissuaded his fellow countrymen from seeking work in Moscow for similar reasons. While he noted the difficult nature of labor as a deterrent, he also argued that the arrival of more migrants would undercut his own wages.[79]

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[75] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 302, l. 12.
[76] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 388, l. 6.
[77] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 388, l. 5.
[78] Sychova, "Friendship of the Peoples Cemented by Off-the-Books Jobs," 23.
[79] Bobrova, "My gorozhane," 6.

Minfederatsii viewed undercutting wages as a threat to economic development, laying the blame on companies that hired foreign workers for jeopardizing the economic well-being of Russia. Many migrants brought into false hopes and promises when signing contracts, but companies never delivered on their promises. The Ministry found that such migrants had their labor and social rights violated, often receiving lower pay in poorer working conditions.[80] Companies not only abused their workers but also created problems for the Russian economy by skipping out on paying taxes for those workers that they failed to properly register. Moreover, Minfederatsii viewed the number of workers "dumped into the national workforce" as a threat to security.[81] They received lower pay and suffered worse work conditions. Their acceptance of lower pay threatened to decrease the wages of the native work force.

Both federal and local authorities believed that policing the border, however far away from Moscow, was one way to combat irregular migration. Approximately one-third of migrants arrived completely without papers, and the Ministry pointed its finger at the 7,600-kilometer-long Russian-Kazakh border. Between 1997 and 1999, the Ministry of Internal Affairs detained 2,000 migrants along the border, 1,500 who hailed from Afghanistan. Unsurprisingly, border-crossings corresponded with place of origin. Central Asians entered through Kazakhstan, and the 311,000 Chinese foreign workers registered in 2000, primarily arrived in Siberia.[82] Similarly, Minfederatsii complained that Tajikistan's visa-free agreements with Iran and Afghanistan facilitated undocumented entries into Russia across its border with Tajikistan.[83] The Committee

[80] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 388, l. 6-7.
[81] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 388, l. 6.
[82] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 388, l. 5.
[83] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 149.

in Moscow echoed these concerns. Due to the presence of a sizeable diaspora from Afghanistan in Moscow, after crossing the border, migrants made their way to the capital.[84]

The Committee for Migration Affairs had viewed markets as a refuge for undocumented workers. It closed several markets and increased surveillance at others that remained open. It also willingly increased the quota of market workers.[85] It is possible that increasing the quota served not to encourage additional arrivals but to legalize (and therefore track) migrants who had previously been irregular. Since the Committee for Migration Affairs viewed the 174 marketplaces throughout the capital as major havens for irregular migrants, markets continued to be the targets of police raids.[86] Police in Moscow also executed raids on places that it suspected of employing migrants who had not registered their residence in the city. The Committee for Migration Affairs found through 600 raids that 25 to 30 percent of locations checked employed laborers who did not have their papers in order.[87] The majority of such migrants hailed from Azerbaijan, Georgia, Tajikistan, Ukraine, Moldova, Vietnam, China, and Afghanistan.[88] During 2001, the Committee increased its raids to include 1,288 companies, half of which had employed undocumented migrants. The City of Moscow issued 13,360,000 rubles in fines to the violators, who were predominantly Russian, Turkish, and Yugoslav firms.[89]

[84] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 134, l. 7.
[85] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 95, l. 4.
[86] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 76.
[87] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 69, l. 2.
[88] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 76.
[89] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 127, l. 2.

Country of Origin	Number of Workers	Percentage of Total
Ukraine	12,300	21.6
Turkey	7,000	12.3
Moldova	6,200	10.9
China	6,000	10.5
Vietnam	3,400	6
Georgia	3,100	5.4
Former Yugoslavia	2,900	5.1
Armenia	1,500	2.6
Others	14,600	25.6
Total	**57,000**	**100**

Table 5.2: Foreign Labor Power Without Registration in Moscow, 2000[90]

As Table 5.2 shows, migrants from Ukraine were twice as likely to lack registration than any other group. Migrants, at least according to Roman, were practical in their risk assessments. It was cheaper to pay fines when stopped by the police than to pay for registration. Even though falsified papers were easy and affordable to procure, the police considered fake documents a more serious offense than no papers at all.[91] Perhaps his Slavic identity also worked to his benefit. While the Committee for Migration Affairs met with leaders of the Caucasian diaspora groups to discuss undocumented migration and security, it also conceded that most migrants who violated the passport and registration regimes actually hailed from Ukraine.[92] Journalists expressed their skepticism that fighting migration through raids yielded any tangible benefits. One remarked that:

> As for the campaign against illegal aliens, it has been and continues to be waged in the usual Russian way, with internal affairs agencies battling the people, not the phenomenon. In the 1990s, for instance, the Moscow police used to round up Chinese and Vietnamese and expel them from the country (they would usually be back within a couple weeks). At the same time, the city's authorities closed their eyes to the fact that thousands of guest workers had jobs in the city (teams of Ukrainian construction workers even helped renovate the Kremlin).[93]

[90] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 69, l. 2.
[91] Bobrova, "My gorozhane," 6.
[92] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 89.
[93] Tatyana Filippova, "Immigration Farmed out to the Police. Public Relations General Will Handle Immigrants," *The Current Digest of the Russian Press* 10 (2002): 7.

Police seemed more tolerant of violators who more closely resembled them and devoted their efforts to removing visibly Asian migrants. While the author failed to provide alternative solutions to decrease irregular migration, she found that removing people did little to address the root causes that shaped a need for migrant laborers.

Violating visa and registration regimes was only one of the many crimes that migrants allegedly committed. Minfederatsii tied Russia's porous borders to crime and poor economic activity. Migrants who failed to find work not only sought out crime but also their ethnic kinfolk to facilitate such transactions. Ethnic monopolies and informal economic activities hindered Russia's overall economic development. The popular press, perhaps a bit tongue and cheek, noted how the Muscovite practice of hiring irregular guest workers to build or renovate their beloved dachas provided pathways to criminality. In discussing wintertime robberies of dachas, one paper stated:

> The most annoying thing is that they most often rob them of the same houses they were hired to build. The reasons are different: the owners did not pay the salary, did not pay well or, on the contrary, did not try to hide where the money and valuables lay...But to find such thieves is very difficult. Most employers do not even bother to record the passport details of workers, housekeepers, gardeners and other housekeepers.[94]

No party is innocent here. Contracting companies intentionally violated laws and therefore kept poor records. Dacha-owners abused the cheap labor by providing even lower wages. The migrants themselves perhaps were looking for a quick and easy buck.

Disease also became a prominent concern among the members of the Committee. One of the main topics of conversation among the participants of the Moscow-Berlin working group was the spread of infectious diseases. Local governments in both Moscow and Berlin feared the rise

[94] Anna Selivanova, "Kriminal: Vesnia – neudachnaia vremia goda," *Komsomolskaia Pravda*, March 18, 2002, 6.

of infectious diseases, such as tuberculosis and AIDS, which they feared migrants carried.[95] From 1984 to 2000, Moscow encountered 727 cases of HIV, 118 of chronic malaria, 11 of cholera, and 50 of typhoid fever.[96] Officials in Moscow blamed the visa-free regime with Azerbaijan and Tajikistan. The two countries permitted migrants from Turkey and Iran to enter without visas, and such migrants eventually made their way to Moscow.[97] The Berlin contingent pledged its support for assisting Moscow in mitigating the impact of infectious diseases.[98] The Berlin group funded the translation of its own informational pamphlets on tuberculosis into Russian and further supported their print and circulation in Moscow.

Muscovites associated irregular female migrants with the crime of prostitution, which also echoed their concerns that migrants posed a public health threat. In 1999, Andrei Deriaga reported that over 70,000 women were detained in the year prior for prostitution. He continued to explain that, "Out of all detained women of easy virtue, only 2,681 were caught in prostitution. Another 12,837 citizens were malicious violators of the registration rules established by the Moscow authorities. 19,430 representatives of the oldest profession paid fines for violation of sanitary and hygienic norms."[99] These women were primarily Slavic, hailing from Ukraine, Belarus, and other parts of Russia. What is interesting, however, is that the violation of sanitary codes was the main way of penalizing these women for their actions. Deriaga also shaped a moral panic surrounding the women. The panic rested upon not only the presence of prostitution, but also upon the other crimes these women committed, such as extortion. Such ideas also played upon the notion of migrants as predators.

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[95] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 70, l. 2-4.
[96] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 96, l. 6.
[97] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 96, l. 6.
[98] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 96, l. 6.
[99] Andrei Deriaga, "U 'gostei stolitsy i v kriminal put' korotok," *Moskovskaia Pravda*, October 27, 1999.

Officials in Moscow adopted several, conflicting methods, for combatting this threat to Moscow's well-being. On the one hand, it prioritized Muscovites for receiving health care by only issuing health insurance cards to those with permanent registration. *Evening Moscow* viewed this as a victory for Muscovites in combatting exploitation from the hands of migrants. They wrote, "Thus, according to officials, it will be possible to restore justice: there are cases when medical workers in the capital received migrant workers who came from countries where there is no compulsory medical insurance. Despite this, absolutely everyone who fell ill during a visit to Moscow can count on emergency medical care."[100] This perspective portrays migrants as abusing Moscow's health care system, implying they moved to Moscow to seek benefits that their home countries failed to provide. On the federal level, officials pursued a different approach, which still cast migrants as disease carriers. Suspicion shaded even social support provided to migrants. The Ministry supported the creation of a Sanitary-Epidemiological and Medical Service for migrants coming from placed deemed "disease-ridden," often poorer countries in Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa.[101]

The Forced Migrant Question

Although forced migration had dropped from its record highs in the early to mid-1990s, renewed conflict in Chechnya prompted a bifurcated approach to regulating forced migrants and refugees in Moscow. n September 1999, a series of bombings ramped up Russia's security regime. Beginning on September 4, car bomb exploded outside an apartment building in Buinaksk, Dagestan. On September 9 and 13, bombs went off in Moscow, killing over 200 people. The last explosion rocked Volgodonsk, and a vigilant bus driver subverted an attack in

[100] "V poliklinikakh stanet men'she priezzhikh," *Vechernaia Moskva*, March 4, 2002.
[101] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 510, l. 26.

Riazan.[102] These bombings led to a renewed war in Chechnya and anti-terrorism raids throughout Moscow. On the one hand, the federal government provided Moscow with support for integrating forced migrant Russians. On the other hand, non-Russians faced increasing discrimination and found themselves forcibly relocated as part of anti-terrorism measures. Local police and migration officials argued that concentrations of poor, non-Russians made both migrants and Muscovites unsafe. The visible other could face violent acts committed by angry Muscovites, and the continued exclusion of these migrants could breed anti-Russian sentiment.

As part of its new migration regime, Minfederatsii pledged to facilitate the integration of Russian forced migrants who had made their way to Moscow in previous years, fearing that their continued marginalization would pose a threat to national security. Forced migrants faced significant difficulty in permanently registering their presence in their new places of residency. Many were permanently registered elsewhere in Russia, and did not cancel their registration before fleeing armed conflict, which barred them from procuring a second permanent registration. By 2000, Minfederatsii began to formulate plans that would allow forced migrants to permanently register at their new locations. While they could continue to live with family members, forced migrants would receive priority for housing.[103] Those without family members would be given temporary shelter in the interim, and all would receive information on employment opportunities.[104]

In Moscow, the benefits for refugees and forced migrants were limited to those deemed the most vulnerable, namely women and children. The local organ of Minfederatsii and the Committee for Migration Affairs of the Government of the City of Moscow oversaw the

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[102] "September 1999 Russian apartment bombings timeline," *Canadian Broadcasting Company*, January 18, 2015. Accessed March 11, 2019. https://www.cbc.ca/fifth/blog/september-1999-russian-apartment-bombings-timeline
[103] Previously, forced migrants could only claim the status if they lived with a family member.
[104] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 137, l. 5.

distribution of such benefits to forced migrants and other temporary residents of the capital who had fled conflicts elsewhere in the former Soviet Union. As of April 1, 2001, this included 1,100 forced migrant children and 1,400 children who lived with parents who were temporarily working in Moscow. These children, along with pregnant women, had free access to health insurance. At certain points, these families could receive free tickets to shows and to children's summer camps. What was available was often limited to 250 tickets to a New Year's show and 50 spots at summer camps.[105] Some benefits, such as free lunch at schools, came with the caveat of holding permanent residency in the capital.[106] Other promises made by Minfederatsii, such as psychological care for refugee children, failed to materialize on the local level in Moscow.[107]

For most, claiming rights or benefits of any sort had been a decade long struggle. As discussed in the previous chapter, many refugees from other former Soviet republics arrived in 1989-1991, finding temporary residency in hotels, dormitories, and the Vostriakovo micro-district to the Western Administrative Region of Moscow.[108] Although entitled to a host of benefits as refugees, they often could not claim them because they had not survived the bureaucratic merry-go-round that issued them forced migrant status or permanent residency. Both migrants and city employees alike complained about significant backlogs in applications for claiming both refugee status and permanent residency.[109] It seemed impossible to get one without already having the other. By 2002, Armenian refugees had been living on their Soviet passports for nearly 13 years and officials in Moscow needed to work through 250,000 applications for refugee status and permanent residency.[110]

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[105] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 135, l. 2.
[106] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 110, l. 1-3.
[107] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 151, l. 1.
[108] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 90, l. 1-2.
[109] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 351, l. 7.
[110] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 123, l. 1-2.

Forced migrants, often visibly foreign and poor, often became the targets of official antiterrorism plans and unofficial taunting. As part of its plans to "clean up" Moscow following terrorist attacks, police raided Vostriakovo and other temporary dwellings where refugees made up the clear majority of residents. While police removed many families, it did acknowledge that some had legally claimed Russian citizenship and could not be removed.[111] One refugee child described the taunting that her and her sister faced as children attending school while living in a condemned building in Vostriakovo. The two sisters, born just 11 months apart, were in the same grade and faced name calling from both teachers and students. Difficult relationships with Muscovite children reached a climax when one Muscovite teenager beat the informant's sister. Realizing she would not be able to run to her sister's defense in time, she threw a rock at the Muscovite, causing him to lose consciousness. The sisters received a two-week suspension, but the boy nothing.[112]

Like many other refugees, the sisters found their way to Vostriakovo through a decision of the Moscow City Government. The sisters had lived with their parents in the Yugoslavskaya hotel from their arrival in 1989 until 2000. As part of the city's antiterrorism plans, the city government began to empty out the hotels where refugees lived. The Committee for Migration Affairs argued that these residences had served as hotbeds of organized crime and terrorism and could not be properly monitored.[113] From October 2000 to November 2001, the Committee ordered the removal the overwhelming majority of refugees from these structures. Those who did not move to other cities in the Russian Federation wound up in Vostriakovo.[114]

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[111] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 90, l. 2.
[112] Sofi Hagopian, written interview.
[113] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 138, l. 1-2.
[114] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 138, l. 1.

Finding housing outside of Vostriakovo was a bureaucratic rigamarole that left refugees and forced migrants with few options. Those who had family members that had moved to Moscow prior to 1989 could live with these family members even if their presence violated sanitary norms. Although Minfederatsii recommended that all forced migrants receive permanent residency and priority for municipal housing, this did not immediately come to be.[115] As discussed in the previous chapter, federal and local authorities frequently encouraged refugees to seek housing elsewhere in Russia, but local and federal authorities often clashed when it came to planning such housing. The Vice-Governor of Tver petitioned Minfederatsii for additional money since the 7,000,000 rubles allocated was not sufficient. Minfederatsii argued that the Vice-Governor had overinflated his budget and refused to deliver on any further money.[116] In other cases, refugees who found their own housing in other cities in the Central Region, failed to receive their subsidies in a timely manner.[117] The Ministry had failed to build housing that it had promised to refugees and forced migrants. From 1998 to 2000, only nine percent of the housing construction under the auspices of the Ministry had been completed. Those in the Ministry argued that the conflict in Chechnya had delayed its progress.[118]

Refugees and forced migrants alike had work documents valid through the end of 2001, but the Government of the City of Moscow had proposed no remedy as the date of expiration drew near. When V. V. Igrunov, Deputy of the State Duma and assistant chairman of Committee for the Affairs of the Commonwealth of Independent States, brought this to the attention of the Ministry, it contacted the local government in Moscow.[119] The officials in Moscow pinned the

[115] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 137, l. 5.
[116] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 192, l. 1-3.
[117] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 192, l. 48.
[118] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 510, l. 14.
[119] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 351, l. 7.

blame on the refugees, accusing them of failing to fill out the appropriate paperwork.[120] The growing securitization of migration affected the most vulnerable – forced migrants and refugees. New discourses blamed them for their own irregular status in the Moscow, and anti-terrorist raids brought document checks and forcible movement to their doorsteps. All of these headaches prompted the Commissioner for Human Rights in the Russian Federation to reprimand Minfederatsii and its local organs for making contradictory plans and decisions that left nothing solved. Constant bureaucratic reorganization left refugees and forced migrants lost in the shuffle.[121]

Refugees and forced migrants continued to be the proverbial plague for the Ministry in the new millennium despite its previous assertions that the flow of such migrants was insignificant. The renewed conflict in Chechnya meant more forced migrants seeking refuge in the capital. On January 1, 2001, the Ministry counted 782,000 forced migrants and 37,000 refugees throughout the country. During 2002, these numbers fell to 644,000 and 18,000 respectively. Of the 644,000 forced migrants in 2002, 42,000 had been registered that year, primarily in the Southern, Central, and Volga regions after fleeing conflicts in Chechnya and other republics in the Caucasus. The Ministry did not explain the reasons for reductions in numbers, but previous official discussions often pointed to such migrants normalizing their status as citizens or residents in their new place of residency. In other cases, some refugees and forced migrants returned home.[122]

In 2001, the Ministry's main focus had been "protection" of Russia from all things bad that migrants allegedly brought with them. The Ministry's 2001 plan focused on the adaptation

[120] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 351, l. 9.
[121] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 192, l. 38.
[122] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 510, l. 14.

of migrants in Russia. Yet, the so-called plans for assisting migrant adaptation often focused on stemming the tide of migrant arrivals. The Ministry called for "carrying out procedures for foreigners looking for refugee status."[123] What these procedures entailed was unclear, but based on previous discussions, it seems likely that these procedures aimed to limit the number of migrants granted refugee status. Throughout the 1990s, the federal government repeatedly failed to appropriate the funds that it had pledged to support refugees.

The rights of refugees also became a focal point of post-2002 planning. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the City of Moscow argued with federal authorities, stating that many refugees and forced migrants themselves neglected to properly file paperwork to claim their statuses. However, as part of its future plans, the Committee promised social support to those *legally* registered as either a refugee of forced migrant. According to federal authorities and many migrants, this number was significantly lower than those actually deserving of the status. The Committee continued its participation in the federal refugee resettlement program, which moved migrants away from Moscow to other regions. In fact, the only nod toward encouraging refugees to stay in the capital was the Committee's pledge to improve the infrastructure of Vostriakovo.[124]

Conclusion: The Ambiguity of Being Russian

The foremost priorities at the local and federal level were to encourage internal labor migration first and the immigration of skilled Russian speakers second. Minfederatsii argued that internal migration was no longer "answering the interests of the socio-economic development of

[123] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 510, l. 14.
[124] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 132, l. 2.

the country."[125] In 1989, 4,700,000 people moved within the RSFSR, but only 2,300,000 moved within the Russian Federation in 2002. Labor resources were not properly allocated, leading to lagging development in the far north and east. In order to stimulate internal migration, Minfederatsii implemented a Russians first policy for employment, requesting that when workers could not be found in the local workforce, companies looked elsewhere in Russia before searching abroad.[126] For international migration, Minfederatsii encouraged family reunifications for Russians abroad who had family in Russia and gave preference to educated, Russian-speaking migrants.[127]

Local authorities in Moscow soon followed suit by "developing a program for giving Muscovites and Russian citizens priority in filling labor vacancies over foreign laborers."[128] If plans for assisting refugees were vague, the plans for this program had more substance. As had been the policy since the period of perestroika, the Committee for Migration Affairs would work with the appropriate department in the Federal State Service of Employment to determine labor vacancies and the numbered of unemployed in Moscow. This information would then be used to create a base of information on jobs and professions available. The Committee would then prioritize Muscovites for employment by establishing more stringent criteria for employing foreigners. Russians from other regions would receive priority over foreign labor migrants. In order to get the ball rolling, this project would begin as an experiment in the construction sector since foreign laborers dominated there.[129]

[125] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 318, l. 15.
[126] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 396, l. 11.
[127] GARF, f. 10156, op. 1, d. 318, l. 14.
[128] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 129, l. 1.
[129] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 129, l. 2.

The location of non-Muscovite Russian workers in Moscow on the proverbial totem pole points to the ambiguous location of these migrants. Clearly, the Committee for Migration Affairs viewed Russians from elsewhere in the Russian Federation as better alternative to foreign labor migrants. In fact, these Russians could be victims of foreign labor migrants. Although the dormitory had lost its role as a center of support for migrants, they continued to function. As discussed in the previous chapter, the City of Moscow had instituted plans to shift the dormitories to permanent residencies, but little resulted from those efforts. Now, one newspaper reported that:

> The workers' dorms are so packed that there are only 1.5 to 2 square meters per resident. And they are often packed with people the enterprise administration has brought in off the street, so to speak. Contingents of illegal workers from the "near abroad" are housed in them, for instance... Small-time merchants from the Caucasus have settled in some dorms. Under these conditions, life for the dorms' regular residents becomes downright unbearable.[130]

Russian migrants who had lived in the dorms previous, possibly the limitchiki of the Soviet period, bore the burden of housing these new arrivals. These Russian migrants were trapped. Since the dormitories were temporary residencies, those living inside did not have permanent registration. Therefore, they could not technically buy housing elsewhere in Moscow.

When Russian migrants to Moscow transgressed, they too were branded gastarbaitery. One news story from 2002 covered the case of a 19-year-old man from Kaluga who killed a 38-year-old Muscovite woman. He had moved from Kaluga to Khimki several months prior, but came into Moscow frequently to rent video cassettes. On one such excursion, he saw the Muscovite driving a Toyota, jumped in, slashed her throat, and drove to Khimki. He buried her body, removed the license plates, and planned to sell the car. Among the epithets tossed at him in

[130] Ivan Sas, "Chained to a Dormitory Bed," *The Current Digest of the Russian Press*, 3 (1999): 16-17. Quoted on page 17.

the article were monster (*izverg*) and gastarbeiter.[131] His violence against a Muscovite made him an outsider despite his shared Russian ethnicity and citizenship. Moreover, it is important to note that Kaluga is 190 kilometers from Moscow, and Farkhonda Salimova, an interviewee mentioned in the previous chapter, believed that some considered it to be within the Moscow Region[132]

It seems unlikely that anyone could commute to and from Kaluga on a daily basis, but commuters from the Moscow Region vexed officials at the Committee for Migration Affairs. According to its statistics, the daylight population of Moscow reached 11,000,000 to 11,500,000.[133] Commuting in to Moscow from its surrounding satellite cities was the primary force behind this spike. Nearly 1,000,000 workers commuted daily, and another 60,000 students to pursue their studies.[134] The Committee also had marked anxiety over marriages and permanent movement to the city. While federal law did not automatically provide spouses with citizenship, those who moved to Moscow to live with spouses did receive permanent registration. These migrant spouses arrived in nearly equal numbers from the Moscow Region and across the Russian Federation, accounting for nearly 16,000 people in 2002.[135]

These tropes clearly echo those that were bandied around in the Soviet period. By the early 1980s, Muscovites began to accuse rural youth of marrying permanent residents of the city solely for the purpose of gaining permanent residency. While these exceptions existed on the margins, the vast majority of limitchiki who married Muscovites did not immediately receive better housing. In the post-Soviet context, housing queues no longer reigned supreme, but "marriage migration" provided an alleged avenue for infiltration of the capital. While commuter

[131] "Potroshitel' ubil avtomobilistku, vozvrashchaias'iz videoprokata," *Vechernaia Moskva*, January 15, 2002, 4.
[132] Farkhonda Salimova, interview.
[133] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d. 53.
[134] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d.134.
[135] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d.134.

migration did not necessarily add more residents within the city limits, there perestroika-era trope that migrants and commuters caused the decay of infrastructure still maintained currency. In the 2000s, the Committee for Migration Affairs complained that migrants did not pay taxes and therefore used the metro and other city infrastructure for free.[136] Similarly, commuters caused the daytime population of Moscow to jump by several million people.

Russian migrants were not immune to the stereotypes that non-Russian migrants faced. In fact, the Committee for Migration Affairs and Minfederatsii still struggled to understand what Russian actually meant. The Second Chechen War dragged on and so did actions to keep Chechens, who were Russian citizens, out of Moscow. Despite all its talk about creating a civil Russian identity, Minfederatsii favored ethnic Russians in its policies. However, even a shared ethnic Russian identity did not mean complete acceptance. By 2002, the registration system did what scholars and popular opinion had accused the propiska of doing – creating an elite local citizenship.

[136] TsGAGM, f. 3261, op. 1, d.134.

CONCLUSION

Moscow: Potemkin Village or Global City?

On June 13, 2018, Moscow along with ten other cities across the Russian Federation bustled as foreign tourists arrived and workers throughout the city finalized preparations for the 2018 FIFA World Cup that was set to begin the next day. The preparations spanned nearly a decade from the opening of the bidding process in February 2009 to the beginning of the games in June 2018. Of the 12 stadiums set to host the games, nine were completely built from scratch, and the remaining three, including Luzhniki in Moscow, which had been the central stadium for the 1980 Summer Olympics, underwent significant renovation before the games. Four of the host cities – Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kazan, and Sochi – had a practice run in 2017 when they hosted the Confederation Cup, but preparations ran deeper than holding soccer matches.

In the three years prior to the 2018 FIFA World Cup, comparisons to the lead up to the 1980 Moscow Summer Olympic Games swirled. The Moscow Metro, ever beautiful and grandiose, received a facelift of sorts. Construction projects replaced the oldest escalators at Baumanskaya and Frunzenskaya stations, but more importantly, English-language announcements for station stops echoed in train cars throughout the capital just as they had during 1980. In addition, Mosmetro hired bilingual workers to assist visiting fans. Muscovites spoke of other, less palatable official efforts to "Europeanize" the city. On the morning of February 9, 2016, Muscovites awoke to hear news on "the night of the long shovels" during which over 55 percent of the city's kiosks and pavilions were razed to the ground.[1]

These kiosks had sprung up during the early 1990s when the introduction of capitalism and widespread unemployment pushed migrants and Muscovites to become inventive in making

[1] "Moscow Sees Large-Scale Kiosk Demolition Overnight," *The Moscow Times*, February 9, 2016.

money. Enterprising individuals built kiosks to sell whatever goods they could, but by 2016, the kiosks had become full-fledged businesses. Chain restaurants, cellphone stores, and in two cases, multi-level shopping centers had been built on open land, and the owners had even connected their properties to the city's utilities. In December 2015, the City of Moscow declared that these buildings were hazardous since they had not been built in accordance with any zoning laws, and due to the illegal nature of the kiosks, owners were not entitled to compensation.[2] Although Mayor Sergei Sobyanin justified his actions with safety concerns, he had previously voiced his concerns that the kiosks were unsightly. This and Sobyanin's larger plans to "beautify" Moscow prompted many Muscovites to view "the night of the long shovels" as an attempt to Europeanize Moscow before the World Cup.

While Muscovites felt that Europeanization was one of the major parallels between the Olympics and World Cup, the Chairperson of the State Duma's Committee for the Affairs of Family, Women, and Children, Tamara Pletneva, feared another type of "globalization" that occurred in conjunction with the 1980 Olympics. She caused an international stir when she spoke to a Moscow radio station and cautioned Russian women against engaging in casual sexual encounters with visiting soccer fans. "These little children will suffer, just like it already happened with Soviet power. We need to give birth to our own children. I'm not a nationalist, but nevertheless."[3] Pletneva claimed that she had personally met some of these suffering women who were left to raise biracial children whose fathers had left when the games ended.

The legend of such children who had Muscovite mothers and fathers from Africa, Asia, and Latin America predated even the 1980 Olympics. In 1957, Moscow hosted the World

[2] Daria Litvinova, "Moscow's Overnight Demolition Blitz Sparks Legal Debate," *The Moscow Times*, February 11, 2016.
[3] "V gosdume prizvali ne zanimat'sia seksom s inostrantsami vo vremia ChM-2018," *Gazeta*, June 13, 2018.

Festival of Youth and Students, in which 40,000 youth from around the world made their way to the Soviet capital. Historian Kristen Roth-Ey explained to the English-language newspaper *The Moscow Times* that the arrival of so many foreigners just four years after Stalin's death was truly monumental, and Muscovites greeted the visitors warmly. It is easy to imagine that some children did result from curiosity coupled with limited access to contraceptives during the festival, but Roth-Ey counters that the myth of the "festival children" has been overblown. Yet, the myth resurfaced nine months after the 1980 Summer Olympics, but perhaps lacked the overt racism that Pletneva exhibited. Raquel Greene of Grinnell College told *The Moscow Times* that "My Russian friends and colleagues point to those liaisons as proof that the Soviet Union was a racially tolerant country."[4]

The US-based media did not pass up the opportunity to criticize the failure of Putin and other lawmakers to reign in Russia's "habitual xenophobic demons" leading up to the World Cup. Neil MacFarquhar, the Moscow Bureau Chief for the *New York Times* and part of the team of *Times* journalists who won the 2017 Pulitzer Prize for their investigation into Russia's Internet meddling, implicated all Russians in creating this atmosphere of racism. Pletneva was just the tip of the iceberg. He quoted another Duma member's comments lamenting that visiting foreigners could not be forced to take "chlorinated showers" to eliminate any diseases that they carried. After all, they were "coming to Russia, not a German concentration camp."[5] Smiling classes for workers and fan ID cards that stated "Say no to racism" were mere "Potemkin makeovers" that did little to tame xenophobia.[6]

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[4] Neil MacFarquhar, "Russia Wants to Play Nice with Foreigners. Just Not too Nice," *The New York Times*, June 14, 2018.
[5] MacFarquhar, "Russia Wants to Play Nice."
[6] MacFarquhar, "Russia Wants to Play Nice."

The Potemkinization of Moscow knew no bounds in MacFarquhar's estimation. He closed his article by pointing to a recent Instagram post from opposition activist Aleksei Navalny, who had just left a Moscow jail after completing his most recent 30-day stint for illegally organizing a protest. In his lengthy caption, Navalny claimed that, "Apparently, the authorities have not ruled out the fact that they will have to arrest drunken English fans for rioting and do not want to lose face."[7] Electing to not brag to his followers about all of the interesting books that he read in captivity, he instead focused his energies on detailing the jail's facelift: freshly painted cell bars, the introduction of flush toilets to replace holes in the ground, a four-course menu at mealtimes, and footballs in the courtyard.[8]

Upon the end of the World Cup, the *New York Times* ran another article, this time by British sports journalist Rory Smith, to attack Moscow's Potemkin facelift, tracking its origins to the 1980 Summer Olympics. Interviewing Boris Belenkin, dissident turned director of Memorial's library, Smith made the case that the openness and international camaraderie precipitated by the World Cup would fade just like the excitement of the 1980 Olympics. While Smith acknowledged that promises in 1980 of stores stocked with Pepsi and Marlboro cigarettes during the games seem silly in today's Moscow, he asserted that other similarities remained. Putin, just like Brezhnev, desired to use to presence of foreigners to put forth a choreographed and manicured image of Russia. Citing Belenkin, Smith suggested that the hope for a more open Russia was just as much an illusion in 2018 as it had been in 1980. According to Belenkin "In a few months, the reality as it appears in the corner of the living room will be much more powerful

[7] Aleksei Navalny post. https://www.instagram.com/p/Bj_zSf3H4kS/
[8] Aleksei Navalny post. https://www.instagram.com/p/Bj_zSf3H4kS/

than the memories you have of the World Cup. The idea that there were lots of Peruvians and Mexicans drinking in the streets will seem like it must have been an illusion."[9]

While plenty of comparisons can be made between 1980 and 2018, it is clear that among European and North American commentators such comparisons served to cast Russia as a place with a very different, xenophobic culture, while ignoring all the ways that Russia has truly become embedded in a globalized world. In terms of migration, the comparisons are clear. Soviet tools that governed migration remained intact. During the World Cup, officials in Moscow tightened the registration regime, demanding that all people entering Moscow register their presence within 24 hours of their arrival, in comparison to the normal policy that provides 5 business days. Moreover, migrant laborers were one of the key sources for building and renovating structures in preparation for the games.

In Chapter Two, I contextualized Olympics-related temporary labor migration in relationship to broader repertoires and regimes of temporary labor migration. The Office for the Use of Labor Resources could no longer rely on rural-to-urban migration to compensate for labor shortages in Moscow, and enterprise directors struggled to offer material benefits to temporary labor migrants, scaling back cultural development programs and failing to provide adequate housing. Influenced by these difficulties, enterprises such as Mosstroi, which was chronically short on laborers, recruited temporary labor migrants under the guise of the Olympics, but then used the labor of these migrants for other projects. This mismanagement of workers represented the emerging failings of developed socialism. By the mid-1980s, developed socialism appeared to be the bleak period of stagnation that Gorbachev ascribed to it. Creating the ideal migrant worker focused more on weeding out undesirables through entry-pass systems in dormitories and

[9] Rory Smith, "The World Cup Changed Russia, but for How Long?" *The New York Times*, July 16, 2018.

punishing violators of labor discipline policies. However, migrants maintained important avenues of recourse, such as the Priemnaia, that rectified some of the most serious problems that they encountered.

Despite the rampant mismanagement of migrant labor and the decreasing capacity for temporary labor migration to provide avenues for upward social mobility, preparing for the Olympics provided some with permanent residency and quality apartments in the former Olympic Village. In this sense, the legacy of migration related to the Olympics is relatively positive and seems to follow the pattern that I established in Chapter One. The internal passport and propiska systems simultaneously fashioned Moscow into the most desirable location in which to live in the Soviet Union and restricted the right of citizens to move there. However, the Soviet command economy's distribution system resulted in chronic labor shortages. Enterprises throughout the capital sought young, single, blue-collar workers, while youth from the countryside desired a higher quality of life, which included excitement and increased leisure time activities. Dormitories provided cultural development programs that may not have necessarily instilled Soviet values but provided important social support as migrants transitioned to Muscovites.

The story of labor migration related to the 2018 World Cup failed to provide any of these opportunities, and placed Russia in a global migration system. The introduction of market socialism marked the end of temporary labor migration providing a pathway for upward social mobility. By putting the practice of hiring limitchiki on hiatus in 1986, Mossovet initiated the first reform that addressed the root cause of labor shortages in Moscow, not just the symptoms. The outcomes – plummeting productivity and scarcity – suggest that temporary labor migration had been crucial a crucial component to the functioning of the Soviet command economy.

Perestroika-era accounts from both migrants and Muscovites demonstrate growing tensions between both groups and the presence of nativist sentiments in Moscow before the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The implementation of market socialism and its catastrophic results also point to neoliberal outcomes and hint that efforts to increase political and economic engagement with Western democracies also meant the embrace of their economic policies.

The transition to capitalism resulted in the collapse of earlier migration regimes that had legitimized temporary labor migrants' stays in Moscow. The erection of borders between the republics of the former Soviet Union limited would-be migrants' access to information on available jobs, while the softening of previously less permeable borders with the rest of the world permitted the arrival of temporary labor migrants from location, such as Turkey, Afghanistan, and the former Yugoslavia. New anxieties caused by unemployment and the resulting strain on social welfare provisions resulted in FMS using registration to police temporary migration to Moscow. By making procurement of registration difficult, if not impossible, refugees, forced migrants, and temporary labor migrants all found themselves in similar positions. Lacking proper documentation, all faced marginalized existences and harassment by authorities, who viewed them as "illegal" inhabitants of the city.

The final chapter presents Moscow as an important nexus in global migration patterns that linked the global south with western Europe. Russian authorities argued that migrants made their way through porous borders in Central Asia and then across Russia's long, open border with Kazakhstan. However, restrictions on migration to Europe left migrants "trapped" in Moscow, their main transit point to other locations in Europe. In Moscow, authorities looked to Germany as an example of how to govern migration, introducing a seminar to coordinate policies between the two. However, the most important development was the adopting of a securitization

regime that increasingly brought the border to migrants through raids, removals, and deportations.

While European and North American reporters' accusations that Moscow was little more than a Potemkin village aimed to highlight Russia's alleged otherness, Russia's relationship to temporary labor migration is what makes is a country truly integrated into global economic and migration systems. The mistreatment of labor migrants related to sporting events has shaded almost all major sporting events in the twenty-first century. In connection with the 2000 Sydney Olympics, one worker died, but there were 40 such causalities in Athens, 10 in Beijing, and 60 at Sochi. The World Cup has not fared much better. Eight workers died in Brazil and 17 in Russia. The preparations for the World Cup in Qatar have been the most brutal. Approximately 1,200 workers have died already, and the International Trade Union Confederation project 4,000 will die by the opening of the World Cup in 2022.[10]

Workplace conditions are similar to the ones that I elucidated in Chapters Four and Five. In St. Petersburg, contractors and sub-contractors have frequently withheld wages, and migrants had little recourse for claiming them. "Go find work someplace else" seems to have been the most frequent answer from employers. Despite FIFA's claims that it increased oversight of worker conditions, it seems to have been to little avail. Human Rights Watch slammed preparation for the games in the weeks leading up to them.[11]

In this global migration system, no one has the moral high ground. As journalists discussed Moscow, the Potemkin Village, their colleagues covered family separation and child detention at the US southern border. Just as had happened in Moscow in the late 1990s, US

[10] Wesley Stephenson, "Have 1,200 World Cup Workers really died in Qatar?" *BBC*, June 6, 2015.
[11] "Red Card: Exploitation of Construction Workers on World Cup Sites in Russia," *Human Rights Watch*, June 14, 2017.

officials conflated labor migration and asylum seekers, casting all migrants trying to cross the southern border as "illegal." On March 11, 2019, President Trump sent his 2020 budget to Congress, requesting over eight billion dollars to build a border wall. Yet, in both Russia and the United States – as in almost every developed country – the vast majority of irregular migrants enter their host country legally. It is only after they enter a legal port of entry that they either overstay their visa or work on the incorrect visa type.

The end of the Soviet system has been the death of historical alternatives. The Soviet command economy generated a demand for temporary labor migrants and its own form of inequalities. Today, almost every country is a part of the capitalist global migration system. Even North Korea, considered the hermit state, has provided thousands of migrants to prepare for the Qatar World Cup. In the unipolar world, governments have lost the need to respond to an alternative narrative that emphasizes more equality in distribution of material wealth and improvement among the developing world.

Adopting a "limitchiki system" most likely does not offer a solution to today's problems surrounding migration, but it poses avenues for further consideration. Certainly, shared citizenship, cultural identities, and linguistic ties facilitated the integration of the limitchiki, but that does not exclude the importance of creating a sense of community, providing social welfare, and creating pathways to legal residency. Moscow is certainly a global city – and not a Potemkin one at that – but its post-Soviet peculiarities also deserve consideration. What can affordable and efficient public transportation, expansive parks, and affordable necessities, such as food and toiletries, offer both migrants and hosts? Perhaps Moscow and other global cities can consider what the oft-derided Soviet city offers both migrants and those who host them.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Glossary

101st kilometer	The 100-kilometer area surrounding regime cities required that each resident procure a propiska. Those who were ineligible for a propiska were moved to the 101st kilometer. The term became synonymous with undesirables and criminals.
AZLK	*Avto Zavod imena Leninskogo Komsomola*, or the Lenin Komsomol Automobile Factory. Located in the southeastern part of the city, the factory hired thousands of limitchiki annually in the Soviet period and ran approximately a dozen dormitories to house its migrant workers.
Central Region	In the Soviet period, the Central Region included the Moscow, Briansk, Vladimir, Ivanovo, Kalinin, Kaluga, Kostroma, Riazan, Orel, Smolensk, Tula, and Yaroslavl regions. These surrounded the Moscow Region and provided the lion's share of limitchiki in the Soviet period.
Druzhinniki	Soviet-era volunteer guards who protected public order, separate from the police, usually under the direction of the Komsomol or trade union. In dormitories, druzhinniki policed the behaviors of their fellow residents, including document checks.
Dvornik	A person charged with the maintenance of an apartment building or dormitory. A dvornik was often a limitchik. The term has been synonymous with migrant labor since at least the 1970s.
FMS	*Federal'naia Migratsionaia Sluzhba*, or Federal Migration Service. FMS oversaw migration policy, including registration and regulations on labor and forced migration, from its creation in 1992 to its dissolution in 2002. It has since been established again in 2004. FMS had local branches in cities and regions across Russia that wielded power on policy implementation in the 1990s.
Forced Migrant	In the post-Soviet context, forced migrant is a legal term for a migrant forced to leave his or her home due to violence or persecution. The Law on Forced Migrants, passed in 1992, intended for forced migrants to encompass those who had resided in the former Soviet Union. However, the fine print of the Law on Refugees and the Law on Forced Migrants meant that in some cases, citizens of the former Soviet Union claimed refugee status first and later applied for Russian citizenship to avoid returning home.
Goskomstat	Federal State Statistic Service
Gosplan	*Gosudarstvennyi Planovyi Komitet Soveta Ministrov SSSR*, or the State Planning Committee of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. Gosplan

	established the five year plans, including production goals and the number of workers needed to meet them.
Gastarbaiter	Borrowed from the German word "gastarbeiter" or guest worker, and often used to refer to temporary labor migrants in a negative way. The word became used widely in the post-Soviet period when Muscovites viewed the capital as a city under siege by foreign labor migrants.
Hooliganism	A crime in both the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation. Light hooliganism referred to slight infractions, such as disturbing the peace. Hooliganism, however, could encompass many violations from public drunkenness to domestic violence.
Komsomol	The League of Young Communist Youth, which was the youth branch of the Communist Party. Soviet youth began as Young Octobrists, moving to Young Pioneers at age nine, and to the Komsomol at age 14. Youth could remain enrolled as members until age 28, but they could apply for party candidacy and membership before age 28. Komsomol members were to act as ideal Soviet youth, avoiding acts of hooliganism. Often Komsomol branched rallied youth labor resources in cities and for large construction projects across the Soviet Union. Members were referred to as *Komsomolets*; plural *komsomoltsy*.
Limitchik	A temporary labor migrant who relocated to a Soviet regime city. In exchange for his or her labor, a limitchik received the right to live in the city and space in a dormitory. After a minimum of four years, a limitchik could receive permanent residency. The name limitchik is derived from *limit*. In the planned economy, five year plans outlined the number workers needed to meet production goals. Enterprise directors could apply to hire a "limit" of migrant workers from outside the city. Plural: *limitchiki*; female: *limitchitsa*; female plural: *limitchitsy*
Minfederatsii	The Ministry for the Affairs of Federal, National, and Migration Politics. Minfederatsii assumed control of the Federation Migration Service in the late 1990s until 2002 when Vladimir Putin dissolved the ministry.
Mosmetro	Refers to the Moscow metro. The constant expansion of the metro system due to the city's growth made Mosmetro dependent on migrant laborers.
Mospromstroi	Main Directorate for Industrial Construction in Moscow, which fell under the direction of Mossovet and was reliant on limitchiki labor.
Mossovet	The Moscow Soviet, which functioned as the capital's city council during the Soviet period. Mossovet oversaw construction enterprises and was reliant on limitchiki for their labor.

Mosstroi	Moscow State Construction and Assembly Trust, which fell under the direction of Mossovet. Mosstroi oversaw dozens of construction enterprises, charge with building housing and other facilities in the capital.
Neperspektivnye derevni	Futureless villages. Such villages were liquidated or combined with other villages. The low economic output in these villages made providing necessary amenities too costly. The outflow of youth from the countryside to the city played a significant role in the decreasing viability of futureless villages.
Orgnabor	*Organizovannyi nabor rabochikh*, or organized recruitment of workers. The State Committee for the Use of Labor Resources orchestrated this recruitment, allocating a set number workers to factories, enterprises, and construction sites across the Soviet Union. Workers signed contracts for two years for terms similar to those of limitchiki.
People's Control Committee	Committees existed at the republic, regional, city, and district (neighborhood) level to conduct investigations, provide oversight, and issue recommendations of enterprises and dormitories.
Priemnaia	The Reception Desk of the Supreme Soviet. Soviet citizens could write petitions to the Priemnaia or appear in person to complain about perceived injustices or other issues. The workers of the Preimnaia cut through bureaucratic red tape, coordinating among various organs of power to resolve the petitioners' problems.
Propiska	A domicile registration in the Soviet period that gave the possessor the right to reside at a specific address. Newcomers to the city, such as limitchiki and students, initially received a temporary propiska for four years, before receiving the permanent right to residency in the city. Not all cities required residents to procure a propiska, but the largest and/or most strategically important ones did.
Proverka	Russian word for check or verification. This could mean anything from checking up on the behavior of party members to conducting raids on enterprises that employed migrant laborers. In this dissertation, the plural of *proverka* (*proverki*) refers to raids by FMS to find irregular migrants and those who employed them. Proverki resulted in large fines and deportation.
PTU	*Professional'noe-tekhnicheskoe uchilishche*. A PTU trained its students for technical professions. Large factories often had their own PTU to train youthful workers.
Red corner	Red corners were found in every Soviet place of employment and educational institution. Red corners honored socialism with posters of

	Marx, Lenin, and other Soviet heroes, and books on Marxist-Leninist thought. Larger ones functioned as mini-libraries.
Refugee	In the post-Soviet context, refugee is a legal term for a migrant forced to leave his or her home due to violence or persecution. The Law on Refugees, passed in 1992, intended for refugees to encompass those who had never resided in the former Soviet Union. However, the fine print of the Law on Refugees and the Law on Forced Migrants meant that in some cases, citizens of the former Soviet Union claimed refugee status first and later applied for Russian citizenship to avoid returning home. Refugee was also used popularly to refer to Armenians fleeing conflict and disaster during the Soviet period.
Regime City	A city that required its residents' to possess a propiska, granting them the right to live and work in the city. Regime cities was usually large and/or strategically important. Their special status accorded regime cities better access to consumer goods.
Regimes	State or official policies, practices, and goals for controlling and regulating migration. Migration regimes can both encourage and dissuade movement. Regimes do not always align with migrants' motivations and practices of moving.
Registration	A domicile registration in the post-Soviet period that replaced the propiska. Registration policies required that all new arrivals announce their presence with the police, but police often refused to issue registration, making it more restrictive than the Soviet-era propiska.
Repertoires	Migrants' motivations, goals, personal networks, and plans that assist and facilitate their movement. Migrants may or may not use a regime that legitimizes their movement.
Rossiiskii	Refers to Russian civic identity. The Russian Federation is rendered *Rossiiskaia Federatsiia* in Russian.
Russkii	Refers to Russian ethnicity
Sanitary norm	Guidelines for allotting housing in the Soviet Union. In Moscow, the sanitary norm dictated that each resident in an apartment have 5 to 7 meters squared of space. Although the sanitary norm prevented residents from procuring housing that was too large, it could also bar families from inhabiting spaces that were too small, or below the norm.
Vospitanie	Translated as upbringing or education. Vospitanie played a critical role in dormitory life during the Soviet period, focusing on technical education, physical fitness, and cultural development in Soviet and humanist values.

Vospitatel	The person who oversaw vospitanie in Soviet workers' dormitories.
VUZ	*Vysshee uchebnoe zavedenie*, or higher educational institution. A VUZ is the equivalent to a college or university, and therefore was more prestigious than a PTU.
Young specialist	In the Soviet period, university graduates were assigned to jobs across the Soviet Union for a period of two years. These workers were known as young specialists, and those assigned to Moscow often tried to parlay their temporary stint into permanent residency, bearing resemblance to limitchiki.
ZIL	*Zavod imena Likhacheva*, or the Likhachev Automobile Factory. Similar to AZLK, ZIL was located in the southeastern part of the city, the factory hired thousands of limitchiki annually in the Soviet period. It also ran dormitories to house its migrant workers.

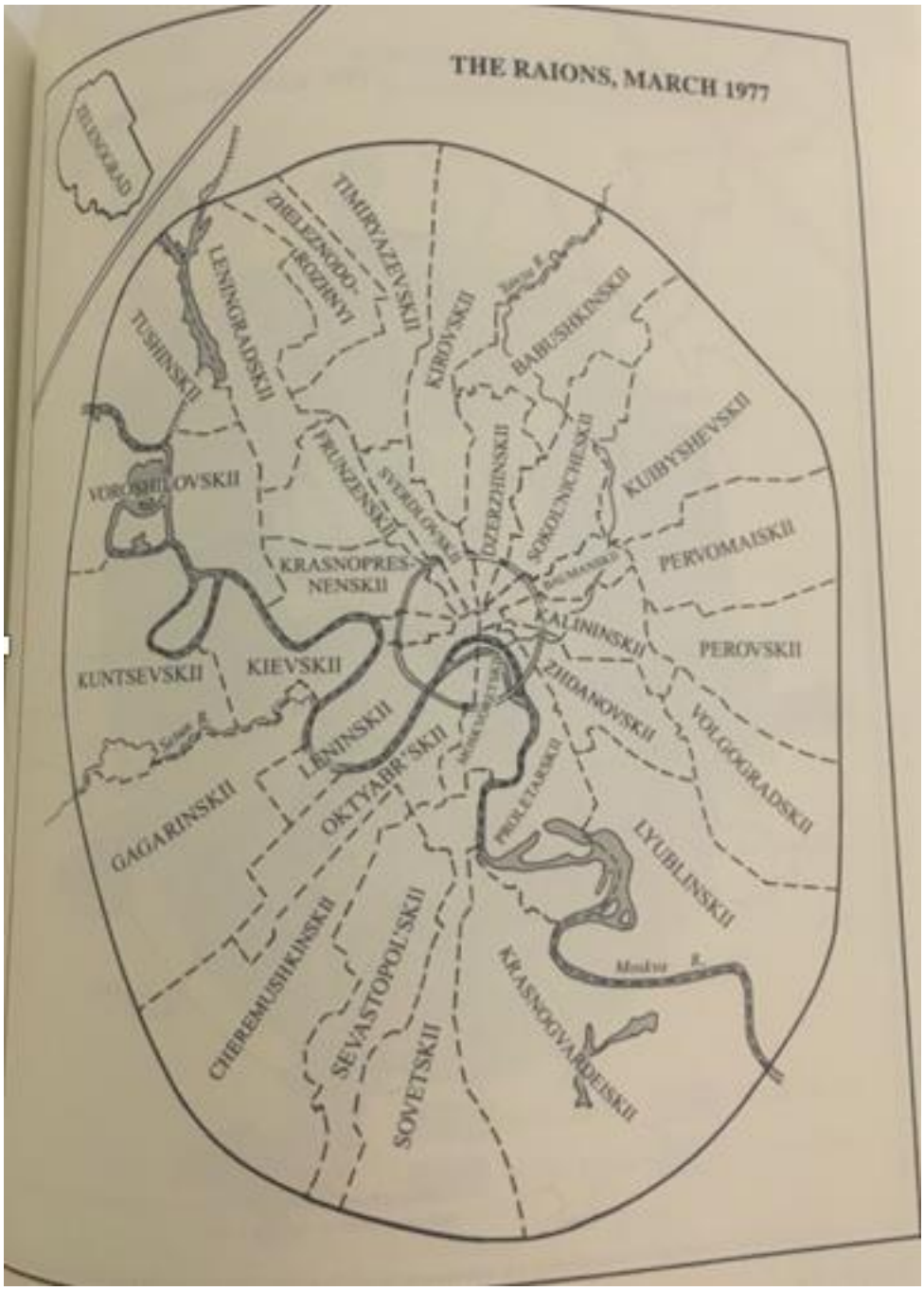
APPENDIX B: Timeline of the Office for the Use of Labor Resources in Moscow

1967-1977	Office for the Use of Labor Resources of the Moscow Executive Committee
1977-1987	Office for Labor of the Moscow Executive Committee
1987-1990	Office for Labor and Social Issues of the Moscow Executive Committee
1990-1991	Office of the Employment of the Population, Account Planning, Use of Labor Resources, Preparation and Increasing Cadre Qualifications "Mosgortrudresursy" of the Moscow Executive Committee
1991-1991	Center of Employment – Moscow Labor Exchange of the Moscow Executive Committee
1991-1996	Department of Labor and Employment (Moscow Labor Exchange) of the City of Moscow
1996-2002	Committee of Labor and Employment of the City of Moscow

APPENDIX C: Timeline of Five Year Plans

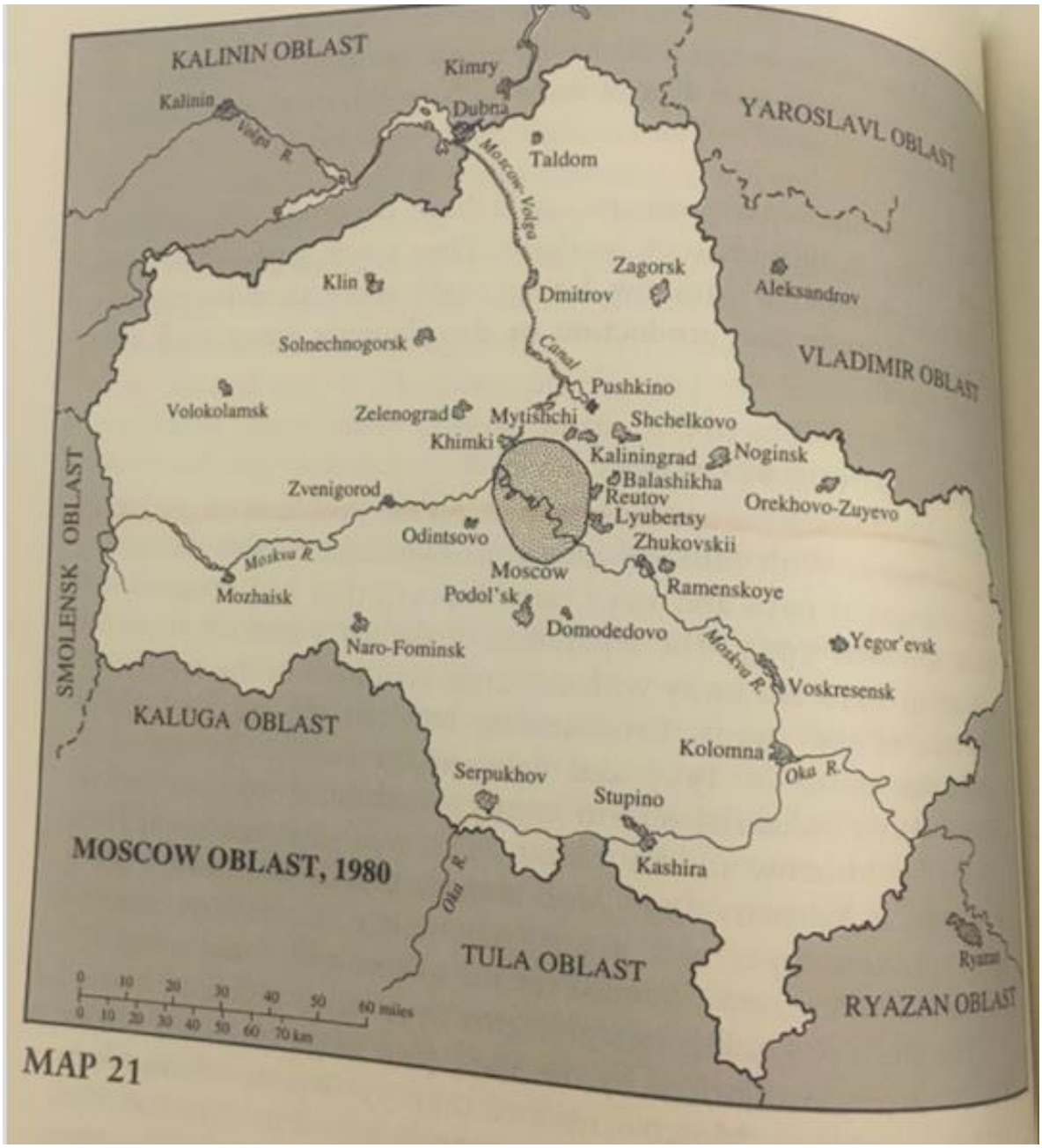
1971-1975	Ninth Five Year Plan
1976-1980	Tenth Five Year Plan
1981-1985	Eleventh Five Year Plan
1986-1990	Twelfth Five Year Plan

APPENDIX D: Map of the Neighborhoods of Moscow



Source: Colton, Timothy J. *Moscow: Governing the Socialist Metropolis*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1995. Map on p. 411.

APPENDIX E: Map of the Moscow Region



Source: Colton, Timothy J. *Moscow: Governing the Socialist Metropolis*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1995. Map on p. 476.

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Fond 9553	Gosudarstvennyi Komitet SSSR po trudu i sotial'nyv voprosam (Goskomtrud SSSR)
Fond 10005	Gosudarstvennyi Komitet RSFSR po trudu
Fond 10121	Federal'nye organy natsional'noi i regional'noi politiki Rossii
Fond 10156	Ministerstvo po delam federatsii, natsional'nostei i migratsionnoi politiki Rossiiskoi Federatsii
Fond 10158	Ministerstvo truda i sotsial'nogo razvitiia Rossiiskoi Federatsii

Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Vladimirskoi Oblasti

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Fond 1032	Avtoagregatnyi zavod – filial moskovskogo avtozavoda im. I. A. Likhacheva glavnogo upravleniia avtomobil'noi promyshlennosti ministersrva mashinostroeniia SSSR
Fond 1851	Moskovskii zavod kardannykh valov – filial moskovskogo avtozavoda im. I. A. Likhacheva glavnogo upravleniia avtomobil'noi promyshlennosti ministersrva mashinostroeniia SSSR
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