Ukrainian Refugee Problem in Russia: Pre and Post War Scenario

*Lolita Gogokhia

Abstract

Since 2014, Russia has been experiencing waves of asylum-seekers from Ukraine. In total, in the period from 2014 to 2016, more than 1 million citizens entered from the south-east of Ukraine. With the outbreak of hostilities between Russia and Ukraine in 2022, the problem of Ukrainian refugees became relevant again. To this day, most of them are not recognized as refugees as per the international law, but obtained temporary asylum. The purpose of this article is to provide a brief introduction to the Russian legal framework on which refugee protection is built, and to determine the place of Ukrainian asylum-seekers in it. Methodologically, the article is based on a descriptive statistical analysis of various official sources, such as the Federal Migration Service of Russia (FMS), the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia (MIA), the Federal Service for State Statistics of Russia (Rosstat), and an exhaustive review of published secondary literature on Ukrainian asylum-seekers in Russia. The main statistical data has been compared with each other to identify problem areas and trends. In the article, significant importance is given to a review of the literature on a similar problem. The study is useful for everyone who is interested in the problem of refugees in Russia and the world, as well as for those who

* Lolita Gogokhia is currently pursuing M.A. in Eurasian and Caucasian Studies, Tbilisi State University, Georgia. E-mail: lolitagogokhia@gmail.com

Keywords: Asylum Policy, Forced Migration, Russia, Ukraine, Refugees

1. Introduction

In 2022, there were 331 refugees and 10,581 people with temporary asylum in Russia, more than 80% of whom were from Ukraine. In this context, Ukrainian refugees and people with temporary asylum stand out in Russian statistics amid the current Russian-Ukrainian conflict. When compared to those fleeing Azerbaijan or Georgia, the number of Ukrainian asylum-seekers in the early 1990s and 2000s was minor, and they were barely observed within academia. Since the outbreak of hostilities in Ukraine in 2014, Russia has become a major destination for Ukrainian asylum-seekers, particularly from the country's southeast. In 2015, there were 227 Ukrainian refugees and 234,360 people with temporary asylum in Russia. However, since 2017, their number has been decreasing every year by two times and reached 54 refugees and 8,867 people with temporary asylum in 2022. The research questions are: what influences the flow of Ukrainian asylum-seekers into Russia? What is the Russian government's attitude towards them? If the sharp drop in the number of Ukrainian refugees is related to the problem in the Russian refugee and asylum system, then what recommendations and suggestions can be made to improve it?

The purpose of this article is to examine the Russian legal framework on which refugee protection is built, and to determine the place of Ukrainian asylum-seekers in it. The article's objectives are to highlight the differences between refugee status and temporary asylum in Russia; describe the flow of Ukrainian refugees into Russia since 1991 and the attitude of the Russian government towards them; and give recommendations and suggestions on Russian refugee policy. Methodologically, the article is based on a descriptive statistical analysis of various official

Vol 4, No. 2, July-December 2021. ISSN:2581-9437 Ukrainian Refugee Problem sources, such as the Federal Migration Service of Russia (FMS), the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia (MIA), the Federal Service for State Statistics of Russia (Rosstat), and an exhaustive review of published secondary literature on Ukrainian asylum-seekers in Russia.

2. Refugee System in Russia

In December 1991, the Soviet Union officially dissolved, and 15 new sovereign states appeared on the political map of the world. The dissolution was preceded by political, economic, and social crises emanating out of difficult geopolitical situations, the weakening of its key institutions, and a change in ideology (e.g., Solnick, 1998; Cornell, 2000; Lynch, 2002). The first batch of refugees in Russia appeared due to a wave of violence and armed conflicts in the former Soviet states (e.g., Abazov, 1999; Cornell, 2000; Lynch, 2002). For instance, in 1988, the Armenian pogroms occurred in Azerbaijan. Later, a war began between Armenia and Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh. In 1989, pogroms occurred against Meskhetians in Uzbekistan, and in 1990, clashes occurred between the Kyrgyz and Uzbeks in Kyrgyzstan. In 1991, a conflict broke out in Georgia's regions of Abkhazia and Tskhinyali.

The conflicts triggered a large influx of refugees and asylum-seekers to Russia, "largely due to its geographical position, the relative openness of its borders, and the increased obstruction of access for asylum seekers into Europe" (Amnesty International, 1997, p. 5). Alternatively, Russia was also undergoing internal crises on its territory. Large-scale armed conflicts were happening in Russia's North Caucasus and resulted in hundreds of thousands of internally displaced people (e.g., Cornell, 1998). For instance, in 1992, an ethno-territorial conflict began between the Ingush and Ossetians over the disputed Prigorodny district. In 1994, a war began in Chechnya, which declared independence from Russia.

Lolita Gogokhia 4, 2 (2021): 102-123 Vol 4, No. 2, July-December 2021. ISSN:2581-9437 At the time, Russia lacked the effective tools and legal framework necessary to support refugees financially and socially. The complicated migration situation prompted the Russian government to seek aid from Western countries (Silvestri & Tchernishova, 1998, p. 188) and start working on its refugee and asylum policy. Overall, a three-level asylum system (international, regional, and national) has been developed in Russia.

At an international level, in February 1993, Russia joined both the 1951 Refugee Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol, "bringing the country into accord with modern international asylum law" (Stafford, 2014, p. 1189). Thus, the definition of refugee in Russian legislation came in line with the internationally recognized definition as "someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion" (United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, 1951). At a regional level, Russia signed the 1993 CIS Agreement on Aid to Refugees and Forced Migrants (Commonwealth of Independent States, 1993). This agreement includes a definition of refugee similar to that of the 1951 Refugee Convention and expands it to include additional grounds of persecution such as language, armed, and interethnic conflicts. As for its national legislation, Russia provides three types of protection to foreign asylum-seekers: political asylum, refugee status, and temporary asylum.

The Constitution of Russia is the legal basis for political asylum and is "in accordance with generally recognized norms of international law" (Russian Federation, 1993, art. 63). However, political asylum is guaranteed within the President's authority to "deal with relatively high-level political figures" (Silvestri & Tchernishova, 1998, p. 187). This shows the importance and special nature of this status. According to Stafford (2014), "it is not difficult to imagine such substantial

Vol 4, No. 2, July-December 2021. ISSN:2581-9437 Ukrainian Refugee Problem executive authority being utilized outside of international norms where the issue is of particular significance to the country as a whole or to the president individually" (p. 1190). Moreover, the reality is that there is no open data on the number of refugees granted political asylum in Russia (Civic Assistance Committee, 2021, p. 5). In this regard, further research on Russia's political asylum seems obstructed.

The refugee system in Russia is regulated primarily by the Law on Refugees, adopted in February 1993 after ratifying the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol. Additionally, Russia recognizes ethnicity as a reason for persecution, defining a refugee as someone who "has a fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, ethnicity, membership of a particular social group or political opinion" (Law On Refugees, 1993, art. 1). The Law also covers situations of persecution based on political opinions, thereby partially compensating for the dysfunction of political asylum. However, there might be a demand to broaden the definition of refugee and include other reasons for protection. For instance, the law excludes those who flee the country of origin 'for economic reasons or due to hunger, epidemic, or natural or man-made emergencies' (art. 2). According to Afshar (2005), "this is not incompatible with the Convention, yet it excludes many people who may be in need of international protection" (p. 472).

The Law on Refugees acknowledges two types of status (refugee status and temporary asylum) and sets up economic, social, and legal guarantees for the protection of the rights and interests of asylum-seekers. Those who are granted with refugee status are eligible to receive special cash assistance, free medical assistance and housing, as well as assistance in finding a job or enrolling in a school. Refugee status is granted for three years with the right of extension if the grounds for obtaining status remain the same (State Statistics Committee, 1995, para. 3). However, the Law has shortcomings that might be sensitive to applicants. For instance, if a refugee arrives from a safe state where they could have applied for asylum or if

Lolita Gogokhia 4, 2 (2021): 102-123 Vol 4, No. 2, July-December 2021. ISSN:2581-9437 they are under investigation or sentenced in the country of origin, their application might be denied in Russia (e.g., UNHCR, 2000; Civic Assistance Committee, 2015).

As for temporary asylum, it is a humanitarian status and granted to asylum-seekers who "do not have grounds to be recognized as refugees but for humanitarian reasons cannot be expelled (deported) outside the territory of the Russian Federation" (Law On Refugees, 1993, art. 12). Temporary asylum is granted for one year, also with the right of extension if the grounds for obtaining status remain the same (Government of the Russian Federation, 2001, para. 12). Unlike refugee status, temporary asylum does not provide any other rights and benefits for foreign citizens, except for the right to receive free medical assistance, legally stay and work in Russia.

Before continuing with the analysis of statistical data, the following must be taken into consideration. The statistics only show the number of refugees and forced migrants who have received status. Since the statistics do not accurately reflect the situation, the actual number of asylum-seekers may be several times higher. Until 1998, the statistics did not distinguish between refugees and forced migrants, "probably because this was not deemed essential for the provision of humanitarian assistance and grants" (Silvestri & Tchernishova, 1998, p. 185). Flynn (2004) in her research further argues on factors that problematize the validity and use of statistics during this period: inconsistency of data collection (gathering of data was the responsibility of different government agencies and dependent upon different criteria); determining between 'forced migrants' and 'refugees' in data sources (until 1998, there was no distinction made in statistics between forced migrants and refugees); regional discrepancies (mandatory residence registration restricted migrant settlement and distorted statistics), and individual inconsistencies (for instance, lack of benefits from the registration process in the regions where there

Vol 4, No. 2, July-December 2021. ISSN:2581-9437 Ukrainian Refugee Problem are restrictions on settlement) (pp. 159–161). Moreover, the division between refugees and persons granted with temporary asylum first appeared in statistics in 2007.

According to statistics, the largest number of refugees and forced migrants was recorded in 1998 and amounted to 1,191,939 (Appendix A). Most of them were Russian speaking population and Russian citizens fleeing Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and internal regions of Russia. As for refugees, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Tajikistan provided the largest number, Belarus and Lithuania provided the minimal. Occasionally, the migration flow was strong to the point that the influx of refugees and forced migrants doubled in 1993-1995 (State Statistics Committee, 1994, p. 42, 1997, p. 44). With the introduction of amendments to the Law on Refugees in 1997, the number of persons who are recognized as refugees dropped: from 235,065 in 1998 to 17,902 in 2002 (reduction by more than 10 times). As noted by Civic Assistance Committee (2007), due to the law amendments refugees had to apply for status again and "most of them were not even warned about the need to apply for it again. Thus, about 100,000 citizens of the former Soviet Union turned into persons without official status" (p. 15). In the 2000s, refugee migration in Russia came to a halt and received less attention from the state and society. The reason for this was the end of the armed conflicts in the former Soviet states and the return of refugees to their countries of origin.

During the 2000s, the number of refugees and forced migrants continued to decline, reaching 458 and 168,253 in 2006, respectively (Appendix A). Since 2005, Afghans have become the largest refugee group, followed by Georgians and Tajiks. With the deterioration of the Russian-Georgian relations and the war in 2008, the number of refugees started to increase and remained between 600-800 people every year until 2016. In 2011, instability and conflicts in the Arab countries led to a massive migration of refugees to Europe. According to the report of Civic Assis-

Lolita Gogokhia 4, 2 (2021): 102-123 Vol 4, No. 2, July-December 2021. ISSN:2581-9437 tance Committee (Civic Assistance Committee, 2021), about 3 thousand refugees from Syria applied for refugee status in Russia, and only 2 managed to receive it (p. 15). This is well reflected in the fact that, according to the UNHCR, European countries host over 1 million Syrian asylum-seekers and refugees, with the 70% them being hosted in two countries: Germany and Sweden (UNHCR, 2021b).

According to previous research, the decrease in the number of refugees may indicate about the inefficiency of Russia's refugee system (Civic Assistance Committee, 2015; Kubal, 2019; Moonyoung, 2021). Indeed, since 2016, there has been a decrease in the number of refugees and forced migrants in Russia. As of January 1, 2022, 331 people had refugee status, another 10,581 had temporary asylum and 700 were forced migrants (Appendix B). Compared to 2021, the number of refugees decreased by 124 people, and the proportion of those who had temporary asylum and were forced migrants decreased by almost two-three times (Table 1). Moreover, this number is more representative when compared with the global number of refugees.

At the end of 2021, there were 27.1 million refugees in the world (UNHCR, 2022). Most of them originate from five countries: Syria, Venezuela, Afghanistan, South Sudan, and Myanmar. Türkiye hosts the largest number of refugees (3.8 million people) (UNHCR, 2021a). Thus, Russia, being the largest country in the world, hosts less than 0.1% of the global number of refugees (see Civic Assistance Committee, 2021). In 2022, the largest number of refugee status was issued to citizens of Afghanistan (189 people), Ukraine (54 people), and Georgia (12 people). Thus, 82% of asylum-seekers were from Ukraine: 8,921 people had either refugee status or temporary asylum (Table 1). Therefore, the question arises: what influences the flow of Ukrainian asylum-seekers into Russia? What is the Russian government's attitude towards them?

Vol 4, No. 2, July-December 2021. ISSN:2581-9437 **Table 1**

Number of refugees and persons granted with temporary asylum in Russia by country of residence (as of January 1 of the relevant year), 2021-2022

Country of residence	Refugees		Persons wi		Tota	ıl	%	
	2021 2022		2021	2022	2021	2022	2021	2022
Total	455	331	19,817	10,581	20,272	10,912	100	100
Ukraine	83	54	18,345	8,867	18,428	8,921	90.9	81.8
Afghanistan	256	189	514	732	770	921	3.8	8.4
Syria	2	2	359	295	361	297	1.8	2.7
Georgia	23	12	119	122	142	134	> 1	1.2
Uzbekistan	16	6	59	74	75	80	> 1	> 1
Tajikistan	6	4	36	27	42	31	> 1	> 1
Kazakhstan	2	1	10	30	12	31	> 1	> 1
Kyrgyzstan	1	5	28	30	29	35	> 1	> 1
Turkmeni- stan	-	-	24	51	24	51	> 1	> 1
Azerbaijan	8	6	12	18	20	24	> 1	> 1
Others	58	52	311	335	369	387	1.8	3.5

Note. Adapted from https://gks.ru/bgd/regl/b22_01/IssWWW.exe/Stg/d01/4-0.doc

3. Ukrainian Refugees in Russia and the Russian-Ukrainian Conflict

Contrary to Azerbaijan, Georgia, or Tajikistan, Ukraine has not experienced any armed conflicts since the Soviet Union dissolved in 1991. The number of people leaving Ukraine to migrate was small, barely exceeding 3,000 (State Statistics Committee, 1997, p. 103). The number of Ukrainian refugees, however, as well as other refugees, declined rapidly when the Law on Refugees was amended: from 2,326 in 1998 to 5 in 2002 (reduction by more than 400 times). Because there were so few Ukrainian refugees in Russia throughout the 2000s, their situation was rarely discussed in the scholarly literature on immigration to Russia. On the other hand, labor migration from Ukraine to Russia predominated.

The majority of labor migrants in Russia were of Ukrainian nationality, and they frequently worked in the transportation and industrial sectors (Human Rights Watch, 2009, p. 14). The Ukrainian regions of Crimea, Donetsk, and Lugansk were actively exchanging migrants with Russia. The geographical proximity to Russia and the significant population that speaks Russian in these places can explain this. As a result, xenophobic attacks against Ukrainian labor migrants were not apparent to Russian society. As Mukomel (2017) notes, "if the issue of labor migration from Ukraine began to be discussed among Russian society, it happened solely due to the influx of migrants from the east of Ukraine" (p. 1). The situation began to change in 2014 with the outbreak of the armed conflict in Ukraine.

In 2014, the southeastern regions of Ukraine Luhansk and Donetsk declared state independence, which the official Ukrainian authorities did not recognize (e.g., Gentile, 2015; Yekelchyk, 2015; Lazarenko, 2019). Since then, the ongoing conflict in Ukraine has caused a significant migration of refugees into Russia, primarily from the southeast of the country. In total, in the period from 2014 to 2016, more than 1 million citizens entered from the south-east of Ukraine (Bisson, 2016, p. 16). In reality, this number ought to be much higher given that many Ukraini-

Vol 4, No. 2, July-December 2021. ISSN:2581-9437 Ukrainian Refugee Problem ans seeking refuge have relatives and acquaintances who live in different Russian regions and who welcome them into their homes for a three-month stay. Thus, in the first year of the conflict, there were 227 refugees and 234,360 persons with temporary asylum (Table 2).

Table 2

Number of Ukrainian refugees and persons granted with temporary asylum in Russia (as of January 1 of the relevant year), 2014-2022

	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Total	5	234,587	311,407	226,232	123,600	75,146	40,393	18,428	8,947
Refugees	5	227	273	188	166	140	119	83	54
Persons with temporary asylum	-	234,360	311,134	226,044	123,434	75,006	40,274	18,345	8,867

Note. Adapted from https://gks.ru/bgd/regl/b22_01/Main.htm; https://rosstat.gov.ru/storage/mediabank/tab-migr4.html

A vast number of Ukrainians applied for protection in 2016, with 311,134 receiving temporary asylum and 273 receiving refugee status (Table 2). However, there was a two-fold reduction in the number of people who received temporary asylum. In the early years of the conflict, refugees from Ukraine were more likely to receive temporary asylum, as it opened the possibility of obtaining Russian citizenship, as opposed to refugee status (Table 3).

In addition, many refugees encounter obstacles with obtaining status in Russia. The first issue is that after crossing the border, the need for accommodation be-

Lolita Gogokhia 4, 2 (2021): 102-123 Vol 4, No. 2, July-December 2021. ISSN:2581-9437 comes more pressing. While some Ukrainian asylum seekers choose to live with strangers or with relatives, others must rent housing. In addition, Russia offers temporary housing for migrants, but it is unable to house a million of them at once. Second, refugees struggle with a lack of clear, understandable information on obtaining legal status and relocating.

Table 3Number of Ukrainian refugees who applied for and received refugee status or temporary asylum (as of 31 December of the relevant year), 2014-2015

		2014	2015	
Number of Ukrainian asy-	Refugee status	5789	293	
lum-seekers who applied for	Temporary asylum	265,448	148,849	
Number of Ukrainian asy-	Refugee status	241	84	
lum-seekers who received	Temporary asylum	248,201	148,379	
Number of Ukrainian asy-	Refugee status	229	273	
lum-seekers registered by the	Temporary asylum	231,558	311,134	
FMS				

Note. Adapted from https://gks.ru/bgd/regl/b22 01/IssWWW.exe/Stg/d01/4-0.doc

In 2019, the Russian government made it easier for refugees from Ukraine to obtain Russian citizenship through a simplified procedure. In addition, the authorities of the Rostov region, on behalf of the federal authorities, eased the procedure for obtaining Russian citizenship for Ukrainians from the Donetsk and Luhansk regions. Under the simplified procedure, citizenship is granted without the requirement of a residence permit for five years, as well as confirmation of a legal source of livelihood. If we evaluate the statistics from 2014 to 2021, according to Rosstat, without considering the mass issuing of Russian passports in Crimea, more than one million 300 thousand citizens of Ukraine received Russian citizenship during this period. According to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, in 2021, 735,385 people received Russian citizenship, 62% of which were citizens of Ukraine (Ministry of

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On another note, Russian legislation has been amended to support Ukrainian refugees on a governmental level (e.g., Molodikova & Yudina, 2016). For instance, the period for filling an application was reduced from the usual three months to three days. However, the situation became more complicated due to sanctions imposed on Russia. According to the Decree of the Government of Russia No. 691, certain regions of the country were not allowed to accept applications from Ukrainian refugees (Government of the Russian Federation, 2014). Cities could not take in so many Ukrainian refugees during heavy economic sanctions. This in turn complicated the situation of Ukrainian refugees, who had no choice but to travel to other cities and regions to apply for humanitarian status.

After the outbreak of hostilities between Russia and Ukraine in 2022, the influx of asylum-seekers from Ukraine created a tense situation in the Russian border regions and cities. Thousands of people were forced to leave their homes. Besides, Ukrainians leave for neighboring countries: Poland, Moldova, Hungary, Romania and Slovakia, and residents of the Luhansk and Donetsk regions flee to Russia. As of August 1, 2022, after February 24, about 2 million Ukrainian asylum-seekers fled to Russia, 90% of whom were women and children (UNHCR, 2022).

In most cases, Ukrainian asylum-seekers are granted with temporary asylum in Russia, which allows them to receive medical assistance and work legally. Temporary asylum provided to Ukrainians in Russia is a more simplified form than for other foreign citizens and stateless persons. Additionally, they can count on additional support measures, including a one-time allowance of approximately \$200 (10,000 rubles). Most of the refugees arrived in the Rostov region and in Rostov-on-Don (Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia, 2022). Ukrainian asylum-seekers also arrive in other cities of Russia, and in each of the major cities there are help addresses and centers for refugees.

Lolita Gogokhia 4, 2 (2021): 102-123 Vol 4, No. 2, July-December 2021. ISSN:2581-9437 Even though practically all necessary conditions have been created in Russia for Ukrainian asylum seekers, many of them struggle with procedural matters. A temporary residence permit (propiska), which is required of all applicants, is the first difficulty. Second, not all refugees have access to up-to-date information about the application process. When choosing between requesting temporary asylum or refugee status, this presents daunting challenges. Refugees must also leave their passport to the migration service for safekeeping after gaining their status. Not all refugees intend to remain in Russia while they wait for the chance to return home. As a result, these problems will only further alienate applicants from receiving any protection in Russia.

4. Policy Suggestions

As it was already stated in the article, there have been issues with granting refugee status in Russia. One difficulty is that when foreign citizens apply for status, they frequently are unaware of the provisions of Russian legislation governing refugees and any amendments that have been made to those provisions. To guarantee that refugees can access the most up-to-date information, it is vital to coordinate the interaction of non-governmental public human rights organizations. The third objective of the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration (GCM) includes this aspect: "provide accurate and timely information at all stages of migration" (United Nations General Assembly, 2018).

There is a need for further development of Russia's legislation in the field of refugee protection. For instance, as a result of Russia's ratification of the 1993 CIS Agreement on Aid to Refugees and Forced Migrants, the concept of a refugee was expanded to include previously unrecognized reasons of persecution, including "persecution on the basis of language" for refugees who are "victims of armed and interethnic conflicts" (Commonwealth of Independent States, 1993). These reasons mostly characterize refugees from the former Soviet states. However, the

Vol 4, No. 2, July-December 2021. ISSN:2581-9437 Ukrainian Refugee Problem concept of "refugee" that is formally incorporated in the main Law on Refugees is insufficient and unable to meet modern realities.

Russia's legal framework for providing refugee status, as well as temporary asylum, needs to be more explicit and thorough. The biggest problems are related to the fact that the current legislation in the field of refugee migration, primarily the Federal Law "On Refugees," has become fragmented. It does not address political asylum issues, regulate the temporary asylum procedure sufficiently nor establish grounds for additional or temporary protection. Moreover, it weakly takes into account the unique circumstances of some categories of asylum-seekers (children, women, the elderly, and the disabled).

5. Conclusion

Since 1991, Russia has faced an increase of refugees from the former Soviet states, and then a decrease in their number against the backdrop of political and economic stability. However, in 2022, hostilities between Russia and Ukraine led to another mass arrival of Ukrainian refugees in Russia. Especially from the east of Ukraine, they are currently the only major source of potential migration to Russia.

is worth noting that the majority of the refugees in Russia are from the southeastern regions of Ukraine, which provides an answer to the major research question regarding what caused the wave of Ukrainian migrants to Russia. The population has a high level of Russians and the regions are close to Russia. More than 90% of them, though, are not recognized as refugees. Instead, they are granted temporary asylum, allowing them to later apply for Russian citizenship. This is due in part to the state's capacity to accept refugees, the political stance of the Russian leadership, and the global geopolitical situation. In addition, Russia was motivated by humanitarian concerns to welcome Ukrainian refugees and facilitate their naturalization. Lolita Gogokhia 4, 2 (2021): 102-123 Vol 4, No. 2, July-December 2021. ISSN:2581-9437 Regarding recommendations for policy, it is suggested that the definition of a refugee be broadened to include all forms of persecution specified in international and regional agreements between Russia and other countries. Additionally, there are issues in informing refugees on the application procedure for status. For example, refugee status is granted for three years with the right of extension if the grounds for obtaining status remain the same. Both those who are seeking protection and those who have already obtained it face challenges as a result of this circumstance.

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Appendix A. Number of refugees, and forced migrants in Russia (as of January 1 of the relevant year), 1994-2010

	Refugees				Forced migrants				
	1998	2002	2006	2010	1998	2002	2006	2010	
Total	235,065	17,902	458	779	956,874	625,639	168,253	57,220	
Armenia	2,474	104	-	-	4,621	1,616	295	58	
Azerbaijan	33,755	456	18	15	68,383	20,740	3,322	1,023	
Afghanistan	234	491	277	514	-	-	-	-	
Belarus	125	-	-	1	304	102	7	-	
Estonia	814	13	-	-	11,636	6,320	339	82	
Georgia	46,195	14,832	114	181	60,884	30,361	18,868	10,983	
Kazakhstan	40,173	472	-	-	234,205	259,827	66,020	20,452	
Kyrgyzstan	16,255	84	1	2	63,606	23,907	4,265	1,049	
Latvia	1,568	23	-	2	18,680	7,679	614	204	
Lithuania	316	12	-	-	2,771	1,093	109	37	
Moldova	4,476	69	1	2	14,015	6,989	1,404	329	
Russia	-	-	-	-	194,332	112,367	36,375	11,969	
Tajikistan	50,192	759	10	8	126,625	59,190	12,158	3,173	
Turkmenistan	3,107	109	-	1	14,564	9,588	1,376	404	
Ukraine	2,326	5	-	5	6,599	5,365	821	236	
Uzbekistan	33,049	453	7	9	135,579	80,306	22,257	7,215	
Others	4	20	30	39	70	189	23	6	

Note. Adapted from https://gks.ru/bgd/regl/b22 01/IssWWW.exe/Stg/d01/4-0.doc

Appendix B. Number of refugees, persons granted with temporary asylum, and forced migrants in Russia (as of January 1 of the relevant year), 2014-2021

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	Refugees			Persons granted with tem- porary asylum			Forced migrants		
	2014	2018	2021	2014	2018	2021	2014	2018	2021
Total	632	592	455	2,822	125,442	19,817	30834	13795	2,512
Armenia	-	-	4	1	1	2	16	6	2
Azerbaijan	7	7	8	7	10	12	375	138	55
Afghanistan	475	305	256	641	417	514	-	-	-
Belarus	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-
Estonia	-	-	-	1	-	5	30	10	2
Georgia, including:	65	31	23	699	226	119	7,377	5,611	1,387
- Abkhazia	-	-	-	1	1	-	158	59	27
- South Ossetia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	85	30
Kazakhstan	1	1	1	3	3	10	7,741	3,014	216
Kyrgyzstan	4	3	5	30	21	28	466	192	16
Latvia	1	2	2	1	4	6	65	30	4
Lithuania	-	3	2	-	1	1	13	6	12
Moldova	1	15	16	7	7	13	159	45	1
Russia	-	-	-	-	-	-	9,464	2,279	474
Syria	2	2	2	1,158	1,317	359	-	-	-
Tajikistan	11	7	6	6	26	36	1,308	611	92
Turkmenistan	-	-	-	10	8	24	141	72	9
Ukraine	5	166	83	-	226,044	18,345	93	184	56
Uzbekistan	19	19	16	87	82	59	3,384	1,388	120
Others	41	31	33	168	224	284	44	65	9

Note. Adapted from https://gks.ru/bgd/regl/b22_01/IssWWW.exe/Stg/d01/4-0.doc