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International Organization for Migration (IOM)
The UN Migration Agency

RESEARCH SERIES: DIASPORA MAPPING, III

MAPPING MOLDOVAN DIASPORA IN GERMANY, UK, ISRAEL, ITALY, PORTUGAL AND RUSSIA



MAPPING MOLDOVAN DIASPORA IN GERMANY, UK, ISRAEL, ITALY, PORTUGAL AND RUSSIA

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International Organization for Migration (IOM)
The UN Migration Agency

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

<i>Abbreviation</i>	<i>Full title</i>
EU	European Union
FMS	Federal Migration Service
IOM	International Organization for Migration
DE	Germany
IS	Israel
IT	Italy
MD	Right bank of the Nistru River
PT	Portugal
RU	Russia
TN	Left bank of the Nistru River
UK	United Kingdom

LIST OF CODIFICATIONS USED

Number	Country	Status
0.01*	Moldova	representative of the State structures of Moldova
0.02	Moldova	representative of the State structures of Moldova
0.03	Moldova	representative of the State structures of Moldova
0.04	Moldova	expert
1.01	Russia	representative of the State structures of Moldova
1.02	Russia	expert
1.03	Russia	expert
1.04	Russia	expert
1.05	Russia	leader of the association
1.06	Russia	leader of the association
1.07	Russia	businessman
1.08	Russia	focus group
1.09	Russia	focus group
2.01	Italy	representative of the state structures of Moldova
2.02	Italy	representative of the state structures of Moldova
2.03	Italy	expert
2.04	Italy	expert
2.05	Italy	leader of the association
2.06	Italy	leader of the association
2.07	Italy	leader of the association
2.08	Italy	businessman
2.09	Italy	businessman
2.10	Italy	businessman
2.11	Italy	businessman
2.12	Italy	businessman
2.13	Italy	focus group
2.14	Italy	focus group
2.15	Italy	focus group
2.16	Italy	focus group
3.01	Germany	representative of the state structures of Moldova
3.02	Germany	expert
3.03	Germany	expert

3.04	Germany	expert
3.05	Germany	expert
3.06	Germany	expert
3.07	Germany	expert
3.08	Germany	leader of the association
3.09	Germany	businessman
3.10	Germany	businessman
4.01	Portugal	representative of the state structures of Moldova
4.02	Portugal	expert
4.03	Portugal	leader of the association
4.04	Portugal	businessman
4.05	Portugal	businessman
4.06	Portugal	focus group
5.01	Israel	representative of the state structures of Moldova
5.02	Israel	expert
5.03	Israel	leader of the association
5.04	Israel	leader of the association
5.05	Israel	businessman
5.06	Israel	focus group
5.07	Israel	focus group
5.08	Israel	focus group
6.01	United Kingdom	representative of the state structures of Moldova
6.02	United Kingdom	expert
6.03	United Kingdom	expert
6.04	United Kingdom	expert
6.05	United Kingdom	leader of the association
6.06	United Kingdom	businessman
6.07	United Kingdom	businessman
6.08	United Kingdom	focus group
6.09	United Kingdom	focus group

Note:

** - the numbering of countries is performed in accordance with the sequencing of the field studies*

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1. RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY

In the present-day conditions, under the influence of globalization, profound processes of formation of ethnic and migratory minorities in many countries of the world are taking place. Migration and ethnic minorities start to play an important role in the life of modern states. Their impact on socio-political, economic, socio-psychological, and cultural life of a modern state is reflected in various perspectives and dimensions. Currently, we can see a process of consolidation of migration communities. Gradually, these migration (or new ethnic) communities are transformed into diasporas; the institutions of the diaspora, numerous and diverse associations and organizations that promote both preservation and transfer of the ethno-cultural identity of migrant communities and their integration into the local society of the host countries are emerging and strengthening. As the international experience of centuries demonstrates, diasporas can act as bridges, connecting links between the country of origin and that of migrants' destination / residence. A diaspora is capable to contribute and is actually contributing to establishing and consolidation of relations between these countries, acting as an efficient instrument that supports the sustainable development of the country of origin and promotes its image on the international arena.

Migration and the diaspora's studies are topical; they are of particular interest for the Republic of Moldova as a young democratic state that has been facing massive migration processes for the last 20-25 years and international labor migration in fact, from the second half of the 1990s. This process involves almost a third of the working age population of the Republic of Moldova. By the process of migration, migrants solve the issues of survival and maintain their families, sending remittances to their relatives and creating favorable conditions for the development of their households. This also provides better opportunities for children to study and find solutions related to health improvement or treatment, etc. In many countries, Moldovan communities are being formed on the basis of migration, and the Moldovan diaspora is being consolidated. The Moldovan communities are integrating well enough and successfully into the society of the destination countries; the Moldovan diaspora begins to be structured and starts functioning. Undoubtedly, this process is not so unambiguous; there are problems on the individual and collective levels along this path.

Formation and development of the Moldovan diaspora is uneven in different countries. In this connection, study of this phenomenon from the point of view of comparative analysis would be an issue of interest. First of all, it is important to examine these phenomena on the level of a more developed form, when both strengths and weaknesses related to the formation and development of the Moldovan communities abroad as well as consolidating and functioning of the Moldovan diaspora are more obvious.

A research of the problem of the Moldovan communities and the diaspora is of scientific, political, and practical interest. It should be noted that, according to the polls, a significant part of Moldovan migrants is not going to return to their homeland. The Moldovan state should keep these communities in sight in order to help our compatriots not to disappear in the host countries or melt away in the host society, and maintain good and friendly relations with the country of their origin, promoting the development of the Republic of Moldova on the path of democracy, civilization, and developed and innovative European economy. Under these conditions, we have an urgent need to analyze the process of formation and functioning of the Moldovan diaspora, development of policies for cooperation with the diaspora, consolidation of positive effects of migration and minimization of the negative ones.

2. EXTENT TO WHICH THE SUBJECT IS RESEARCHED

Both the Moldovan diaspora itself and its research are a new phenomenon. This is caused by various historical and actual reasons for the development of the Moldovan state.

Unlike the other post-Soviet states, Moldova has not been facing the issues related to diaspora until recently. This is explained by the specificity of historical and cultural development of the Moldovan state and society. The Moldovans who left for Romania within the framework of a single state during the interwar period (1918-1940) and the Second World War were integrated into Romanian society and the Romanian nation; they did not retain any specific identity. After the Second World War, the relations between the Soviet Union and Romania were rather complicated. The Soviet (Moldovan) authorities were not interested in the relations with Romania, Romanian citizens, or immigrants from Bessarabia, Transnistria, and Bukovina. Respectively, the issues of the diaspora did not emerge politically, practically, or scientifically.

Moldovan emigrants born in Bessarabia/Soviet Moldova in the epoch of the Russian Empire, Romania, and the USSR, who left to other countries, assimilated in the receiving states (Romania, Israel, Germany, USA, Brazil, Argentina, etc.) without having any contacts with the Soviet Moldova. In fact, they did not retain their regional identity, except for Jews in Israel and Germans in Germany (the Society of Bessarabian Germans being the most eloquent example). The way natives and immigrants from Bessarabia/Moldova positioned themselves was a “closed book” in many respects. Moldova did not maintain any relations with them as a last resort. Again, the issue of the diaspora was not mentioned due to the nature of the relations between the USSR and these states.

Mass migrations of Moldovans and representatives of other ethnic groups within the USSR were not accompanied by the formation of a diaspora or setting relations between Moldovan communities in various Soviet republics and the Soviet Moldova. The Moldovan population in Ukraine (Odessa, Chernivtsi, and the Zakarpattia Region, etc.), Russia (Krasnodar Province, the Far East, Transbaikalia, etc.), and Kazakhstan did not identify with the diaspora. This is understandable in the context of the fact that all of them were living in the same state. What kind of diasporas could they talk about?

The process of formation of Moldovan communities abroad starts after 1991. This process becomes massive in the second half of the 1990s, when international labor migration of the Moldovan population to Russia, the countries of the European Union, and other states is widening. However, for a long time, this process was not analyzed through the prism of the formation and functioning of the Moldovan diaspora.

In our opinion, the reasons for that are the following:

1. Sociological surveys demonstrate a high level of intentions of Moldovan migrants' (respondents') intention to return to their homeland: over 90 % of those staying in the Russian Federation and approximately 80 % of those staying in the countries of the European Union as the main regions of residence and labor activity of the Moldovan migrant workers. This could be explained by the fact that the Moldovan migrants left in order to work, to earn some money. Their migration strategies and plans were based on the idea that their ultimate goal was to return home after a certain period of staying abroad (1 year, 2, 5 years...) and reaching their pecuniary and financial goals. *"Initially, I came for 1 year to earn and save some money, and buy a car. Nowadays, I have been staying in Portugal for 17 years. It was the Portuguese state that "deceived" us. First, it granted us visas. After 5 visas, it gave us a residence permit. We were granted citizenship 2 years later. We were postponing our departure until our children arrived, and so on. We are fully integrated into society and social life here. Today, it is more difficult for us to break away from here. We used to think we would spend a year here, but this practice has been lasting for 16 years already". (4.06).* It was up to the migrants themselves to decide whether to return home and when to go back. They proceeded from the correlation between their efforts and the result they scheduled in advance.

2. The sociological research was carried out inside the country, in the Republic of Moldova. Initially, this was right; however, the drawbacks of this approach started gradually to show up from the orientation toward the analysis of temporary (seasonal / circular) migration. It was noted that a significant number of migrants do not return to the country, remain abroad for a longer period of time, and often become the labor migrants who stay abroad for more than 12 months.

3. The processes of formation of the diaspora were latent, disguised, because the integration of migrants in the countries of destination (host) was not obvious. Most Moldovan migrant workers were illegal migrants. They arrived in (entered) the countries of their destination legally, on the basis of a tourist visa or other legal documents, but remained and worked in the country of destination illegally. They were facing the issues of legalization, sought to solve them (which was an essential problem), while integration and its problems receded into the background. The problem of integration of Moldovan labor migrants was less understood and, accordingly, examined.

4. Since the second half of the first decade of the 21st century, the ways and possibilities to enter the European Union have been changing. Instead of a tourist visa or an illegal border crossing (which was happening to much lesser extent), the entrance to the country of destination is granted based on a labor contract or a Romanian (or, to a lesser extent, a Bulgarian) passport. As a result, the status of a Moldovan migrant worker in the country of destination changes

radically: this individual has a legal status for residing and working there. Legal possibilities of staying and being employed in the European Union are growing; it is easier to obtain a permanent status of residence and citizenship in the countries of the European Union. Under these circumstances, the issue of integration comes out of the shadows and becomes a key, basic problem for Moldovan migrant workers abroad.

5. Moldovan migrants have a change in their plans and terms of return to their homeland, the country of their origin. The return is postponed to the future, to an uncertain perspective (“our children study here”, “I took a loan in the bank to pay for the car, the apartment, the house”, etc.). Societal factors start to dominate the motivation for returning to Moldova the effectiveness of the functioning of democracy and market economy in the Republic of Moldova, the quality of Moldovan state governance and politics, the counteraction to corruption and impunity of the authorities, the conditions of Moldovan roads, illumination of city streets at night, etc.

The return is conditioned by the matching of efforts and results achieved by the Moldovan state with the goal established by a migrant. At the same time, it should be noted that the goal initially set by the migrant (the result) has evolved, too. In the perception of the migrant, it has become more complex due to the influence of real policies and practices of the host country where a Moldovan migrant lives, works, and integrates. Moldova should be comparable with the countries of the European Union. It should be really comparable. In this case, the migrant promises to return.

Many of them are already unequivocally saying that they will not return. At the same time, they emphasize that they were initially inclined not to return while they were still at home, and it makes it easier for them to integrate in the host country. Thus, the temporary labor emigration was understood and perceived by a labor migrant as a permanent emigration, i.e. emigration to a permanent place of residence from the very beginning.

6. Let us mention another very important aspect: highlighting key accents in the research. In 2012, simultaneous field studies (the project of the International Organization for Migration titled “Diaspora Mapping in Russia, Italy, Portugal, France, and the UK”) were conducted for the first time. They were also the first ones to be conducted by various teams of researchers, groups from the receiving country and the country of origin.

The scientists revealed¹ that they actually investigated two different contingents of migrants in the country of origin and in the receiving country: the Moldovan communities, the emerging diaspora (migrants in the country of

¹ Мукомель В., Кеяну-Андрей Д. Молдаване в Российской Федерации: социально-экономический профиль и вызовы на уровне политик. – Кишинев, МОМ, 2013 (Mukomel V., Cheianu-Andrei D. Moldovans in the Russian Federation: socio-economic profile and challenges at the level of policies. – Chisinau, IOM, 2013)

destination who are already integrating in this country), and seasonal, circular migrants (migrants in the country of origin who return home and do not plan to stay in the country of destination; they do not intend to integrate, as they arrive, work, earn some money, and return home. Labor migration is their secondary type of activity. Their primary labor activity is in their homeland, in Moldova: they have the land to be cultivated, etc. They need money to purchase fuel, seeds, transport, etc.). The studies in Russia have shown that the perception of Russia only as a country of temporary labor migration of the Moldovan population is incorrect. Just like in the European Union, there is a process of developing Moldovan communities and forming a diaspora there.

7. Under the influence of international structures that developed and have started to implement the EU Global Approach to Migration and Development since 2007, Moldovan state migration policy towards Moldovan communities abroad is beginning to change. Since early 2000s, Moldovan migrants have been an object of attention of the state, its specialized migration structures, which begin to implement a policy of cooperation with migrants, organize congresses of the diaspora, morally support the Moldovan communities abroad, consolidate the institutions of the diaspora (various associations, organizations, etc.), and attract migrant money transfers for the development of the country.

This signal has been correctly understood by the emerging Moldovan diaspora, which begins to aggregate and articulate its demands and wishes to the government and the Moldovan authorities. As a result of this process of mutual influence, the Bureau for Diaspora Relations with the was created in the Republic of Moldova in late 2012. The institutional reform has given a significant impetus to the development and implementation of various strategies, programs, plans, projects, and financial and intellectual support from international structures and organizations.

These changes have had a positive impact on the academic community. The issue of international labor migration of Moldovans becomes the subject of research. In this context, we should mention the studies (2007) in the framework of the projects of the International Organization for Migration by R. Schwartz (Israel) and T. Kring (Germany)². These studies are devoted to the issues of comparative analysis of the processes of formation and functioning of Moldovan communities in Italy, Russia, and Israel. These two works have served as a basis for further development of research topics, making them more profound. At the same time, several different aspects of the analysis of Moldovan communities and diasporas abroad have been revealed.

The first aspect is the following. The tradition of Moldovan studies

² Schwartz R. Exploring the Link between Moldovan Communities abroad (MCA) and Moldova. May 2007. – Chisinau, IOM, 2007; Kring T. Moldovan Migrants in Italy: Remittances and the Role of the ILO's Social Partners. November 2007. – Chisinau, IOM, 2007

which was launched in the second half of the 1990s – in the early 21st century continues. These works were focused more on the research of the processes of international migration and the formation of Moldovan communities abroad than on the analysis of the process of formation and functioning of the diaspora³. These factors were analyzed in the context of temporary, seasonal, and circular migration.

The second aspect is the appearance of publications, where the issue of methodology, the definition of the concept of the diaspora and the approaches are defined, and the criteria and characteristics of the concept of the diaspora are analyzed. In this regard, we would like to mention the publications by V. Mardari⁴ and N. Putina⁵.

The third aspect is that the works that apply the notion of the diaspora analyzes of the concept of the Moldovan communities abroad began to appear in the early 20th century. It should be mentioned that this issue in these publications is addressed in the context of the approaches suggested and implemented by R. Schwartz. The specificity of the diaspora, its ratio / correlation with the emerging Moldovan communities abroad was less reflected⁶. This formula “diaspora = Moldovan communities abroad” is accepted and used by the state structures of the Republic of Moldova,

³ Мошняга В., Морару В., Руснак Г. Италия глазами молдавских трудовых мигрантов. // MOLDOSCOPIE (Probleme de analiză politică). Nr. 3 (XLVI), 2009. - Chișinău: CEP USM, 2009, p.90-134 (Moșneaga V., Moraru V., Rusnac Gh. Italy in the eyes of moldovan labor migrants// MOLDOSCOPIE (Issues of political analyses). Nr. 3 (XLVI), 2009.-Chișinau: CEP MSU, 2009, p. 90-134)

⁴ Mardari V. Diaspora: concept și teoria rețelelor de cunoaștere. // MOLDOSCOPIE (Probleme de analiză politică). Nr.2 (LXXVII), 2017. - Chișinău: CEP USM, 2009, p. 22-36 (Mardari V. Diaspora: concept and theory of knowledge networks.//MOLDOSCOPIE (Issues of political analyses). Nr. 2 (LXXVII), 2017. – Chisinau: CEP MSU, 2009, p. 22-36)

⁵ Putina N. Diaspora și relațiile cu statul de origine: modele de interacțiune. // Мошняга В. (коорд.) Современные миграционные процессы: состояние и основные формы. – Кишинэу, MOM, 2016, с.211-216; Putina N. Diaspora între fenomen istoric și categorii științifice (abordare teoretico-metodologică). // MOLDOSCOPIE (Probleme de analiză politică). Nr.3 (LXX), 2015. - Chișinău: CEP USM, 2015, p.27-41 (Putina N. Diaspora and relations with the state of origin; models of interactions.// Mosneaga V. (coord.) Modern migration processes: state and key forms. – Chisinau, IOM, 2016, p. 211-216; Putina N. Diaspora between the historic phenomenon and scientific category (theoretical and methodological approach).// MOLDOSCOPIE (Issues of political analyses). Nr. 3 (LXX), 2015. – Chisinau: CEP MSU, 2015, p. 27-41)

⁶ Moșneaga V., Rusu R. Formarea diasporei moldovenesti peste hotare: esența și specificul. // MOLDOSCOPIE (Probleme de analiză politică). nr.1 (XL), 2008. - Chișinău: CEP USM, 2008, p.91-104; Rusu R., Todorova L., Rolul diasporei în relațiile internaționale. // Administrarea publică. Nr.1 (73), ianuarie-martie. - Chișinău, AAP, 2012, p.117-121; Мошняга В. Молдова: эмиграция и диаспора. //Пояснительная записка 12/48, Сентябрь, 2012, проект КАРИМ-Восток, Европейский университетский институт, http://www.carim-east.eu/media/exno/Explanatory%20Notes_2012-48.pdf (Mosneaga V., Rusu R. Formation of Moldovan diaspora abroad: essence and specifics.//MOLDOSCOPIE (Issues of political analyses). Nr. 1 (XL), 2008.-Chisinau: CEP MSU, 2008, p. 91-104; Rusu R., Todorova L. The role of diaspora in international relations.//Public administration. Nr. 1 (73), January-March.-Chisinau, AAP, 2012, p. 117-121; Mosneaga V. Moldova: emigration and diaspora.//Explanatory note 12/48, September, 2012, project KARIM-East, European University Institute, http://www.carim-east.eu/media/exno/Explanatory%20Notes_2012-48.pdf)

including the Bureau for Diaspora Relations. '*Diaspora*' means citizens of the Republic of Moldova who are temporarily or permanently abroad, natives of the Republic of Moldova and their descendants, as well as the communities they form"⁷. This approach was also used in the works by D. Cheianu-Andrei on mapping the diaspora in five countries⁸.

It appears that this leads to a loss of the specificity of this concept. Undoubtedly, the diaspora closely interacts with and is in the constant communication and cooperation with migration communities, it is preserved, nurtured, consolidated, and developed by integration and involvement of representatives of migration communities. In my opinion, the diaspora is institutionalized through conscious collective activities to preserve relations / connections with the homeland, the country of origin in order to consolidate its ethnic, migration community in the host country. This collective and conscious activity is articulated through the activity of associations (organizations, institutions) of the diaspora involving in which activities a representative of the diaspora participates (co-participates). The diaspora does not include all the people who arrived from the country of origin (in our case, from Moldova) to the country of destination and stay there. The diaspora includes only those who intend to preserve and maintain contacts with their homeland, and demonstrate and strengthen this connection.

This position was formulated and reflected in the publication "The Republic of Moldova: Diaspora and Diaspora Policy" by V. Mosneaga⁹. This is the fourth aspect in the Moldovan analysis of the phenomenon of the Moldovan diaspora. It is this aspect of the study of the diaspora that we would like to implement in our research.

⁷ Hotărîrea de guvern Strategia națională „Diaspora-2025”, nr.200 din 26.02.2016. // Monitorul Oficial din 4.03.2016, nr.49-54, art.230, http://brd.gov.md/sites/default/files/sn_diaspora_2025_web.pdf (Government's Decision, National Strategy „Diaspora-2025”, nr.200 dated on 26.02.2016. // Official Gazette dated on 4.03.2016, nr.49-54, art.230, http://brd.gov.md/sites/default/files/sn_diaspora_2025_web.pdf)

⁸ D.Cartografierea diasporei moldovenesti în Italia, Portugalia, Franța și Regatul Unit al Marii Britanii. - Chisinau, OIM, 2013 (Mukomel V., Cheianu-Andrei D. Mapping of Moldovan diaspora in Italy, Portugal, France and United Kingdom of Great Britain. – Chisinau, IOM, 2013)

⁹ Mosneaga V. Republic of Moldova: diaspora and diaspora policy. // Slovak Journal of Political Sciences, Volume 14, 2014, No. 2, pp.3-27

3. METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE STUDY

Originality of the study. Mapping the Moldovan diaspora abroad is not the first and original research in the Republic of Moldova. For the first time a similar research in 5 foreign countries and the Republic of Moldova was carried as a part of the IOM project in 2012 by a research group (D. Cheianu-Andrei (Republic of Moldova); V. Mukomel (Russian Federation)). The study examined the Moldovan diaspora in Italy, The United Kingdom, Portugal, the Russian Federation, and France. The researchers focused on the analysis of the Moldovan communities abroad in the above-mentioned countries.

The originality of our study is not in the monitoring nature of the research (although in a certain sense it also takes place). Our research, firstly, is a more extensive: mapping the Moldovan diaspora is carried out in a large number of countries - in 6 states. Secondly, there are other innovations. Instead of researching the Moldovan diaspora in France, the study of the Moldovan diaspora in Israel and Germany is added.

Thirdly, we have studied not only the Moldovan diaspora from the right bank of the Nistru River, but also the diaspora originating from the left bank of the Nistru River as a separate object of research, which has its own specific traits. The specificity of the left bank of the Nistru River is that there is no separate internationally recognized "citizenship of Transnistria": there is a dispersion of migrants from the left bank of the Nistru River in terms of civil (passport) belonging to, at least, three states (the Republic of Moldova, the Russian Federation, and Ukraine). As a consequence, there are difficulties in consolidating and institutionalizing migrants. It should be added that there is no policy of the region in the sphere of migration and diaspora on the left bank of the Nistru River, which also affects the formation and functioning of migrant communities abroad originating from the left bank of the Nistru River, etc. The research of this issue on the left bank has objectively focused on drawing up a general picture of migration processes from the region in an effort to analyze the formation of communities originating from the left bank of the Nistru River in foreign countries due to the circumstances mentioned above.

Fourthly (and this is the main thing that contributes to specificity, novelty, and originality of our research), this is **another aspect** of the analysis, which, in our opinion, has not benefited of any adequate coverage in the previous project. We study the process of formation and functioning of the Moldovan diaspora through the prism of its institutionalization, the activities of the Moldovan diaspora associations in these countries, and the policy of the Moldovan state institutions aimed at supporting and stimulating this process.

This aspect of the study does not contradict to the logic of the formation and functioning of the modern Moldovan diaspora abroad. It follows from the existing perceptions about the Moldovan diaspora as a diaspora in the process of formation.

It appears that the consolidation of migrant communities abroad serves as a basis for the formation of the diaspora. However, the existence of migrant communities by themselves is not a sufficient basis for declaring such communities abroad in the capacity of diaspora. The existence of such communities is necessary, but not sufficient. To transform of migrant communities into the diaspora, their unification, conscious collective action, and their institutionalization as a subject of collective action are necessary.

People who are the representatives of migrant communities abroad must deliberately unify and make a statement about them, their special identity, through their collective action. Moreover, this collective action should be aimed at preserving and promoting this particular identity. This is the first issue to be mentioned.

Secondly, this declared and promoted special identity must be seen and maintained within the host country. The destination state sets certain rules of the game, determines the mechanisms and ways of founding and functioning of civil society institutions (associations, organizations, and autonomies) through legislation, including institutions for migrant and ethnic minorities. At the same time, it can often provide broader support to these institutions by offering assistance, including welfare assistance (providing premises, creating various councils, etc.). At the same time, there may be informal associations that have not been legalized in the host country.

Thirdly, this declared and promoted special identity must be seen and maintained not only within the host country, but also in the historical homeland. That is, this particular identity should be directed outwardly, to the homeland, the country of origin of migrants. The home (real or historical / virtual) country, having received this impetus, a signal, starts supporting and strengthening this signal, transferring it to the dimension of multilayered and multifaceted relations and benefits, both for itself (the country) and for its diaspora, its institutionalized migrant / ethnic communities abroad.

At the same time, it should be noted that the mere duration (length) of the existence of migrant/ethnic communities abroad does not make them a diaspora. The length of their existence abroad can affect the formation of the diaspora. But this impact, most likely, is of an indirect nature. This is due to the generation and status roles that migrants perform. The first generation of migrants is more focused on their own self-assertion in various spheres of the new society. The orientation toward collective, group self-affirmation is characteristic to a very small number of representatives of migrant communities in the first generations. This is mostly characteristic of ideologically oriented people (the desire to preserve their national and cultural values – a special identity expressed in ethnicity, language, national culture, religion, and traditions). At the same time, the less status-related and,

at the same time, the more problematic this migrant / ethnic community is (cultural and linguistic distance, racial, religious, professional, and qualitative differences of this community from the local population), the more inclined to unification and institutionalization it is, including in the certain form of self-defense and self-help. Whether such institutionalization is formal or informal is quite a different issue.

However, the paradox of the situation is that the acquisition of personal status in a new country and culture is typically accompanied by the loss of special identity, dissolution, and often assimilation in a new ethno-cultural society. This is also a consequence, the reverse side of the integration process. Simultaneous addressing of issues of preserving the old identity and acquiring a new identity is difficult and costly in terms of the physical and mental energy of a migrant. Migrants often choose a new identity, which offers them more dividends and benefits in this country (in their new homeland). There is a numerical erosion/reduction of the carriers of this migrant culture. At the same time, it should be noted that the diaspora increases due to new migrants who arrive from this country (students, labor migrants, etc.).

In the study of the Moldovan diaspora, we judge from the notion of the diaspora formulated by G. Sheffer¹⁰ and used for explaining the process of formation of the Moldovan diaspora by R. Schwartz¹¹.

A diaspora represents groups of ethnic minorities of migratory origin who live and work in the countries of destination while maintaining emotional and material relations with their homeland (the country of their origin).

In our opinion, this definition is quite productive, because it allows reflecting both the process of formation of a diaspora through the configuration of migration commonalities in the countries of destination (in our case, Moldovan migratory communities) and the process of the subsequent consolidation of the diaspora as a community within the country of destination that preserves and strengthens the multi-faceted relationship with the historical homeland, the country of origin. At the same time, R. Schwartz proves the interrelation of the diaspora with migrant communities as the basis for a diaspora. He refers to the research by D. Ionescu, who includes the following in composition of the diaspora:

- People from the country of origin, who permanently reside in the country of destination and have the citizenship of the country of origin;
- Migrant workers, students who stay outside the country of origin for a certain period of time;
- Persons with dual citizenship;

¹⁰ Sheffer G. Diaspora politics: At home abroad. - Cambridge, 2003, p. 9

¹¹ Schwartz R. Exploring the Link between Moldovan Communities abroad (MCA) and Moldova. May 2007. – Chisinau, IOM, 2007, p.7

- Ethnic diaspora;
- Citizens of the country of destination / children of migrants (the second generation group)¹².

However, this approach does not reflect the factor of activity of these people, whether they deliberately and purposefully maintain diverse connections with their historical homeland, their country of origin. In the analysis of the diaspora, this aspect, in our opinion, is the leading, the essential one.

The approach of other researchers mentioned by R. Schwartz, M. Iwanska, and J. Shane takes the activity of representatives of the diaspora into account. Due to this fact, it seems more productive. According to these authors, the diaspora includes the following elements in its structure:

- “Basic” members: an active elite whose role and activity are very important for the existence and functioning of the diaspora;
- “Rearguard” members: a “generation as a consequence” of the activities of the diaspora, which are to a lesser extent involved in the daily activities of diaspora, but who nevertheless represent an important and essential component in preserving the common memory;
- “Silent” members: a source of potential recruits for the activity of the diaspora¹³.

The diaspora is not only objective, but also as a subjective factor that not solely belongs to a certain community for a variety of reasons, but also seeks to consolidate this identity.

In this context, M. Isman¹⁴ is right as notes that the following elements are important for the organization and mobilization of the diaspora for the sake of general interest: pecuniary, cultural, and organizational resources of the diaspora, structures and opportunities in the country of destination, and motivation and ability to preserve unity (close internal connections) and exercise group influence. Lack of this organizing and active component leads to the fact that a diaspora will not become a diaspora. It will remain a large and disorganized mass of people united only by the fact that they are natives or descendants of natives of the country of emigration. It will be nothing more than that.

It should be mentioned that we have discovered the echoes of this diversity of approaches and interpretations in our research while mapping the diaspora in 6 countries. It is important to emphasize that there is no unanimity on the unequivocal assessment among experts on what the Moldovan diaspora in the world is like, and whether it exists or not. In the course of our

¹² Schwartz R. Exploring the Link between Moldovan Communities abroad (MCA) and Moldova. May 2007. – Chisinau, IOM, 2007, p.7

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

study, we have come across different opinions about the Moldovan diaspora, which can be grouped around the following positions.

Firstly, a diaspora is all Moldovan citizens who stay (live, work) abroad. *"I think we can be called a diaspora if we are abroad. Further, on, as a diaspora, we must have certain characteristics to be called an association of a diaspora. I think you can't avoid maintaining relations with Moldovans; it is conditioned in one form or another"* (2.06).

Secondly, a Moldovan diaspora does not exist abroad, because there is no unity among Moldovan citizens or Moldovan associations abroad; there is no unified Moldovan people, either. There are only Moldovan communities. The term of diaspora is applicable only to Jews, Armenians, and Romani, the ethnic groups of people who are united, and who have suffered for their unity in a hostile environment. *"I use the term 'community' (brotherhood), not a 'diaspora'. A 'diaspora', in my opinion, in accordance with the scientific criteria refers to the Jewish diaspora, the Armenian diaspora, or the Romani Diaspora. To be called a diaspora, we must be a unified nation. Instead, we are disunited people who abandoned the country for a variety of reasons, primarily economic ones. We are not a nation persecuted by someone, unlike Jews or Armenians, for instance. And we do have problems. We are called the community"* (2.07).

Another expert draws attention to the notion of unity and its absence among natives and immigrants from Moldova, believing that, in Russia, for example, *"there are three diasporas: the Moldovan, the Transnistrian, and the Gagauzian"* (1.01). At the same time, however, he applies the concept of diaspora to all these groups of people originating from Moldova.

According to another expert, the notion of diaspora does not apply to Moldovans who do not aspire to unity, but gravitate toward personal gain, sometimes even to the detriment of their ethnic group. *"Does the diaspora exist? A diaspora means that there is something in common, and something unites us. It would be true about Jews. Yet a Moldovan refers to the category of people who sneezed once and opened their store. He has opened a store and goes shopping to a Chinese store, where the prices are a bit lower. Or to an Indian store. They have brought the same gap that exists in the country here. But why should I enrich him? Go shopping to the store owned by our Moldovan? No way!"* (2.07).

Someone offers a different interpretation. *"A group of people cannot be called a diaspora. They are the members of a diaspora. They are immigrants. The diaspora is a community of Moldovans who live abroad. They must be citizens of one country. They promote their country through their citizenship, their behavior, and the clothes they wear. I do not see any other characteristics for a diaspora. Whether these people are united or are in conflict relations, it concerns the character of each individual"*. (4.03).

This discrepancy of opinions and approaches is conditioned by the fact that earlier in Moldova, as we have already noted, this issue was not considered at all. This happened due to the fact that the processes of societal development were not giving an opportunity to consider this phenomenon in the Moldovan context, applying it to the natives, persons originating from and citizens of Moldova who had left it to live abroad. In Moldova, there was no concept of the Moldovan diaspora as such; therefore, it was not analyzed.

It seems that certain elements of truth are contained in both positions. Consolidation of migrant communities abroad is the basis for the formation of a diaspora. The presence of migrant communities is not a sufficient basis for declaring such communities abroad a diaspora. The existence of such communities is necessary, but not sufficient. For the transformation of migrant communities into a diaspora, their unification, deliberate collective action, and their institutionalization as a subject of collective action are necessary. The association of the diaspora acts as an alliance, which unites people in a deliberate, collective action both for the purpose of rallying their members to preserve their special identity and preserving and promoting communication with their homeland, their country of origin.

Justification of the choice of these 6 countries as an object of research of the Moldovan diaspora. Moldovan diaspora in the UK, Germany, Israel, Italy, Portugal, and Russia was selected as an object of study not by chance. This choice was due to a certain country specificity, which allowed to obtain a more complete and comprehensive image of Moldovan migration and formation of Moldovan communities and the diaspora abroad.

Russia is the main consumer of Moldovan labor migrants. Moldovan community in Russia, in comparison with those in the other countries of the world, is the most numerous and includes hundreds of thousands of people. This could be explained by the common historical fate: the Republic of Moldova and Russia were the same state for nearly two centuries. As a result, not only the historical destinies of people, but also the destinies of individuals were interweaving; it was accompanied by setting of close kinship, cultural, industrial and educational relations, etc. Preservation of a single visa-free area after the collapse of the Soviet Union, knowledge of the Russian language, mentality, culture, the same faith and religious tradition – all these factors have contributed to the growth of labor migration to Russia during the economic crisis and using the potential of historically formed traditional connections.

Italy is the second largest consumer of Moldovan labor migrants after Russia. The formation of Italy as the main attractor of Moldovan migrants in the European Union was facilitated by the fact that the distance to Rome, Italy, is actually comparable (almost identical) to the distance to Moscow, Russia.

We should also mention the linguistic proximity of the main part of the Moldovan population, Moldovans, with the Italian language. Both languages are part of the common linguistic Romance group. Moldovan communities in Italy act as a stimulator, attractor, and communicator of Moldovan labor migration.

Italy as the country of traditional emigration of the population has many years of experience of tolerant and open attitude towards immigrants. Moldovan community in Italy is the most advanced in terms of the institutionalization of the Moldovan diaspora, the formation and functioning of diaspora associations, their number, and the variety of forms of activity they use. It seems that the great institutionalization of the Moldovan diaspora is due, *inter alia*, to the low social status of Moldovan migrant workers (mainly women) employed in the household services sector on the "24/24" basis.

Portugal was one of the first countries to which Moldovan migrant workers traveled and where the Moldovan communities abroad started to appear. This was facilitated by a number of circumstances: its location "on the edge of the earth" (on the outskirts of Europe / the European Union), low salaries and a small labor market, significant emigration of the Portuguese population, and an interest in the workforce while preparing for the 2004 European Football Championship. As a consequence, it has one of the most circumspect and tolerant policies in the sphere of immigrants integration in the European Union (according to the results of MIPEx, Portugal is one of the leaders in the integration of immigrants along with Sweden)¹⁵. It should also be noted that the linguistic affinity of the Portuguese and Romanian languages facilitates the process of integration of Moldovan citizens into Portuguese society.

Israel is a country of long-term emigration of Moldovans, primarily of those of Jewish descent. Moldovan labor migration to Israel have started since the 2000s, which was characterized not only by its spontaneous nature, but also by its organized form for both men (construction) and women (domestic services). A significant diaspora was formed since the Soviet era in Israel. Unlike in other countries, the Moldovan diaspora in Israel is dominated not by the Moldovan, but by the Jewish component. Moldovan-Jewish diaspora often plays the role of social networks for the current Moldovan labor migrants.

Germany is the true and real motor of the European Union. It has a powerful economic potential, a huge labor market, and a developed social

¹⁵ Cirlig V., Mosneaga V. Migration Movements between Moldova and the EU: Policies and Numbers. // ICMPD, Research Papers drafted within the framework of the "Building Training and Analytical Capacities on Migration in Moldova and Georgia (GOVAC)" project. Internship to ICMPD, September 2011. - Vienna, OstWest Media, 2012

system. The German direction of the Moldovan labor migration is one of the fastest growing and promising ones. Moreover, there is a migration of Moldovan migrant workers who have obtained Portuguese, Italian, or other citizenship to Germany, where the opportunities for life and employment are greater.

Germany is of particular interest due to the fact that it actually registers two flows of emigrants. The first flow, which started in the Soviet era - the departure of Moldovan residents of German and Jewish descent and members of their families for permanent residence. The second one is the mass labor migration of Moldovan citizens, who often use their relations with former compatriots of German and Jewish descent who previously left for permanent residence in Germany.

Germany as a country of labor migration for Moldovans is only opening. This is explained by the fact that Germany opens its labor market for Romanian citizens (a significant number of Moldovans use Romanian passports for entry and work in the EU countries) only since the early 2010s. This affects the specificity of the formation of Moldovan communities and diaspora in this country and their lesser activity and interest in the Republic of Moldova. It seems that this is determined, among other things, by another model of social assistance to the sick and the elderly¹⁶. This model does not provide for isolating a migrant worker on a "24/24" basis.

Study of the Moldovan diaspora in the UK was included in the final stage of the field research. The interest in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland arose in the context of Brexit, the decision regarding the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union, expressed in a referendum by the majority of population of this country. Under these conditions, the position of the Moldovan community and the emerging diaspora is of interest in the context of the new geopolitical situation of the country, plans and strategies of Moldovan labor migrants in the UK in the conditions of Brexit taking place. It is thought that the study is of interest because it reflects the cutting off the psychological state, moods, and plans of Moldovan citizens who are in the UK and face certain risks and fears.

Methodology of the research. In order to achieve the goal and objectives of mapping the Moldovan diaspora in the six countries studied, we used the principles of system analysis, interdisciplinary research, and a combination of sociological and political methods. Statistical analysis of data in the sphere of migration was supplemented by the collection of primary sociological data and the use of secondary data. Primary data was obtained on

¹⁶ Davydova-Minguet O., Mosneaga V., Pozniak O. Gendered Migration from Moldova and Ukraine to the EU: Who Cares? // Liikanen I., Scott J.W., Sotkasiira T. (eds) *Borders, Migration and Regional Stability in the EU's Eastern Neighbourhood*. - Joensuu, Karelian Institute of the University of Eastern Finland, 2014, p. 225-240

the basis of the application of methods of empirical sociology. Qualitative and quantitative research was done both in the country of origin (the Republic of Moldova) and in six countries of destination of Moldovan migrants (The United Kingdom, Germany, Israel, Italy, Portugal, and Russia).

Quantitative research

Primary sociological data was collected by the method of sociological survey on the basis of a questionnaire. Our questionnaire was developed on the basis of the questionnaires used by Moldovan, Russian, Tajik, and Georgian researchers in the study of the Moldovan diaspora (2012), the Tajik diaspora (2013 and 2014), and the Georgian diaspora (2014).

While using the sociological questionnaire, we were taking into account the experience of a quantitative study by a research group composed of Associate Professor D. Cheianu-Andrei and Professor V. Mukomel.

In 2012, the survey was carried out by applying the method of standardized face-to-face interviews with Moldovan migrants, who were properly instructed and located outside the Republic of Moldova. We used this method to an insignificant degree. In this way, only 50 migrants were interviewed in Russia (the city of Moscow) and 30 migrants in the UK (the city of London).

The main survey method was a standardized face-to-face interview conducted by teachers and students of Moldova State University (city of Chisinau). More than 150 properly instructed persons took part in the survey in Chisinau. The survey was done from the territory of the Republic of Moldova through modern information technologies (Skype, telephone, the Internet, social networks (*Vkontakte*, *Odnoklassniki*, *Facebook*, etc.)). The survey used the “snowball” method.

The research contractor limited us to the quantitative parameters of the study. In Russia and Italy, 100 respondents were to be interviewed, and in Germany, Israel, Britain and Portugal, 30 respondents in each country were to be interviewed. We changed the rules to a minor degree, and, instead of using a quantitative criterion as a dominant one, we introduced another one, namely, time, limiting the period of the study to 2 months. Thus, we identified the countries in which Moldovan migrants were most widely represented among the six respective countries. This indirectly showed the number of questionnaires received as a result of the survey. The example of the United Kingdom in this respect is not indicative, given that the United Kingdom as a country object for the study of the Moldovan diaspora, as we have noted above, was included in the field study at a later stage, in the context of the referendum on Brexit held in June 2016.

In total, we interviewed 538 respondents in 6 countries. It should be noted that in the framework of this project, the colleagues from the left bank

of the Nistru River interviewed 320 respondents using a single questionnaire (common to research teams in Chisinau and Tiraspol)¹⁷.

It should be mentioned that the questionnaire was developed jointly by both teams. Taking into account the specifics of the left bank of the Nistru River, which we mentioned above, it was agreed to introduce an additional block of issues reflecting on these specific aspects in migration abroad.

The number of respondents interviewed in 2016 during our survey (858 Moldovan, including the left bank of the Nistru River respondents) correlates with the results of a quantitative survey conducted in 2012-1002 respondents.

Table 1. Comparative analysis of the quantitative study results (questionnaire survey) in 2012 and 2016

Year of survey	RU	IT	PT	UK	FR	DE	IL	Total
2012	302	400	154	100	106	-	-	1002
2016	307	226	68	63	-	119	75	858
The right bank of the Nistru River	207	126	38	33	-	89	45	538
The left bank of the Nistru River	100	100	30	30	-	30	30	320

Qualitative research. The qualitative research carried out in two formats: individual in-depth interviews with experts and focus groups with migrants. The instructions for conducting in-depth interviews and focus groups were developed on the basis of the relevant documents prepared by the research team in 2012. The qualitative research was carried out from February 2016 to February 2017.

The research contactor limited us to quantitative parameters of qualitative research. It was suggested to hold 2 focus groups in Russia and Italy, and 1 focus group in each of the other countries. In Russia and Italy, it was necessary to conduct 7 individual in-depth interviews; in other countries, we had to conduct 5 interviews. It should be noted that these figures were exceeded for all countries (except for organizing a focus group in Germany, or, more exactly, not organizing it, which was due to the organizational circumstances and passivity of Moldovan migrants in Germany, their reluctance to contact with the research team).

In total, we carried out 50 individual in-depth interviews and 12 focus groups. Our colleagues from the left bank of the Nistru River conducted interviews and focus groups using a single jointly developed toolkit, in

¹⁷ This report presents only the results of the study of the Moldovan diaspora. An analysis of the processes of formation of the diaspora originating from the left bank of the Nistru River is presented in a separate report prepared by the researchers from the left bank.

accordance with the same timeframe, during parallel field studies, which included a visit to the countries surveyed. They conducted 46 individual in-depth interviews and 7 focus groups. This number of events (individual in-depth interviews and focus groups) conducted in the framework of the project in 2016 correlates with the results of the qualitative research of 2012.

Table 2. Comparative analysis of the qualitative study results (individual in-depth interviews and focus groups) in 2012 and 2016

Year of survey	Focus groups	Individual in-depth interviews	Total
2012	25	68	93
2016	19	96	114
The right bank of the Nistru River	12	50	62
The left bank of the Nistru River	6	46	52

Table 3. Distribution of qualitative studies (individual in-depth interviews and focus groups) conducted by the teams of Moldovan researchers from the both banks of the Nistru River in 2016

	MD / TRN	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
<i>Focus-groups</i>								
MD / TRN	- / -	2 / 2	4 / 2	1 / 1	- / -	3 / -	2 / 1	12 / 6
<i>Individual in-depth interviews</i>								
MD / TRN	4 / 7	7 / 12	12 / 8	5 / 2	10 / 7	5 / 6	7 / 4	50 / 46
<i>Employees of state structures</i>								
MD / TRN	3 / 1	1 / -	2 / -	1 / -	1 / -	1 / 2	1 / -	10 / 3
<i>Experts</i>								
MD / TRN	1 / 5	3 / 10	2 / 2	1 / 1	6 / 7	1 / 3	3 / 4	17 / 35
<i>Leaders of diaspora associations</i>								
MD / TRN	- / 1	2 / 1	3 / 1	2 / -	1 / -	2 / -	1 / -	11 / 3
<i>Businessmen</i>								
MD / TRN	- / -	1 / 1	5 / 2	1 / -	2 / 1	1 / 1	2 / -	12 / 5
Total	4 / 7	9 / 14	16 / 10	6 / 3	10 / 7	8 / 6	9 / 5	62 / 52

The focus groups participants in the countries of destination were selected using the “snowball” method with the help of representatives / leaders of the Moldovan diaspora associations. Discussions in focus groups lasted for about 2 hours on average; audio records were made with the permission of focus group participants.

Individual in-depth interviews were carried out with the representatives of the diplomatic and consular structures of the Republic of Moldova abroad, the representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Moldova (the Department of Consular Affairs), the employees of government structures specializing in migration management (the Bureau for Diaspora Relations, the Bureau for Migration and Asylum), the leaders of non-governmental organizations / Moldovan diaspora organizations, the experts (specialists, representatives of the church, scientists who analyze modern migration and researching Moldovan migration, in particular), and the businessmen from among migrants in the Republic of Moldova and the countries of destination. On average, individual in-depth interviews lasted for more than an hour; audio records were made with the permission of participants.

Limitations of the study

The quantitative data collected during the mapping of the Moldovan diaspora in the UK, Germany, Israel, Italy, Portugal, and Russia, bear some limitations related to their representativeness. This is due to the complexities and inadequate evaluation of the total number of Moldovan migrants who are currently abroad. In addition, many focus groups and quantitative surveys (questionnaires) participants were bearers of dual citizenship. That is why they are registered not as Moldovan citizens, but as citizens of the European Union or the Russian Federation in the countries of destination. This fact also introduces certain inconsistencies in statistical data, which affects the representativeness of the study. Nevertheless, the results obtained make it possible to present a general portrait of the Moldovan diaspora abroad, reveal the basic trends of development, outline the main conclusions and recommendations that allow to diagnose the key issues of policies in the sphere of migration and cooperation with the Moldovan diaspora in a fairly objective way.

4. REASONS AND MOTIVES FOR EMIGRATION OF THE MOLDOVAN POPULATION

The formation of the independent Moldovan state was accompanied by the active inclusion of the Republic of Moldova and its population in modern migration processes. This trend continues today, acquiring new features. Experts note that there are various factors of emigration of Moldovan citizens.

In early 1990s of XX century, political /ethno-political and ideological factors conditioned by the process of formation of the Moldovan independent state and consolidation of the national state identity dominated. This process was often accompanied by aggravation of interethnic relations in the country, which resulted in the conflict on the Dniester, ethnic emigration, mass emigration in view of permanent residence abroad, repatriation to historical and ethnic homelands, the emergence of forced migration, and the phenomenon of refugees and internally displaced persons in Moldova. At the same time, these processes were accompanied by the repatriation of ethnic Moldovans from other republics and regions of the disintegrated Soviet Union.

Simultaneously, under the conditions of the economic crisis caused by the collapse of the single economic space and the emergence of the market economy, the actions and economic factors of migration begin to manifest themselves. However, it was initial international commercial migration of the "shuttle" type. It began in early 1990s of XX century, affecting the population of both banks of the Dniester river. At least 300 000 persons were involved in commercial migration, circulating in search of goods and economic benefits between the Republic of Moldova and Turkey, Poland, Russia, Romania, and Germany. They brought any goods that could be sold at a more expensive price, starting from needles, leather gloves, or meat grinders to second-hand cars to and from Moldova. It practically came to naught, unable to withstand competition with large and medium businesses and facing price leveling for similar products in the region since the second half of the 1990s of XX century¹⁸.

From the second half of the 1990s, it began to be supplemented and replaced by international labor migration, which, after the regional financial and economic crisis of 1999, became massive. Since that time, this trend has become dominant. Other forms of migration lose their significance compared to international labor migration.

Labor migration of the Moldovan population abroad was growing,

¹⁸ Евдокимова Л. Коммерческая миграция населения Республики Молдова: основные этапы и их характеристика. // Мошняга В. (коорд.) Население Молдовы и трудовая миграция: состояние и современные формы.– Кишинэу, CAPTES, 2000, сс.65-83 (Evdokimova L. Commercial migration of the population of the Republic of Moldova: main stages and their characteristics.//Mosneaga V. (coord.). Population of Moldova and labor migration: state and modern forms.- Chisinau, CAPTES, 2000, pp. 65-83

involving population from all the regions of the country, of all its age, sex, and ethnic groups. At the same time, the Moldovan population was travelling to work not only to the traditionally familiar regions and countries of the post-Soviet area, mainly Russia and Ukraine, but also started familiarizing with the countries of the European Union, Turkey, Israel, the USA, and Canada, preferring the European Mediterranean countries (Italy, Spain, Greece, Portugal, France, etc.). Since the second half of the 2000s, especially in the 2010s, Moldovan migrants started to go beyond the "Latin world", the tendency towards the language proximity, when choosing the country of labor migration, and successfully "explored" Ireland, the United Kingdom, and Germany.

However, we would like to mention that, although the reasons for leaving for foreign countries were economic, Moldovan migrants were not guided by a blind choice of the country of labor migration or a coincidence of circumstances, as it was often the case at the initial stage of "exploring" the countries of Western Europe. Their choice was most often thoroughly considered, caused by the presence of developed social networks, relatives, and friends in the country of migration who could provide information, financial and psychological assistance during the initial adaptation of the migrant, and assist in employment. At the same time, we have to emphasize the role of the language factor in the case of the countries of the Latin world (Portugal, Italy, Spain, France, Switzerland, Belgium, Luxembourg, etc.). It should also be mentioned that the gradual (since the early 2000s) reorientation of Moldovan labor migrants to the countries of the European Union was also due to the migrant-oriented inclusive / integration policies of the European Union and the need for labor force.

Talking about labor migration to the CIS countries and, first of all, to Russia and Ukraine, the situation was much easier and simpler. This was conditioned by cultural and religious affinity, their common historical past, a good knowledge of the Russian language, and the presence of ramified family and interpersonal relationships. Besides, these countries had an enormous labor market, the need for labor, and offered higher salaries than in the Republic of Moldova.

"The reasons for migration of Moldovan citizens to Russia are quite obvious. As in other countries in the post-Soviet space, these are unemployment and economic collapse. In Russia, which anyhow has energy resources, there is a massive construction business, a construction boom, and there are other areas of economy, which are not affected by the crisis. Naturally, it contributes to a sufficiently massive migration of the Moldovan population to Russia, and the population of other countries, too... Russia is attractive. On the one hand, it is due to a purely geographical factor. The second factor is cultural closeness. The third factor is related to cultural affinity: many representatives of the older generation can speak Russian. It

offers sufficiently large possibilities of adaptation. That is, Russia has been a priority so far". (1.04).

Characterizing the actual trends and reasons for Moldovan international migration, we should mention that the economic factor still remains relevant and important. Although an aspiration to solve financial problems and provide material well-being served as the basis for labor migration, the present-day economic motivation of Moldovan labor migrants becomes more complicated. In-depth interviews with the experts and Moldovan labor migrants show that the family's difficult financial situation, lack of job and job places, earnings sufficient for normal existence / living, the need to solve various social and domestic problems related to food, living, treatment, school and higher education institutions, purchasing an apartment or constructing a house, purchasing a car and durable goods retain their importance; they still remain the dominant cause. Labor emigration is regarded by people as the only way out, an opportunity to change their lives for the better. *"This is a high level of unemployment; liquidation of schools in rural areas. Teachers from small schools lost their jobs; they were left outside the education system. Since their husbands, brothers, and fathers went to work to Russia or Western Europe, they need to look for new opportunities for earning their living, existence. Children or elderly parents were the ones who stayed in their home country. These are the reasons why Moldovan migrants appeared in the State of Israel. The money they earn here is transferred to the Republic of Moldova, and these are large sums for the country" (5.02).*

At the same time, in recent years the number of migrant workers has increased: they had a job in the Republic of Moldova, normal housing, they were paid a good salary (according to Moldovan standards), which allows their family not to be poor. These people have become labor migrants not so much, because they have nothing to eat or nowhere to work. The decisive reason was the desire to get a higher salary, earn more than they could have at home for the same work, in order to solve their existing financial problems or improve their current financial situation in this way.

This shows that the Moldovan labor force is becoming increasingly "capricious". In the context of globalization, it begins to think not only of its own country's categories, its own labor market and wages, but starts comparing the socio-economic situation, parameters, and living standards at home and abroad. It makes a choice in favor of more profitable jobs, more acceptable and human conditions of work and life, a more human and civilized attitude towards a person, worker, and citizen in the receiving country.

As the practice of sociological surveys shows, there is the third, the least numerous, category of citizens among labor migrants who are involved in labor migration for other reasons. They do not consider earning, improving their financial situation or the financial situation of their family as

crucial, essential, or necessary factors for the simple reason that they already have it all.

Most often, these are young people from well-off families. The main factor that pushes them into migration is their desire to test themselves in labor activity abroad, be along with everyone, and see the world while earning some money, or solve other problems related to studying, going in for sports, etc. The other reasons include the desire to be close to families and friends, an intention to change the environment, forget about family tragedies and dramas they have experienced, or follow the fashion and be independent of their parents.

At the same time, parents themselves follow the fashion for labor migration and push their children to emigrate and get involved in labor migration. An expert in Italy, recalling his own experience of migration, mentions that migration often acts as a fashionable trend, and being included in it gives the participants additional winning dividends. *"Mom encouraged us to migrate, saying that all young people from the village had already left to earn money". (2.12).*

Furthermore, since the late 2000s, the effect of this factor has been reinforced by the constant political instability. Moldovan politics acts as one of the repulsive factors forcing Moldovan citizens to travel in search of a better life and existence abroad. Often, this reason also prevents them from returning. One of the migrants in the focus group frankly said, *"I would have returned if there was not that politics". (2.13).*

Simultaneously, we should list a number of other factors that influence migration processes in the Republic of Moldova. Experts point out other reasons related to adaptation and integration of Moldovan migrants abroad. People passed through the period of integration, which was initially difficult for all the migrants. For someone, it was easier, for someone, it was more difficult, harder, or more painful. In any case, it was not an easy process; it required significant physical and mental strength and energy. People got used to it; they have grown accustomed to a new way of life in the country of reception. They were helped by their relatives and friends. At the same time, they have become unaccustomed to the Moldovan reality. Moldovan realities, according to the polls, are becoming less clear to them than the situation in the new country, the country of their immigration, work, and residence. People are often not ready to re-socialize in Moldova, discover and comprehend the "old new" Moldovan reality, and spending their mental energy and physical strength for that purpose.

Moreover, people are beginning to realize that this solution is often not economically profitable. The only positive dividend from returning to their homeland, Moldova, is connected with overcoming nostalgia. Still, people note that, upon returning, they face nostalgia for the country they migrated to

and which became their new home, a source of financial prosperity and much greater stability than Moldova. People are beginning to realize the duality of their identity when they are torn between their homeland and home, their country of origin and their host country.

It should be noted that there are some other reasons associated with the consolidation of democratic values in Moldovan society. We are talking about greater openness of Moldovan society towards the world, expanding opportunities for free traveling outside the country (based on the legally recognized dual citizenship, through the Romanian / Bulgarian / Russian passport, visa-free regime on the basis of the Moldovan biometric passport), the growing mobility of people, overcoming the psychology of social dependency (particularly by young and middle-aged people), new traits and characteristics rooted in the minds and behavior of migrants: eagerness to risk, self-reliance instead of relying on the state paternalism which has demonstrated its utter inconsistency in modern Moldovan conditions. The state has turned out to be unable to provide an effective solution to the vital problems of life of its people.

A new trend in the Moldovan labor migration is its reorientation to labor emigration. Earlier, this trend also occurred (the increase in the length of staying abroad to earn money, including for more than a year, obtaining bank credits and loans, purchasing real estate (houses / apartments) in the country of destination, and reunification of grown-up and able-bodied family members in the country of labor migration: "together with my wife and son, we will earn more"). However, it was less noticeable and understood by labor migrants themselves: there was no refusal from the idea of going back home, their return was postponed to medium-term, uncertain, or even long-term perspectives.

Since the late 2000s, this reorientation has become a reality. This is evidenced by the reintegration of families, movement of family members unable to work (children and parents of migrants, pensioners) to the country of emigration. *"Let us talk about family reunification and taking children abroad. There are very intensive processes of adaptation and integration of Moldovan migrants in the host countries, which lead to the second cycle: the final migration of Moldovan citizens outside the country. We are witnessing the second phase of migration now – the final migration, when family reunification takes place. That is, children leave in order to join their parents who live and work abroad... Old-age pensioners started leaving intensively. Departure of people of retirement age is the same integration of families. Elderly people are taken to their families by their children, because here, in Moldova, they (the young and the old ones) do not have any closest relatives left who could take care of their aged parents. The statistics on this category of migrants is not so evident yet. But I know that the number of persons of*

retirement age who have gone abroad has increased 8 times over the last 5-6 years". (0.02).

Movement of children to the country where their migrant parents are is one of the key constraints to returning to their homeland. The problem of education and future of children, their desire/unwillingness to return to Moldova, which is the homeland of their parents, grandfathers, and grandmothers, but not their own country, very often determines further migration and life strategies of our compatriots, labor migrants. *"That is, living here with a child from the very start almost unmistakably characterizes those who initially focus on long-term stay here, on obtaining Russian citizenship. Otherwise, it would be difficult to live here. Those who are currently deciding to take their child with them in labor migration, at least in the actual economic conditions, are those who are oriented toward a long-term stay. Yes, it's a sort of a marker". (1.03).*

We would also like to emphasize the above-mentioned factor of low societal competition of the Republic of Moldova in comparison with the countries where Moldovan labor migrants go. Moldovan migrants, having acquired the legal status of stay and employment in the countries of destination, have a chance to really feel the attractiveness of the integration policies of the receiving countries. Besides, we have to mention that the attractiveness of Western policies for the employment of skilled migrants is of particular importance.

This message oriented to young and skilled people has a multifaceted effect: it has both a direct impact on skilled workers and an indirect impact on unskilled ones who articulate their aspirations, copying and aggregating the strategies and plans of a more professional, educated, and advanced part of Moldovan society.

At the same time, experts note that, in addition to the complexity of economic reasons for labor migration, there is a sophistication of non-economic motives for labor migration. A Russian expert draws attention to these aspects: *"There are two basic reasons for migration. The first one is an opportunity to earn money in Russia, because wages in Russia are several times higher than in Moldova. The second one is the lack of offers in Moldova itself. But, as a rule, this is just a part of what lies on the surface and what dominates. Moldovans who, for example, come to Russia also have secondary reasons for immigration – from avoiding military service to finding a partner, creating a family, etc. There is a very specific group of women: they are widows or divorced women with children, typically from the countryside, where they are stigmatized in a certain sense, and they are least likely to return to Moldova. In addition, there are people who have plans associated with obtaining qualifications or education. These are mostly young people. But earnings certainly dominate; the vast majority of migrants (90 %) indicate*

that this is the main reason for migration. Moreover, everything depends on what kind of migration we are talking about. I mean, first of all, labor migrants, the overwhelming majority. Among the migrants, there are also people who move to a permanent place of residence in Russia" (1.02).

Experts note that there have been other changes in the recent years. *"These changes are more optimistic when compared to the second half of the 1990s, when the first wave of labor migration abroad occurred. In those times, people went abroad to earn a decent salary. The need forced people to leave illegally, stay in the countries of destination illegally, and work illegally. This often had negative, sometimes even tragic, consequences for migrants. Today, the opportunities to emigrate in search of earnings are measured by a completely different level. Besides, the number of young people who move abroad to improve or get a better general or special education is growing. Another crucial element is the fact that many migrants, who left earlier, in previous years, while staying in a specific social environment, demonstrate a very high motivation to receive their education – bachelor, master, or doctoral studies". (0.01).*

A German expert believes that Moldovan migration, in comparison with migration from other post-Soviet countries, has a certain additional specificity due to the existence of a visa-free regime and the massive legal use of Romanian passports: *"The main reasons for migration, as I've said, are economic and educational ones. I would not mention any particular specifics of the Moldovan migration. One could say that using Romanian passports and a visa-free regime is a peculiarity. That may be true. But there is a visa-free regime for other countries, say, in the Balkans. For Moldovans, this is specific if we compare them with the other post-Soviet countries. It is possible that the phenomenon of such a large number of Moldovan citizens who are legally citizens of the EU state, which gives them the right to live and work there on a permanent basis, is also quite specific. Probably this fact should be regarded as a specific one. This is Moldovan specificity" (3.04).*

Among the new trends of the Moldovan migration abroad, traveling for educational purposes should be mentioned. Going abroad to study for the purpose of obtaining education at the universities of the EU, Russia, and the United States has become massive since the second half of the 2000s. While we admit the unquestionable importance and value of these phenomena and processes, we consider that this desire to obtain Western university education should not be overestimated. Studies show that, for most young people and their parents, educational migration is associated not so much with their desire to obtain a more prestigious and quality education than with the broad prospects it opens for better employment abroad or at home.

How many Moldovan migrants are abroad? Where do they live? Experts testify that *"their estimates of the number of Moldovan migrants abroad are*

subjective. This is due to insufficiently adequate methods of verifying the data on the number of migrants. More advanced tools are needed to get a more accurate figure. Mass media operates with figures from 600 thousand to 1 million people. Currently, we proceed from the data provided by the National Bureau of Statistics. Again, fairly estimated, it shows 300.000-370.000 citizens who went abroad. 109.000 of them left temporarily, for seasonal work. That is, these people are involved in circular migration". (Expert 0.01).

Our survey shows that the Moldovan community abroad, the Moldovan diaspora includes people who left Moldova at different times. In Russia, Germany, and Israel Moldovan migrants who left during the Soviet era are registered. This is linked to the internal migration of the population, including the natives of Moldova, within the USSR as a single country. In Soviet times, emigration from Moldova abroad, in particular to Germany and Israel, was mainly due to the departure for permanent residence of those natives of the republic who were of Jewish and German descent, as well as their relatives and family members. *"Currently, this reason plays a smaller role in Moldovan immigration to Germany. The reason is that the absolute majority of Germans and Jews from the Republic of Moldova have already fulfilled their emigration strategies and plans. This ethnic component has disappeared in the Moldovan territories"* (3.03). This is the first factor.

Secondly, the analysis demonstrates that the process of migration from Moldova is characterized by expansion and intensification. It becomes massive from the second half of the 1990s. In 1997-2002, for various reasons, 8.6 % of all migrants emigrated from Moldova to the countries in question for various reasons; these numbers of emigrants subsequently increase. In 2003-2008 the figure was 20.7 %; in 2009-2014- 49.1 %. In the last two years (2015-2016), 18.5 % left, which indicates that, if the same trend continues, not only the statistics for 2003-2008, but also those for 2009-2014 will be surpassed.

Thirdly, migration to the researched countries is evolving in different ways and has its own specific traits. Some countries, which started as leaders in the formation of Moldovan communities, lose their position and become outsiders, giving way to the other countries.

Immigration to Russia, Italy, and Portugal is the most long-lasting and massive one. It becomes a large-scale phenomenon from the second half of the 1990s. At the same time, the modern Moldovan diaspora in Portugal is older than that in the other leading countries, such as Russia and Italy. The first two six-year terms (1997-2002 and 2003-2008) are characterized by Portugal's dominance among all the six countries. The third six-year term is characterized by a decrease in the attractiveness of this country. It is bypassed by Russia and Italy in this triad. In this case, we note that Italy, losing to Portugal and Russia in the first period, came in second in the second period, retaining this result in the third period. However, in this forward group, the leader was Russia, which

pushed Portugal from the first to the third place. In the past two years, Portugal has been losing momentum in the formation of the diaspora. It is the only one of the six countries studied, which demonstrates single-digit figures while all the others show double-digit figures. At the same time, Germany as the leader demonstrates the increase, which is 4 times higher than Portugal shows as the outsider.

Another three of the studied countries (The United Kingdom, Israel, and Germany) became attractive for Moldovan migrants later: the United Kingdom and Israel in 2003-2008, and Germany in 2009-2014. At the same time, in 2003-2008, The United Kingdom and Israel bypass Russia in formation of the Moldovan communities, taking the second and the fourth places after Portugal (the first place) and Italy (the third place).

The third period (2009-2014) and the last two years (2015-2016) are characterized by the unconditional domination of Germany. The growth of its Moldovan community is 86 %, whereas these figures are much more modest in other countries: The United Kingdom – 73 %; Russia – 65 %; Israel – 64 %; Italy – 63 %; Portugal – 50 %.

Table 4. Time of arrival to the country of destination

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Before the breakup of the USSR	0.97%				6.67%		0.93%
1992-1996	1.94%			2.27%			1.12%
1997-2002	12.56%	9.60%	13.16%	1.14%	4.44%	-	8.58%
2003-2008	19.32%	27.20%	36.84%	5.68%	20.00%	27.27%	20.71%
2009-2014	49.76%	48.80%	42.11%	55.68%	37.78%	51.52%	49.07%
2015-2016	15.46%	14.40%	7.89%	30.68%	26.67%	21.21%	18.47%

Was the current host country of Moldovan migrants the desired country of their emigration? The information from Table 5 is eloquent enough.

Table 5. Desired country of destination

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Yes	89.9%	88.1%	100.0%	91.0%	86.7%	81.8%	89.6%
No	10.1%	11.1%	0%	6.7%	13.3%	18.2%	9.9%
No answer	0%	0.8%	0%	2.2%	0%	0%	0.6%

The absolute majority of Moldovan migrants chose a certain country of emigration exactly as the desired country of destination. This is indicated by more than 80 % of respondents. Migrants in Portugal unequivocally (100 %) called it the desired goal of emigration. It is followed by Germany (91 %), Russia (90 %), Italy (88 %), Israel (87 %), and the United Kingdom (82 %). The absolute figure for Portugal is explained by the fact that the country is on the opposite side of Europe. This is the edge of the earth, limited only by the ocean. Going to Portugal across the entire Europe means that a person makes this choice very informed.

However, not every tenth respondent considers the country of destination a desirable country. The largest percentage of respondents who do not consider the country of residence to be the desired country of immigration is in the UK (18 %). We believe that this is the follow up of Brexit and the state of uncertainty that arose among Moldovan migrants based on its results. In this category, it is followed by Israel (13 %), Italy (11 %), Russia (10 %), and Germany (approximately 7 %).

The key reasons for the current migration of Moldovan citizens abroad are the following: economic (the desire to earn money), educational (to get an internationally recognized education that will ensure successful employment in the specialty and decent / sufficient earnings), political (to get political asylum following the infringement of political, racial, religious, sexual, and other human rights), and reasons related to the solution of humanitarian problems (family reunification, treatment, etc.).

Our survey shows that the main reasons for emigration of the Moldovan population are economic (work), educational, and humanitarian (family reunification). Still, the dominant role is played by economic reasons. Among them, economic motives are the most important ones.

For instance, if we consider the entire sampling, the share of economic reasons in the overall structure of emigration reasons is about 80 %. It should be noted, however, that, if we speak of the reason formulated as “the family has taken this decision” (which accounts for approximately 7 %), the economic aspect is also significant. “Studies” as the reason account for 9 %, while “family reunification” is a reason for about 7 %.

If we consider the structure and the quantitative distribution in the structure of the reasons in the six researched countries, then it should be mentioned that the UK stands out, where the educational reason is typical for almost every fifth respondent in the UK, and every fourth respondent was guided in the process of emigration by the reason of “family reunification” (25.8 %). As to directly economic motives as the impetus for emigration, they account for only a half of the respondents (about 55 %).

Economic reasons were important to people who migrated to Russia – 80 %, Italy – 78 %, Israel – 77 %, Germany – 76 %, and Portugal – 74 %. At the

same time, we have to note that the reason formulated as “the family has taken this decision”, which also implies the economic context, is more significant for Russia – more than 10 %, Israel – more than 9 %, and Portugal – 8 %. In Italy, it accounts for 4 %, in Germany, for slightly more than 3 %; in the UK, it was not actually recorded (0 %).

Educational reasons (“studies”) are, as already mentioned above, inherent to Moldovan migrants in the UK (over 19 %), Germany (14 %), and Italy (slightly more than 11 %). Other countries surveyed in this regard are less significant.

Humanitarian reasons (“family reunification”) are most often characteristic to migrants in the UK and Portugal, accounting for 26 % and 14 %, respectively. In other countries, this reason is registered to a lesser extent. In Germany, about 7 % have mentioned it, in Italy, slightly more than 6 %, in Russia, about 4 %, and in Israel, it is almost not mentioned (0 %).

Table 6. Main reasons for the emigration of Moldovan citizens abroad

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Studies	5.9%	11.2%	5.4%	13.8%	4.7%	19.4%	9.1%
Job was offered (found)	45.8%	26.4%	45.9%	43.7%	39.5%	35.5%	39.7%
Intention to find a new job	34.0%	52.0%	27.0%	32.2%	46.5%	19.4%	37.6%
Decision taken by the family	10.3%	4.0%	8.1%	3.4%	9.3%	0%	6.8%
Family reunification	3.9%	6.4%	13.5%	6.9%	0%	25.8%	6.7%

Going abroad involves certain preparation for migrants; in particular, this applies to studying the language, relevant professional training¹⁹, and contacts with people they know (relatives, friends) who are there, who could give them a piece of advice, assist, and help them at first.

¹⁹ Mosneaga V., Moraru V., Turcan V., Rusnac Gh. Fetetele unui proces: migratia fortei de munca din Republica Moldova in Italia. - Chisinau, Editerra Prim, 2011; Морару В., Мошняга В., Руснак Г. Маятник миграции. - Кишинэу: Tipografia-Sirius, 2012 (Mosneaga V., Moraru V., Turcan V., Rusnac Gh. Faces of a process: labor migration from the Republic of Moldova in Italy. - Chisinau, Editerra Prim, 2011; Moraru V., Mosneaga V., Rusnac Gh. Migration Pendulum. - Chisinau: Tipografia-Sirius, 2012); Mosneaga V. Migrant support measures from an employment and skills perspective (MISMES). Republic of Moldova. - Torino, European Training Foundation, 2015, [http://www.etf.europa.eu/webatt.nsf/0/74448D14C3CF2E3CC1257E9A002CABBE/\\$file/MISMES%20Moldova.pdf](http://www.etf.europa.eu/webatt.nsf/0/74448D14C3CF2E3CC1257E9A002CABBE/$file/MISMES%20Moldova.pdf)

Table 7. Respondents' contacts prior to arrival to the country of destination

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Yes	77.8%	73.8%	64.9%	67.4%	48.9%	57.6%	70.6%
No	22.2%	26.2%	35.1%	32.6%	48.9%	42.4%	29.2%
No answer	0%	0%	0%	0%	2.2%	0%	0.2%

The sociological poll reveals that most respondents were preparing for immigration to the chosen country and had contacts in the future country of destination. Over the entire sampling, this is indicated by more than 70 % of respondents. Nevertheless, this indicator varies in different countries. In Russia, this is indicated by 78 %, in Italy, by 74 %, in Germany by 67 %, and in Portugal by 65 % (actually, by two out of three persons interviewed).. These figures are much lower in the United Kingdom and Israel, i.e. 58 % and 49 %, respectively (thus, every second respondent). It should be noted that such high rates in Russia and Italy are explained by the influence of the Moldovan communities that have been existing in these countries for a long time and are quite large. The other countries are less able to help in this regard because the United Kingdom and Germany were “discovered” by migrants later, the diaspora in Portugal is less numerous, and labor migration to Israel has its own specific traits (employment through intermediary companies: immigration is organized and involves entire groups of people). By the way, this fact explains the leadership of Israel in the absence of any contact for a migrant could contact in the receiving country.

Table 8. Contacts before arrival to the country of destination

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
No one	23.7%	29.4%	36.8%	33.7%	53.3%	39.4%	31.0%
Family	10.6%	17.5%	15.8%	6.7%	2.2%	21.2%	11.9%
Relatives	29.9%	34.1%	13.2%	27.0%	24.4%	51.5%	28.1%
Friends	22.2%	14.3%	26.3%	28.1%	20.0%	15.2%	21.2%
Colleagues / fellow students	3.9%	2.4%	2.6%	1.1%	0%	0%	2.4%
Acquaintances	8.7%	1.6%	0%	1.1%	0%	0%	3.9%
No answer	1.0%	0.8%	5.3%	0%	0%	0%	0.9%

In the country of destination before arrival, Moldovan migrants most often were mentioning contacts with their relatives (28 %), friends (21 %), members of their families (12 %), in other words, with close persons whose opinions they trust, value, and can be guided by.

From a country perspective, the situation is as follows. Moldovan migrants received the information on the UK from their relatives (52 % – the highest rating among the countries), family members (21 % – also the highest one), and friends – 15 % (the 5th indicator). Colleagues or fellow students and acquaintances are not listed as a source of information.

The role of families in informing migrants is the most significant in Italy (18 %), Portugal (16 %), and Russia (11 %). Germany and Israel are weaker registered in this respect. Their indicators are, respectively, 7 % and 2 %.

The role of relatives, the “large family”, is greater. After the United Kingdom, it is highest in Italy (34 %), Russia (30 %), Germany (27 %), and Israel (24 %). In Portugal, it is indicated only by every eighth respondent (13 %).

The role of friends in informing a migrant is more visible in Germany (28 %), Portugal (26 %), Russia (22 %), and Israel (20 %). The United Kingdom and Italy close this list, accumulating, respectively, 15 % and 14 %.

As to colleagues, fellow students, or acquaintances, they played a much lesser role as a source of contacts and information about the future country of destination. Only slightly more than 6 % of the interviewed persons mention them. This is typical of all the countries. The exception is Russia, where this category of persons accounts for more than 12 %.

Almost every third respondent notes that he had no contacts with anyone in the country of destination. In short, such persons emigrated at their own risk, not knowing what awaits them in the country of destination. In the UK, this is indicated by almost 40 % of respondents (the second indicator). The first place is held by Israel (53 % or every second respondent). It is followed by Portugal (37 %), Germany (34 % or every third respondent), and Italy (29 %). The lowest number of such individuals is recorded in Russia (24 %, that is, every fifth respondent). This situation is typical of Russia due to the presence of traditional connections (relatives, acquaintances, and colleagues) living there since the Soviet times.

Such a high rate of persons who had no contacts with anyone in the country of destination indicates that many respondents have been discovering the host countries, in many ways risking and going to the unknown. This was characteristic for the initial, earlier stage of development of the international migration space. Today, the share of such persons in the overall Moldovan migration mass is much smaller. Accordingly, the risks associated with the movement towards the unknown have also become significantly less.

5. MOLDOVAN COMMUNITIES IN THE STUDIED COUNTRIES

What do Moldovan communities in the 6 researched countries represent?

As we noted above, the reasons for Moldovan migration to the studied countries are broadly similar: the socio-economic situation in the country of origin, the reunification of families, granting of a permanent residence permit and the citizenship of the host country, enrollment in educational institutions and subsequent employment, linguistic proximity, social networks by means of which the migrant adapts in various spheres of a new society for him, the migration policies of the host country, including in the field of employment and integration.

RUSSIA

The motives for choosing Russia as a country of emigration are as follows. Since the transformation of the Republic of Moldova into an independent and sovereign state, the Russian Federation was the number one country according to the number of Moldovan citizens who preferred to arrive here to work. Among the main motives for emigration to Russia, we should point out: knowledge of spoken Russian, a visa-free regime within the CIS (since 1992), the minimum package of documents requested at entry to the country, the possibility of illegal employment at the labor market.

“How many Moldovan citizens are in Russia right now?”... judging by the Central Bank data on the registration of foreign citizens and stateless persons, There were about 490 thousand of Moldovans were in Russia at the beginning of February 2016. But we must understand that this group includes those who travel to Russia by transit. Thus, those who come just for a week or two, tourists, etc. If to speak about those who come here to earn money or are here for earning, I think their number now varies around 400 thousand. This was slightly less than a year ago. A year ago, they were almost 570 thousand, more precisely 568 thousand persons. These are those who are on the territory of Russia. Namely, based on this, we can conclude that the masses of labor migrants decreased in about 10%. It is clear that the worsening of the economic situation in Russia has played its role. But the changes in rules on registration also took part, as well as obtaining documents that permit to work legally also played a role. This aspect might have its impact, too. “I would assess those who stay in Russia for three or more months, who are clearly labor migrants, or those who have a certain status - the very same permit for temporary residence, residence permits, etc.” (1.02).

As noted by the expert in Russia: “according to the statistics of the

Federal Migration Service (FMS, which today changed the title as a result of the institutional restructuring and transition to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation), there were about half a million Moldovan migrants in Russia on 4 March 2016. About 2/3 of them are men and 1/3 are women. The absolute majority of Moldovan labor migrants are persons of working age. The greater part of them are persons at the age of 18-40 years”.

Table 9. Number of Moldovan migrants in the Russian Federation (gender-age aspects), persons

Gender	Under 17 years	18-29 years	30-39 years	40-49 years old	50-59 years	Older than 60 years	Total
Male	24095	120446	81408	54019	29585	5764	315307
Female	18531	52652	38405	32481	22164	8371	172604

The vast majority of Moldovan citizens are in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Moscow and Leningrad Regions. In fact, they work throughout the country. “But the vast majority is in central Russia and in these two regions (1.01). In St. Petersburg, I think, there will be about 60-80 thousand Moldovan migrants. Together with the Leningrad region, their number will be in the range of 100-120 thousand persons” (1.04).

Employment according to the education, profession, obtained at home, is an exception to the rules. *“Absolute exception. Usually arriving in Russia, they change their fields of activity and occupation. There are areas of activity that are not available to them by definition. For example, the employment in the field of the very same public service. If he or she worked in Moldova for the state or municipal service, in Russia this kind of employment is unavailable for a Moldovan migrant worker. Just the same is relevant for the law protection activity and any related activity. Many Moldovans, who work in Russia, were engaged in agriculture at home, in Moldova. But in Russia they are not engaged in agriculture. Or very few of them, a very small percentage, do it.*

There is nearly no Moldovans who worked previously in the health or education sector, and continue to work in these sectors in Russia. Only a few of them manage to do that. They come here to earn money and, accordingly, they move to those areas of employment where it is possible. The easiest way for men to earn is in construction. For women such a way is commercial activity, services sector. But the main area of activity today is retail trade. Areas of activity for men are: construction, transport, services sector (drivers, loaders, security guards, watchmen, etc.); for women these areas are: construction, the services sector and trade, provision of domestic services (taking care of the children, sick and elderly people). People are mostly engaged in unskilled labor” (1.01).

Another Russian expert, highlighting other factors of Moldovan labor migration in Russia, underlines the same idea: *"There is one more thing... Approximately at least half of the migrants who worked before coming to Russia at home, because some of the young people have no professional experience. So, those who had working experience in Moldova, coming to Russia, occupy workspaces that do not require any qualification at all. Namely, according to the International classification, they fall into the lowest group of unskilled workers. A greater part of such unskilled workers is persons with higher education. Predominantly the first time after their arrival, they are engaged in unskilled labor"* (1.02).

Speaking about the trends in Moldovan migration to Russia, experts note that it is growing, in particular after the launch of the program for acquiring the citizenship of the Russian Federation by persons who know the Russian language. Our compatriots adapt and integrate easily enough. This is due to the following reasons: knowledge of the Russian language, a common religion (Orthodox Christianity), common national holidays, common traditions, similar school and university educational programs, etc.

At the same time, among the main problems faced by Moldovan citizens in Russia today, one should mention documenting in the host country, employment, legalization of those migrants who got on the "black list" following the violations of Russian migration legislation.

Experts highlight that the Moldovan communities in Russia do not act as a unified whole. The reasons for this lie both in the non-integration of modern Moldovan society, which migrants bring with them to the host countries and identify themselves as representatives of the Moldovan, Gagauzian, Transnistrian diaspora, who do not contact with each other, although they have common problems. At the same time, experts note: *"there is another division in the Moldovan diaspora, which does not exist in other post-Soviet diasporas - the division into those who run the business and all others"* (1.01).

ITALY

Labor migration is also the main reason for the Moldovan migration to Italy. The Moldovan labor migration begins to acquire a massive character from the second half of the 90's of the 20th century. Moldovans began to come to this country for various reasons: Moldovans followed to Italy by their relatives - Romanian citizens. Similarly, Moldovan labor migrants had (through family ties) influence on the choice of Italy as a country of labor migration for labor migrants from Ukraine, primarily from Chernivtsi and Odessa regions.

It should be noted that the migration of Romanian, Moldovan and Ukrainian labor migrants to this Mediterranean country was influenced by Italy's need in labor force. And, by virtue of this, it provided migrants with

various kinds of preferences. An important role was played by the linguistic proximity of the Italian and Romanian languages, which facilitated the process of adaptation and integration of Moldovan migrants into the Italian society. In addition, it should be noted the inclusive migration policy of Italy, which has made real efforts in cooperation with the Republic of Moldova in the field of labor migration since the beginning of the 2000s.

More than 150,000 citizens, who had a residence permit, were located in Italy, the second country according the number of Moldovan labor migrants, in 2016, on the basis of official data of the Ministry of Labor of Italy. In fact, there are significantly more of them, as many of them are in Italy either illegally or on the basis of Romanian, Bulgarian passports or passports of any other EU countries. The experts note, however, that under the visa-free regime with the EU, many Moldovan citizens who entered into Italy on the basis of a biometric passport “forget” to leave within the prescribed time and continue to stay and work in Italy illegally. But it should be noted that not all holders of the Moldovan biometric passport are that forgetful. Many of them enter the EU-set for a period up to three months, but are illegally employed, replacing their compatriots during their vacation or treatment in Moldova.

In addition, it should be noted that since mid-2010, the process of acquiring Italian citizenship by Moldovan migrants has begun, through both naturalization and marriage with Italian citizens. In general, this is already a significant figure, amounting to 15-17 thousand persons.

Given these factors, the number of Moldovan citizens (including those having the EU passports), who are the labor migrants in Italy, according to expert estimates, is approaching 240 thousand persons. Thus, there have been clear that there is a growing trend for the number of Moldovan migrants in Italy until 2014. However, the economic crisis that affected Italy in the late 2000s and mid-2010 has changed the trend. This is a consequence of both the economic and migration crises in the EU, accompanied by a tightening of migration policy, including in Italy, and with the acquiring of Italian citizenship.

Women predominate in the gender structure of Moldovan migrants in Italy. They make up to 2/3 of all Moldovan labor migrants in the Republic of Italy. All age and gender groups of the Moldovan population are represented in Italy. However, migrants of working age prevail, in the range of 24-49 years. Among the Moldovan migrants more than 30 thousand are children, minors. At the same time, Italian statistics show that more than 10,000 mixed families have been registered among the Moldovans. Marriages are concluded both with Italian citizens, citizens of other EU countries, and with citizens of third countries that are not EU countries.

Moldovan migrant workers are located in all areas of Italy. However, they are located unevenly: 51.5 % are located in the northeast, 23.6 %, are in in the north-west, 21 % are in the central area, 3.6 % are in the south, and 0.4 % are

located on the islands. Among the most attractive areas are Venice (28.3 %), Emilia-Romagna (18.7 %), Lombardy (14.2 %), Lazio (10.6 %), and Piedmont (8.2 %).

Moldovans in Italy are engaged in services (especially home services and taking care of the sick and the elderly people) - 2/3, in industry and construction - 22.1 %, in fisheries and agriculture - 5.2 %. A small share of persons are employed in the business sphere. Moldovans, in the overwhelming majority, are engaged in the sphere of home services, care of the sick and the elderly people, in the sphere of hotel business. Men are engaged in construction, transport, fishing and agriculture.

At the same time, there is a process of diversification of the activity spheres, which is conditioned by the fact that the number of Moldovans who received education in Italy is growing. Many Moldovan citizens (in the context of the Italian authorities' policy of recognition of qualifications and diplomas of migrants) managed to convalidate their diplomas, to find employment in accordance with the received qualifications in various spheres of Italian society. Unfortunately, a significant part of the Moldovan migrant workers do not know that Italy recognizes the Moldovan qualifications, and for this there is no need to convalidate them. *"The recognition process applies only to the diplomas of higher education"* (2.01).

As the experts note, the Moldovan communities and the diaspora in Italy do not act as a unified whole. If in Russia, the diaspora is divided into 3 non-contacting diasporas, in Italy the disengagement goes to the pro-Romanian and pro-Moldovan diaspora. In both cases, the basis for such a disengagement is the geopolitical choice exercised by the leaders of the diaspora and its associations.

GERMANY

The main reason for the Moldovan migration to Germany is the economic one. Among the reasons for choosing this country as a host country, we note economic and political potential of Germany as an EU engine; stability and developed system of social protection and integration; a capacious labor market; high salaries; increased need for labor, especially in construction, medicine, education, information technologies. Moldovan citizens come to Germany to work. This is the most numerous group of migrants. There are many doctors, programmers, persons with higher education and high qualifications who are employed in accordance with their qualifications and specialty among the Moldovan migrants. *"Family reunification increases, while ethnic repatriation shrinks because of the exhaustion of the potential for ethnic repatriation from the post socialist countries of Central Europe and the post-Soviet space"* (3.04)

The second largest group is represented by the natives of the republic

who emigrated to Germany in the '90s of the 20th century on the basis of the program of Jewish emigration to Germany carried out by the German authorities ("payment for the Holocaust"). The next group of emigrants from the Republic of Moldova are ethnic Germans and their relatives who came to Germany on the basis of state programs for the integration of German repatriates. Their number is insignificant. But they are.

"With regard to Germans from other countries who are repatriating from other countries to Germany, there are certain programs of support and reintegration. This includes assistance in finding work, accommodation, financial support, retraining or acquiring a specialty, learning the German language. Previously, these programs were more significant, in terms of the benefits and services provided. Today, many programs have lost their weight. This was caused by the various reasons. One of them is the growth of the number of refugees, which requires very serious finances for their reception, care and employment. Similarly, these programs are extended to Jews. This is due to the historical and moral responsibility of the German people, the modern German state for the Holocaust, committed by the fascists, the German state during the Second World War" (3.04).

And the last category of immigrants from the Republic of Moldova to Germany is refugees and asylum seekers. *"This group of immigrants from Moldova has started to be recorded somewhere from 2013-2014. People come to Germany; submit documents for asylum and their recognition as refugees. These are mainly representatives of the vulnerable strata of the Moldovan population. Almost none of them receives a positive decision in terms of asylum and refugee status. Their interest lies in the fact that examination of their applications may last from a few months to several years. In addition, people live in Germany all this period; they receive everything necessary for life, social and medical assistance, including pocket money. In case they receive a negative response, they must leave the German state" (3.01).*

The number of Moldovan students in German universities has been increasing in recent years. The vast majority of them are employed in Germany and do not return to Moldova on graduating on universities. The experts say that it is often difficult to say what is the main goal of these young people, either to get education in Germany to be employed on the basis of education they got. In this case, we are talking about a combination of short- and long-term strategies of Moldovan citizens who came to study in Germany. *"None of them wants or plans to return to Moldova. Moreover, they are not interested in Moldova at all. Only those will return who will have problems with the family or if their family insists on their return" (3.01).*

The number of Moldovan citizens in Germany, according to German statistics, is small. In 2015. There were about 15 thousand Moldovan citizens in Germany. According to experts, this amounts to 25-30 % of the real number of

Moldovans in Germany, since the majority of Moldovan citizens holds Romanian passports, live and work here as the citizens of the European Union.

All age categories are represented in the age and gender structure of Moldovans in Germany. However, more than 40 % of them fall on persons aged 25-45 years. More than 600 Moldovan children born in the host country were registered in Germany at the end of 2015. Children are born including in the families of asylum seekers. More than a half (55 %) of Moldovan migrants are women.

Motives for arrival in Germany (data for 2015): work - 9.8 %; study - 15.8 %; family reunification - 64.7 %; humanitarian problems - 9.8 %. Most Moldovan citizens come to Germany on the basis of family reunification. It should be noted that besides Moldovans with Romanian passports, Moldovans, who are holders of Italian and Portuguese citizenship who have moved to Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg, and other EU countries are not included in these figures.

Moldovan citizens are most widely presented in the German capital Berlin, in such lands as Bavaria (mostly in Munich), North Rhine-Westphalia (Dusseldorf, Cologne, Essen), Baden-Württemberg (Stuttgart), Hessen (Frankfurt am Main). The least number of Moldovans was recorded in the land of Schleswig-Holstein, other northern lands, in Thuringia and in general in the eastern (former GDR) lands. This is due to the fact that these German lands lag behind in their socioeconomic development. There have fewer opportunities for employment than the above-mentioned lands.

At the same time, Germany has a significant share of Moldovan illegal migrants.

Moldovan citizens are employed, mainly, in construction, transport. The number of specialists engaged in the sphere of modern technologies is growing. Women, as a rule, are engaged in the sphere of services, caregiving for the sick and the elderly people. However, unlike the Mediterranean countries (Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece), Moldovan migrant workers are engaged not so much in providing services in the home sector, as in the social security system, but in boarding houses, sick and elderly homes, and social service centers. This is due to a different system of social assistance (Germany, Sweden, Austria, Denmark, etc.)²⁰. Women who received higher education in Germany and who speak German, work in the education system (schools and preschool institutions). Many young Moldovan doctors, having mastered the language, work in their specialty. Many Moldovans work in the field of culture; they are musicians, artists, dancers.

²⁰ Davydova-Minguet O., Mosneaga V., Pozniak O. *Gendered Migration from Moldova and Ukraine to the EU: Who Cares?* // Liikanen I., Scott J.W., Sotkasiira T. (eds). *Borders, Migration and Regional Stability in the EU's Eastern Neighbourhood*. – Joensuu, Karelian Institute of the University of Eastern Finland, 2014, pp. 225-240

The Moldovan diaspora has not developed yet. This is explained both by delay in the exploration of Germany by Moldovan migrants and by other, in my opinion, more important reasons. We should note, among these reasons, the difficulties of integration and promotion in German society, the traditional “coldness” of German society and less openness to “heart to heart” communication: *“Jews, Georgians, Turks in Germany are drawn to each other, help, and support each other. This is not typical for Moldovans. Everyone is on his own. Everyone makes a career, looking for and making its way to his or her place under the sun! Moldovan migrants in Germany are not friends. In general, the desire for unification is not typical for Moldovans. They do not seek to create Moldovan communities and maintain ties, to spend time together, to help each other. I saw this in Italy, when 200 or more Moldovans gathered for some events. In Germany, this is impossible. By the way, this is largely the case for the Germans. They are quite cold in communication. Apparently, we also adopt such a manner of behavior”* (3.02). We also note the deliberate refusal of many migrants from all “Moldovan” and setting for unambiguous integration in Germany, the high social status of migrants, which does not have the capacity to form diaspora institutions, activities within diaspora.

PORTUGAL

The reason for the migration of Moldovan citizens to Portugal is the economic one. People tried to survive in a crisis, a decline in the standard of living, and sought to ensure the material well-being of their families. The labor migration of the Moldovan population to Portugal started in the late 90's of the 20th century, acquired a mass character, reaching a peak in the second half of the 2000s. Portugal is a country on the opposite side of Europe, where you can get, only by passing the whole European continent through other, richer and larger EU countries. This country “where the land ends”, with a small labor market, low salaries (in comparison with other EU-15) turned to be one of the most attractive countries of the EU. This was due to the fact that Portugal, being a country of traditional and long-term emigration (along with Italy, Spain, Greece), and, therefore, characterized by a high degree of tolerance of Portuguese society to migrants, was preparing to host the 2004 European Football Championship. In this regard, the infrastructure of the country started to develop intensively, not only stadiums, but also roads, hotels, accommodation units were under large-scale construction. This football boost gave a powerful impetus to the development of the country and following the European Football Championship. In an effort to compensate for the shortcomings of low salaries, remoteness and location on the edge of the country, the Portuguese authorities adopted and implemented a tolerant migration policy aimed at integrating migrants into Portuguese society. Most of the Moldovan migrants have territorially settled in the capital of the

country, the city of Lisbon (more than a third part of all migrants). Overall, the number of Moldovan migrant workers was up to half of the total number in the center of the country. In addition, Moldovan migrants were concentrated in Faro-Algarve and Santaren provinces. However, later the placement of Moldovan citizens in Portugal has undergone some changes. The largest Moldovan community was formed in the south, in the city/region of Faro, where lived and worked about a third of all Moldovans in Portugal, which is 7 thousand persons (57.5 % were men and 42.5 % were women). Lisbon was on the second place (a quarter of all Moldovan migrants, of whom 56 % were men, and 44 % were women). The next one is central Santarem-Setubal region, adjacent to the Lisbon region, where lived and worked 5.5 thousand persons. The number of Moldovan migrant workers did not exceed a hundred of persons (in each of them respectively) in other regions

According to age, Moldovan migrant workers were young people. The majority of migrants were aged 20 to 40 years. Most labor migrants were women. Their share was amounted to 63 % in 2005 (men, respectively, 37 %). The spheres of employment were traditional for migrants: men - construction, transportation; women - domestic services, taking care of the sick and the elderly people.

In 2006, the number of Moldovans increased sharply and officially amounted to more than 12 thousand persons. The number of men was 64 %, while the part of women dropped to 37 %, although in absolute terms their number doubled and amounted to more than 5.5 thousand persons.

In 2008, the maximum number of Moldovan migrant workers in the Portuguese Republic was reached. Officially, there were more than 21 thousand persons, of which more than 12 thousand were men (57 %) and about 9 thousand were women (43 %). Considering the illegal Moldovan labor migrants in Portugal, the Moldovan community made between 25 and 30 thousand persons.

The number of Moldovans in Portugal has started to shrink since 2009. According to the official data of the Portuguese Foreigners and Borders Service, that year their number was a little more than 15.5 thousand persons, of which over 8.3 thousand persons were men and 7.3 thousand were women.

The number of Moldovan citizens in Portugal continues to shrink. In 2009, as we have already noted, this number was 15641 persons, in 2010-2011 – 13 thousand persons, in 2012 – 11 thousand persons, in 2013 – 9.471, in 2014 – 8460. In 2015, 6948 Moldovan citizens were officially registered. The growth of Moldovan citizens in these years made only a few hundred persons. Thus, only 230 Moldovan citizens emigrated to Portugal in 2015. *“In 2014, 25,000 Moldovans were in Portugal on the legal grounds. At the moment (at the beginning of 2016 – V. M.) 6,000 Moldovan citizens are located in the*

country on the legal grounds. As a result, it seems that we left the country. But this is an erroneous picture. Actually, most of us have Portuguese citizenship. So, I think that these figures are not realistic today. Most of Moldovans are in the south, in Algarve, Faro, Portimao, etc., where the tourist center of the country is located. Many Moldovans are in the center of the country. A large concentration is in the Cascais and Sintra. I know that the primaria of the Gelesti village (Straseni district), where I was born, registered more than 600 persons, who are emigrants to Portugal. People work in different areas. Women usually provide home services, because there they have a more flexible work schedule. Many of them work in shopping centers. Those who received a diploma in medicine and managed to convalidate them in Portugal, work here according to their specialty. I have convalidated my teacher diploma, but I don't work according to my specialty, because the salary is small. Men work in the field of construction. Today, many specialize in the field of thermopans. I know many men who are employed in the manufacture of doors/windows. Some have even opened mini-factories for the production of furniture" (4.06).

It should be noted that the overwhelming majority of Moldovan migrant workers in Portugal has high educational and professional training, which facilitates their integration into Portuguese society. About 25 % of migrants have higher or specialized secondary education, 25 % have secondary professional education and the rest (half of migrants) – general secondary education. There are very few cases when people have no primary or no education at all.

The main group is migrants aged 25-45 years. However, there is a growth in very young migrants. This phenomenon spread after offering to the Republic of Moldova of the visa-free regime with the EU. Young people come to Portugal on the basis of a biometric passport, marry their friend-migrant, who is here, create families, and give birth to children.

Experts believe that this is due, firstly, to the acquiring of Portuguese citizenship. "According to the legislation of the Portuguese Republic, Moldovan citizens can obtain Portuguese citizenship after six years plus one day of legal residence in the country. We note that among those who came to Portugal in 2000-2009, a significant share of Moldovan citizens meet this criterion. If their stay was legal, they fulfill all the obligations put forward by the state: payment of taxes, having a labor contract, registered officially, etc. The acquiring of Portuguese citizenship is one of the reasons for the decrease in the number of Moldovan citizens in Portugal. Therefore, a significant part of Moldovan citizens managed to get the second – Portuguese – citizenship" (4.01). As a result, the demographic structure of the Moldovan migrants in Portugal was equalized.

Another reason is that Portugal faced many economic problems, a

worsening situation in the labor market in 2008-2015. Because of this, many Moldovan citizens began to look for other options to migrate. Someone (minority) returned to their homeland. Most of them migrated to other countries as Portuguese citizens. Studies show that Moldovans from Portugal began to leave for the UK, Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg, Andorra, Brazil, Angola, Guadeloupe. First of all, it relates to men. Women remain in Portugal, where people have acquired real estate over many years of life in this country, had loans and credits in the bank, children, who studied in Portuguese schools and universities. It should be noted that today the orientation of Moldovan migrant men towards construction and women towards the services (hotel, home, caregiving to the sick and the elderly) persists.

It should be noted that the Moldovan diaspora in Portugal has developed. It is not large numerically, but acts quite consolidated, united, actively. And in this regard, it is similar to the diaspora in Italy, Canada.

ISRAEL

Moldovan communities in Israel are a rather complex entity. This is due to the fact that migration from Moldova to Israel has a long history, in which several main stages can be distinguished. *"When considering through the lens of the self-identification, this is the right approach. It should not be all dumped in one heap. Therefore, it will be difficult to understand this thing. There is a fine line between Moldovan and Bessarabian identity. And it is very difficult to understand"* (5.02).

First of all, the **"Bessarabian line"** has existed for a long time. **This is the first category.** People who arrived in the early XX century (20-30's) in Palestine. They grew very familiar here. This concerns their self-awareness, self-identity. They became sabers (local, indigenous). In translation, a sabra is a fruit of a cactus.

Next. **The second category**, the so-called Moldovans, who arrived in the 70's (refuseniks). They were supplemented by a large wave of immigrants in the early 90's. According to the general estimations, about 1 million persons came to Israel from the CIS countries, including from Moldova. Mainly representatives of Jewish nationality were among them. This is a national identity. Their identity is that they consider themselves Jews of Moldova. This is the Jewish population. Further the mixed families of Moldovans themselves were added to this number; these were Moldovans with Jews; there are a lot of them here. The first two categories are Jewish people interned in Israeli society or members of their families. These immigrants from Bessarabia (Russian Empire or royal Romania), Soviet Moldova (the Soviet Union), Republic of Moldova (independent Moldova) are citizens of Israel, who have full civil and political rights. Their number is estimated at 85-100 thousand persons. They are represented in all strata of Israeli society, including politics, business, science,

education, culture²¹. Many natives of Moldova today received Moldovan citizenship, participate in the cultural and political life of the diaspora.

The last **third category** are migrants from Moldova who arrived temporarily, by agreement (on the basis of labor contracts), to perform work in a certain industry (construction, social work or other professional fields - medical personnel, doctors, engineers, etc.). The number of Moldovan migrant workers, Moldovan citizens who arrived on the basis of labor agreements (labor contracts) between Israel and the Republic of Moldova is, according to experts, up to 25 thousand persons. Moldovan labor migrants arrive for a short period, as opposed to leaving for Italy or Portugal. They live there, they create families. In Israel, they work for 1-2 years and then return home. In this case, they cannot be called Moldovan labor migrants. It's more like a business trip" (5.03).

Moldovan labor migrants are involved in various fields of activity. But the main fields of activity of labor migrants are: construction (at numerous sites, in many cities of Israel), social services (taking care of the elderly citizens of Israel, particularly the work for women, the so-called *metapel*). Construction workers, basically, work in their specialty. Social workers are usually kindergarten teachers, primary school teachers aged 30 to 40 years. "Moldovans, like other immigrants from the former USSR, are perceived as former fellow citizens. Moreover, those who know the Russian language are close by the mentality and very conscientious and responsible workers (in the construction or social service to the elderly people). Basically, beyond any window-dressing, they are perceived more positively. They are much respected and always clean, conscientious. Elderly people are satisfied with social workers who are Moldovan citizens" (5.02).

The majority of migrant workers has legal residency status in Israel. And it's not just that people, Moldovan citizens, realize the importance of legal stay in the country. This is due to a series of circumstances. Firstly, the main reason, apparently, lies in the fact that Israel is a state, in which security problems occupy a special, central place in the state's policy because it is constantly threatened by terrorist attacks. As a consequence, the counteraction to illegal migration, the system of border and police control is provided at a high professional and technical level.

There is no doubt that there are illegal migrants among Moldovan labor migrants in Israel, as in other countries. "But illegal immigrants in Israel are, rather, a temporary state. They can be deported from the country at any time...

²¹ Аникин В. Выходцы из Молдовы в Израиле: портреты в деловом интерьере и не только. // MOLDOSCOPIE (Probleme de analiză politică). Nr.4 (LXXV), 2016. – Chisinau, USM, USPEE, AMSP, pp. 131-155 (Anikin V. Originars from Moldova in Israel: portraits in the business entourage and not only. // MOLDOSCOPIE (Issues of political analyses). Nr. 4 (LXXV), 2016. – Chisinau, MSU, USPEE, AMSP, pp. 131-155)

I know many cases when Moldovans were transported by planes to Israel under the guise of Ukrainians. Here, in Israel, all information, about who they really were, was discovered and they were sent back” (5.02).

Secondly, due to the geographical location of the country, Moldovan citizens today arrive in Israel by air. It is much easier to establish and implement quality border control than in the “green zone” at the airport. The bus service (“shuttle bus”) that existed before the end of the 2000s between Israel and the Republic of Moldova has lost its relevance in connection with the civil war in Syria.

Thirdly, Moldovan labor migrants arrive in Israel mostly on an organized basis, by recruiting Moldovan labor force by intermediary companies in Moldova. We should note that in the process of preparing for the visit to Israel, the selected migrant labor workers receive some language and professional training in Moldova²². Representatives of Moldovan diaspora organizations in Israel and labor migrants noted in focus groups that today in Israel, there are a lot of problems with labor payment, employment of labor migrants, ensuring their rights. People complain that these companies do not bear any responsibility, but they charge huge sums of money for their services (5.06, 5.07, 5.08).

UNITED KINGDOM

The UK is a country of interest to Moldovan migrant workers. According to the estimates of the consulate and the statistics of the UK, the number of Moldovan citizens in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland is approaching 30 thousand persons.

“The majority of Moldovan citizens (90-95 %) are in the UK on the basis of passports of the EU countries, Romania, Poland. At the same time, Moldovan citizens of Russian nationality have passports of the Baltic states. A lot of Moldovan migrants are persons who moved to the UK from Greece, Portugal, Spain, Cyprus, Italy, other countries where they had received citizenship of host countries and had become citizens of the EU countries. A certain (smaller) part of the Moldovan migrant workers has only Moldovan citizenship, lives and works in the UK on the basis of labor contracts or has a British visa (more than 1,800 persons). These people have a legal status, a residence permit and a job. At the same time, it should be pointed out that there are numerous cases of obtaining British citizenship/passport by Moldovan citizens (both with the Moldovan passport and with the passport of the EU countries). During the period of 2000-2016, several thousand

²² Mosneaga V. Migrant support measures from an employment and skills perspective (MISMES). Republic of Moldova. - Torino, European Training Foundation, 2015, [http://www.etf.europa.eu/webatt.nsf/0/74448D14C3CF2E3CC1257E9A002CABBE/\\$file/MISMES%20Moldova.pdf](http://www.etf.europa.eu/webatt.nsf/0/74448D14C3CF2E3CC1257E9A002CABBE/$file/MISMES%20Moldova.pdf)

Moldovan citizens have obtained British citizenship, while the number of new British Moldovans amounted to several hundred persons only in 2016" (6.01).

Moldovan citizens are engaged in various fields of British society life. In addition to such traditional areas for labor migrants as construction for men and services for women, Moldovan labor migrants can be found in business, finance, medicine, education, information technology, and the hotel services. Moldovan labor migrants can be found everywhere. Many Moldovans work in the airport system, in other areas (the Amazon company, etc.).

The reason is that the Britain has *"a different context comparing to Italy or other countries, where immigrants from the Republic of Moldova come. The Anglo-Saxon tradition relies largely on meritocracy. It is easier to climb the social ladder here. In countries such as Italy, Spain or France, it is more difficult to make a professional career without having connections, friends or relatives. Here, they are interested in the skills and training, added value to the company. The historical context of the British Empire has also an impact. It is true, that in politics and in business the special meaning has the fact of what university you have graduated on. Easton, Oxford, Cambridge, Westminster, etc. Moldovans, who make efforts, climb the social ladder. First of all, it relates to business. Here, in comparison to Italy, there are more persons with high professional training" (6.01).*

The UK is a country with a developed economy and a large labor market. It can absorb a significant number of emigrants. Due to this, the number of Moldovan migrants in the UK has increased and continues to grow. At the same time, there is a state of uncertainty caused by BREXIT. This adversely affects business, potential investors. Many banks are considering options for leaving the UK. Ireland is ready to give them the opportunity to work in this EU country. The immigrants who perform unskilled work in construction, etc. will suffer the most. Qualified immigrants will leave for other countries (Ireland, other EU countries, etc.) and will employ. There will be no problems with them.

Everything will depend on the nature of the relationship between the UK and the European Union. It is clear that human rights in the UK after BREXIT will be not infringed and there will be not massive deportations of immigrants from the country. Those who work under contract will continue to work.

The survey showed that Moldovan migrants in the UK are rather pessimistic about the consequences of the referendum on the country's exit from the European Union. Only 12 % of the people interviewed believe that nothing will change. The absolute majority (82 %) believes that the situation will worsen - the restrictions on entry into the country will be introduced, the rules for the stay of the immigrants in the UK will be toughened, and the procedure of expulsion from the country will be used more actively. However,

characteristically, people believe that all these measures will be used (73 %). And it's not going to do anything good for the migrants. 6 % of the people surveyed see other consequences of this decision of British citizens.

Table 10. Moldovan migrants in the UK on the consequences of the BREXIT referendum for migrants

	Total
Toughening the rules for the immigrants' stay in the country	3.0%
Expulsion from the country	3.0%
Limitation of the border crossing to the UK	3.0%
All together will cause nothing good	72.7%
Nothing will change	12.1%
Other	6.1%

The survey showed that migrants not only assess the overall impact on immigration to the UK, but also project these consequences onto themselves, onto their status in the UK. Assessing the consequences of BREXIT for their personal status, people are largely pessimistic. Every second respondent (51.5 %) believes that their situation will worsen. A somewhat smaller share of respondents believe that their personal status will not change (45.5 %).

People start thinking about their destiny, making plans for life and behavior. If migrants cannot stay (live and work in the UK), then people see their possible actions / plans in returning to their homeland, in the Republic of Moldova - 47 % of respondents. Every fourth Moldovan migrant (25 %) plans to seek and find opportunities to stay in the UK. Each sixth respondent (16 %) plans, if necessary, to move to another country. Among the new countries of immigration are Australia, the USA, Ireland, Spain, Germany, Russia, France. However, every seventh respondent (13 %) holds on to other options, among which, the most frequently, is obtaining of British citizenship, which allows looking to the future quite optimistically, even after BREXIT.

"If restrictions apply to me, then I will leave the country. I have not been interested in this issue yet. I know that I have two options: either obtain the necessary documents or leave the UK. It is not necessary that I return to Moldova. I do not seek to obtain the British citizenship. I lived in Austria, in Germany, in the Russian Federation. I want to develop and achieve my goals. I was integrated in whatever country I entered to. I'm not afraid of the future. In any case, there will be solutions that will seem to be meaningful to me" (6.08).

Table 11. Possible actions in the event that migrants cannot live and work in UK after BREXIT

	Total
I will return to the Republic of Moldova	46.9%
I will leave to another country (Australia or the USA, Germany, Ireland, Spain, Russia, France)	15.6%
I will do my best to stay in the UK	25.0%
Other	12.5%

In short, the Moldovan community in the United Kingdom, which in recent years, as in Germany, has shown a trend of growth, is now at a crossroads of confusion, uncertainty and division. Only those who have British citizenship are uniquely confident. However, as our survey shows, this does not exclude the possibility of emigration from the UK and search for alternatives in the future.

The experts do not expect human rights violations in connection with the BREXIT. *"I do not think that someone will suffer for ethnic or religious reasons as a result of BREXIT. The UK is a model of democracy. No human rights are supposed to be violated. The restriction of the right to freedom of movement and travel does not mean violation of human rights. The limited access to the labor market in the United Kingdom also took place 3-4 years ago. This is a specific of the country, recognized by the EU. The same applies to Ireland. Legally employed migrants will not suffer from BREXIT. It is possible that the Blue and Yellow Cards residence permits will be introduced, which a person will be able to obtain on-line and receive by mail... There will be no violation of human rights and mass deportations of migrants"* (6.01).

So, the British government takes actually every effort to ensure that the process of divorce with the EU is civilized and that people do not suffer and their rights are not violated.

6. SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC PORTRAIT OF THE MOLDOVAN MIGRANT IN THE COUNTRIES RESEARCHED

The sociological survey showed that an absolute majority of respondents in these above-mentioned countries are of working age. The share of persons under the age of 30 is more than 40 %. While the number of persons under the age of 40 is 63.2 %, that is more than 3/5 of the total number of respondents.

**Table 12. Distribution of Moldovan migrants by age
in the countries of destination**

Age	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
18-30 years	35.8%	31.7%	52.6%	73.0%	20.0%	36.4%	40.9%
31-40 years	21.7%	25.4%	18.4%	12.4%	28.9%	36.4%	22.3%
41-50 years	27.5%	24.6%	26.4%	12.4%	28.9%	21.1%	24.0%
Older than 51 years	15.0%	18.3%	2.6%	2.2%	22.2%	6.1%	12.8%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

We should also note the country specificity of Moldovan migrants. In Russia, almost every third person (35.8 %) is a migrant under the age of 30. The number of persons under the age of 40 is 57.5 %, that is, slightly less than the average for 6 countries. The second largest one is the category of persons in the age from 41 to 50 years or every fourth migrant (27.5 %). In this category, Moldovan migrants in Russia are among the leaders (second place after Israel). In general, the number of migrants aged over the age of 40 years amounts to 42.5 %.

In Italy, the number of migrants under the age of 30 years is less than a third (31.7 %). This is the second figure from the end (Israel is a leader here). The number of persons under the age of 40 is almost identical to the Russian figure and is 57.1 %. At the same time, the number of migrants over the age of 40 is 42.9 %.

In Portugal, the number of young persons (under 30 years of age) among respondents is more than a half (52.6 %). This is the second figure (the leader is Germany). At the same time, the number of persons under the age of 40 is 71 %. The share of labor migrants over 40 years of age is 29 % or less than one third.

In Germany, the number of respondents under the age of 30 is 73 %. This is the highest figure in all countries. At the same time, the absolute majority of migrants in Germany (more than 85 %) are persons under the age of 40. The share of persons over the age of 40 is less than 15 %.

The lowest figure in persons under age of 30 is in Israel, which is 20 % (every fifth respondent). The age structure in Israel is shifted towards older ages. In all three categories, Israel ranks among the other countries. The number of persons over the age of 40 is more than 51 % or more than half of the people surveyed.

In the UK, more than a third of the migrants interviewed (36.4 %) are young persons under the age of 30. In general, migrants under the age of 40 make up almost 73 %. This is the second figure after Germany. At the same time, the UK is the leader in the category of the age of 30 to 40 years.

These data suggest that there can be identified two groups of countries according to the age of migrants. The first group of countries (Germany, the United Kingdom, and Portugal) is one, where predominate the migrants of younger ages, and the second group of countries (Israel, Italy, Russia) is one, where predominate the migrants of older age. The reasons for this are as follows. Germany has just started to open as an immigration country, where the migrants of younger age are predominantly in-demand in the construction sector, more exposed to social risks, possessing Romanian citizenship, predominate there. The same applies to students. The UK opened its labor market to Moldovan migrants earlier, but also with the help of a Romanian passport. However, the more skilled workforce is in-demand in the UK. Such a high share of Moldovan migrants in Portugal, in our opinion, is explained by the fact that there the substitution process takes place; many Moldovan immigrants of older ages, having acquired Portuguese citizenship, temporarily left for work or emigrated to other EU countries where the living standards and salaries are higher. Meanwhile, their children have grown up; they have already entered the period of creating their own families and often create a family with Moldovan women.

The age specificity of the second group of countries is explained by both the demand and employment of older women in the sphere of home-help services (Italy, Israel), the specificity of labor migration to Israel (organized recruitment and selection of professional construction workers), the lower cost of labor migration to Russia and developed Moldovan social networks (Russia and Italy).

Here we should note that the data obtained by us correlate with the data obtained during the sociological survey on mapping the Moldovan diaspora in 2012²³. The changes are observed only in Germany and Portugal,

²³ Cheianu-Andrei D. Cartografierea diasporei moldovenești în Italia, Portugalia, Franța și Regatul Unit al Marii Britanii. - Chisinau, OIM, 2013, p.23; Мукомель В., Кеяну-Андрей Д. Молдаване в Российской Федерации: социально-экономический профиль и вызовы на уровне политик. – Кишинев, МОМ, 2013, с.19 (Cheianu-Andrei D. Mapping of Moldovan diaspora in Italy, Portugal, France and United Kingdom of Great Britain. – Chisinau, IOM, 2013, p. 23; Mukomel V., Cheianu-Andrei D. Moldovans in the Russian Federation: socio-economic profile and challenges at the level of policies. – Chisinau, IOM, 2013, p. 19)

where the share of young persons under the age of 30 is growing. The explanation we have offered is relevant for the comparative analysis of the results of the 2012 and 2016 surveys.

**Table 13. Distribution of Moldovan migrants by gender
in the countries of destination**

Gender	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Men	55.6%	29.4%	47.4%	65.2%	31.1%	60.6%	48.7%
Women	44.4%	70.6%	52.6%	34.8%	68.9%	39.4%	51.3%

It should be noted that among the Moldovan migrants, men and women are almost equally represented (with a certain predominance of female migrants). However, the situation is not so definite in the country context. The prevalence of men among migrants is seen in Germany (almost 2 times), in the UK (by 1.5 times), in Russia (56 % and 44%). This suggests that Germany and Russia are in-demand for working hands in construction. In the UK, especially in the area of computer technology, where the majority of workers are men.

In Italy and Israel, the majority of women characterizes the situation. A predominance of women among migrants is seen in each of these countries (more than in 2 times). This is explained by the demand for female labor workers in the area of home-help services, caregiving for the sick and the elderly people, the existing model of social and medical services. Care for the sick and elderly members of the family is the responsibility of the relatives, whereas in Germany, as we have mentioned before, the state takes care of them. Portugal has the most balanced gender ratio among Moldovan migrants.

A comparative analysis of the basic demographic indicators of our research and research of the 2012 shows that the results are quite similar in gender, age and civil status of migrants. It is more difficult to answer unequivocally as for the other indicators, given the use of different methodologies (sampling, tools, etc.).

Comparatively with the data of a study performed in 2012, we note that the division by gender coincides entirely in Italy and Portugal. At the same time, the situation is changing (our study revealed a trend towards a growing gender balance) in the UK, because male migrant workers carry out family reunification. In general, the family distribution is also relevant for both studies. However, the number of persons in unofficial marriage is increasing among the English Moldovans²⁴.

²⁴ Cheianu-Andrei D. Cartografierea diasporei moldovenești în Italia, Portugalia, Franța și Regatul Unit al Marii Britanii. - Chisinau, OIM, 2013, p.23; Мукмель В., Кеяну-Андрей Д. Молдаване в Российской Федерации: социально-экономический профиль и вызовы на уровне

**Table 14. Civil status of Moldovan migrants
in the countries of destination**

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Single, not married	25.1%	24.0%	42.1%	59.6%	17.8%	30.3%	31.5%
Officially married	56.0%	59.2%	50.0%	29.2%	62.2%	66.7%	53.1%
Lives in informal marriage	5.8%	3.2%	0%	2.2%	4.4%	0%	3.7%
Divorced	9.2%	4.8%	5.3%	5.6%	11.1%	3.0%	7.1%
Widow(er)	3.9%	8.8%	2.6%	3.4%	4.4%	0%	4.7%

Analysis of the marital status of Moldovan migrants shows that the highest share of unmarried migrants, single migrants is seen among Moldovan migrants in Germany. The share of such persons is almost 60 %. A high share of such persons is among the Moldovans in Portugal (more than 40 %). Persons with similar such social status are about 1/3 (slightly more than 30 %) in the UK. In Russia and Italy, the share of single migrants makes the fourth part. The Moldovan diaspora in Israel stands apart; the share of single migrants is slightly less than 1/6 of the total number of Moldovan migrants in that country.

More than a half of the Moldovan migrants in the countries studied are persons who are officially married. The highest figure among Moldovans is in the UK (2/3 of the total number of migrants) and in Israel (more than 60 %). The next is the Moldovan diaspora in Italy and Russia with a slight lag. The share of married persons among Moldovan migrants in these countries is 59.2 % and 56 % respectively. In Portugal, every other Moldovan migrant (50 %) is officially married.

The number of persons living in an informal marriage is relatively small. The highest figure is in Russia (about 6 %). Israel (4.4 %), Italy (3.2 %), Germany (2.2 %) are located next, on a descending line. In Portugal and the UK, according to our survey, this indicator is almost zero. We believe that this is a consequence of the patriarchal model of family-marriage relations that prevails in Moldova, where civil marriage is not much welcomed.

The category of persons with a family status defined as divorced and widows/widowers is represented on a massive scale among migrants. The highest share of such persons is in Israel (15.5 %). Italy and Russia are on the second place, where the figures are 13.6 % and 13.1 %, respectively. That is, in fact, every seventh migrant. This figure in Germany and Portugal is 9 % and 7.9

политик. – Кишинев, MOM, 2013, с.19 (Cheianu-Andrei D. Mapping of Moldovan diaspora in Italy, Portugal, France and United Kingdom of Great Britain. – Chisinau, IOM, 2013, p. 23; Mukomel V., Cheianu-Andrei D. Moldovans in the Russian Federation: socio-economic profile and challenges at the level of policies. – Chisinau, IOM, 2013, p. 19)

%, respectively. The lowest percentage of persons who have such a family status is in the UK- 3.0 %.

It should be noted that this group of persons has the prevailed number of divorced persons. The only exception is Italy, where the number of widows/widowers among Moldovan migrants is almost twice the share of divorced persons.

**Table 15. Education of Moldovan migrants
in the countries of destination**

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Secondary school (Lyceum)	29.0%	27.0%	34.2%	36.0%	35.6%	9.1%	29.4%
Vocational school	35.3%	34.9%	39.5%	23.6%	33.3%	21.2%	32.5%
Diploma of Licentiate	19.8%	15.9%	13.2%	20.2%	17.8%	15.2%	18.0%
Master's Degree	15.0%	21.4%	13.2%	16.9%	13.3%	54.5%	19.0%
Ph.D.	1.0%	0%	0%	3.4%	0%	0%	0.9%

An analysis of the educational status of Moldovan migrants in the researched countries showed that the level of education and qualifications is quite high. The highest figure is in the UK - more than 90 % of migrants are persons with university education or persons with completed training at the level of a professional school. Every second migrant has a master's degree. The share of persons with a professional school certificates is just a little more than 20 %. Only 9 % of migrants have a secondary school or lyceum education.

For other countries, this figure is somewhat different, but also quite high. In Germany, Israel, Portugal, Russia and Italy, the share of such workers is lower and equals to an average of 2/3. Here every second migrant has the professional school education. The exception is Germany where this figure is lower (one in five migrants). The share of persons without higher education or professional training is within 1/3 of the total number of migrants.

Table 16. Residence of Moldovan migrants at home

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Chisinau/Balti	30.4%	28.6%	34.2%	36.0%	28.9%	87.9%	34.6%
Small town	27.1%	23.0%	26.3%	29.2%	26.7%	9.1%	25.3%
Rural settlement	42.5%	48.4%	39.5%	34.8%	44.4%	3.0%	40.1%

Among the Moldovan migrants, natives of different types of settlements are massively represented (rural settlements, small towns and big cities (Chisinau and Balti)). However, the inhabitants of rural areas make up from a

third (Germany) to half (Italy) of migrants. Five countries (Germany, Portugal, Russia, Israel, and Italy) are placed in this range. The only exception is the UK, where the share of rural residents among Moldovan migrants is only 3 %. In the UK there is an absolute prevalence of the population of major Moldovan municipalities at the same time. Their share is almost 88 %. This figure is much lower for the other countries and is about 1/3, with slightly lower parameters for Italy and Israel. A quarter of the migrants originate from the small towns in Moldova. For five countries, this figure is slightly above 25 %. The exception, again, is the UK, where the share of Moldovans from small urban settlements is only 1/10.

**Table 17. Residence of Moldovan migrants
in the country of destination**

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Big city	75.4%	29.4%	36.8%	30.3%	35.6%	51.5%	49.6%
Average city	16.4%	38.9%	50.0%	44.9%	55.6%	30.3%	32.9%
Small town	6.8%	24.6%	13.2%	16.9%	8.9%	12.1%	13.6%
Rural settlement	1.0%	7.1%	0%	7.9%	0%	6.1%	3.7%
No answer	0.5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0.2%

Our survey revealed that the majority of Moldovan migrants in Russia lives in big cities. This is indicated by $\frac{3}{4}$ of the representatives of the Moldovan communities in this country. This is the highest figure among the countries studied. This shows that employment opportunities and salaries in Russia are primarily related to the major cities, megacities, as Moscow and St. Petersburg. In other countries, the income gap between the inhabitants of megacities/capitals and those of other localities is not so significant, so that migrants are more evenly distributed across the country.

The distribution of Moldovan migrants in major cities is also typical for the UK, where 51 % indicate this or every second respondent. In other countries, however, this figure is lower: in Portugal – 37 %, in Israel – 36 %, in Germany – 30 %, in Italy – 29 %.

Every second Moldovan migrants live in medium-sized cities in Israel (56 %) and Portugal (50 %), in Germany – 45 %, in Italy – 39 %, UK – 30 %. Russia has a significantly lower share of 16 %.

Every five migrants live in small cities of Italy – 25 %, Germany – 17 %, Portugal – 13 %, UK – 12 %, Israel – 9 %. Russian is in the last place – 7 %.

A very small share of migrants live in rural areas, typically in Germany (8 %), Italy (7 %), and the United Kingdom (6 %). In Russia, only 1 % of Moldovan migrants live in rural areas. In Portugal and Israel, this figure is not indicated by anyone.

Table 18. With whom did you come to the destination country?

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Alone	55.6%	77.8%	68.4%	68.5%	75.0%	63.6%	65.9%
Not alone	44.4%	22.2%	31.6%	31.5%	25.0%	36.4%	34.1%

The majority of migrants comes to the country of destination on their own. This is indicated by 78 % of Moldovan respondents in Italy, in Israel – 75 %, in Germany – 69 %, in Portugal – 68 %, in the UK – 64 %. In Russia, this figure is lower, amounting to 56 % or every second migrant comes to the country of destination alone, as a part of a group (brigade) or with someone of their friends, relatives, etc.

Specifying the question with whom exactly the migrant comes to the country of destination, we found that most often these are members of his/her family. This is indicated by every sixth respondent (17 % of the total respondents). In the country context, the following data were obtained. In Portugal, the figure is 29 %, in Russia – 21%, in the UK and Germany – 18 %, in Israel – about 18 %, in Italy – 15 %.

Close relatives, “members of a large family” make 5.9 %. The highest figure is typical for Italy (10 %). In other countries this figure is much lower: Russia and Germany – 6 % each, Portugal – 3 %, Israel – 2 %. The UK does not record this figure.

Friends and acquaintances: the share of these figures makes 8 % (7 % are friends and 1% – acquaintances) for the whole sampling. We should note that significant figures are recorded in Russia (15% or every seventh respondent) and Germany (8 %). It appears that this phenomenon is explained in Russia by circular/seasonal migration, by the arrival of people as part of construction brigades.

Table 19. With whom specifically did you come to the country of destination?

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Alone	55.1%	77.8%	65.8%	68.5%	75.6%	63.6%	65.6%
Family	21.3%	15.1%	28.9%	18.0%	17.8%	18.2%	16.5%
Relatives	5.8%	10.3%	2.6%	5.6%	2.2%	0%	5.9%
Friends	14.5%	0%	2.6%	7.9%	2.2%	3.0%	7.4%
Acquaintances	1.4%	1.6%	0%	0%	2.2%	0%	1.1%
No answer	1.9%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0.7%

The survey shows that most of the migrants have a residence permit in the country of destination. Four countries (Portugal, Italy, Germany and Israel) show shares in the range of 84-87 %. Only 13-16 % of respondents in these countries note that they do not have such permission. And they have illegal status.

At the same time, the situation is somewhat different in Russia and in the UK. The share of Moldovan citizens who have a residence permit in these countries is lower, making 63-64 %. That is, not almost every third Moldovan migrant (36-37 %) in these countries has a residence permit.

**Table 20. Availability of a residence permit
in the country of destination**

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Available	63.3%	85.6%	86.8%	85.4%	84.4%	63.6%	75.6%
Not available	36.7%	13.6%	13.2%	14.6%	15.6%	36.4%	24.2%
No answer	0%	0.8%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0.2%

The absolute majority (89%) of Moldovan citizens in the countries studied works in the countries of destination. The highest figures in this regard are among Moldovan citizens in Israel (96%), Portugal (95 %), Russia (94 %). These figures are lower in the UK (88 %), Italy (87 %) and Germany (78 %). This is explained by the fact that these countries have a significant number of Moldovan students who are less involved in the working process. In addition, if the first generation of migrants works almost without exception (this is the main purpose of their arrival), then some second-generation immigrants are in no hurry to find a job, trying to find a job in accordance with their qualifications and status. In addition, of course, the increase of unemployment during a crisis has its effect.

**Table 21. Availability of a job in the country
of destination**

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Available	93.7%	87.3%	94.7%	77.5%	95.6%	87.9%	89.4%
Not available	6.3%	12.7%	5.3%	22.5%	4.4%	12.1%	10.6%

**Table 22. Working hours of Moldovan migrants
in the countries of destination**

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Up to 20 hours	.5%	.9%	2.8%	2.8%	0%	0%	.1%
20-36 hours	5.3%	25.9%	22.2%	27.8%	14.0%	10.3%	15.8%
37-48 hours	31.9%	41.1%	33.3%	44.4%	39.5%	58.6%	37.7%
49-60 hours	47.9%	17.0%	27.8%	18.1%	27.9%	27.6%	31.7%
61-72 hours	9.0%	3.6%	8.3%	5.6%	9.3%	3.4%	6.9%
Over 73 hours (up to 180 hours)	5.3%	11.6%	5.6%	1.4%	9.3%	0%	6.3%

Our survey revealed that Moldovan migrants have a different working week in foreign countries. The most common working week makes 37-48 hours. About 38 % of Moldovan migrants have such a working week, namely: in the UK – 59 % of all Moldovan migrants, in Germany – 44 %, in Italy – 41 %, Israel – 40 %, Portugal – 33 %, in Russia – 32%.

The second most common working week duration is 49-60 hours. This is how 32 % of all migrants work. From a country perspective, the situation looks as follows: in Russia – 48 % (almost every second migrant) have this working week; in Israel, Portugal and UK – 28 % each; in Germany – 18 %, in Italy – 17 % of migrants.

The third most common working week duration is 20-36 hours. According to our survey, this one is a working week of 16 % of all migrants. By countries, however, we see the following: in Germany – 28 %; in Italy – 26 %; in Portugal – 22 %; in Israel – 14 %, in the UK – 10 %, in Russia – 5 %.

Working week of 61-72 hours is also quite common. This is how 7 % of migrants surveyed work. Such a working week is most common in Israel and Russia – 9 %, Portugal – 8 %. In Germany, this share is 6 %, in Italy – 4 %, in the UK – 3 %.

Migrants witness that they have to work more hours per week. Working week of 73 to 180 hours have 6 % of Moldovan migrants in the researched countries. Leaders in terms of the number of persons having such working week are Italy (12 %) and Israel (9 %). 6 % of migrants in Portugal have a similar working week, in Russia – 5 %, in Germany – 1 %. Most often, a working week of this duration is typical for those who provide home care services for the sick and the elderly people on a 24/24-hour basis.

**Table 23. Availability of a work permit
in the country of destination**

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Available	84.8%	80.0%	81.6%	77.8%	83.3%	60.0%	80.8%
Not available	12.2%	18.3%	13.2%	19.4%	14.3%	3.3%	14.4%
No answer	3.0%	1.7%	5.3%	2.8%	2.4%	36.7%	4.9%

Our survey of the Moldovan diaspora showed that most migrants have a work permit. In general, according to the sampling, the absolute majority of Moldovan migrants (81 %) has such a permit. However, the situation is not so definite in the country context. The highest percentage of persons with a work permit is concentrated in Russia (85 %), Israel (83 %), and Portugal (82 %). There are less than 80 % of such persons in Italy, in Germany – 78 %, in the UK – 60 %, that is, only 3/5 of the total number of migrants in this country have a work permit.

14 % of all respondents in the sampling offered a definite answer that they have no work permit. In the country context, Germany (19 %), Italy (18 %) are the leaders. Indicators from 12 to 14 % are shown in Russia, Portugal, and Israel. This figure is 3 % in the UK. However, 37 % of Moldovan migrants in this country found it difficult to answer/gave no answer to this question. This makes one think about the reasons for the absence of an answer.

**Table 24. Availability of job in the country of destination,
according to the existing qualification**

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Higher	12.3%	11.5%	22.2%	18.6%	11.4%	0%	12.9%
Lower	41.5%	54.0%	47.2%	48.6%	50.0%	48.3%	47.0%
Same	44.1%	32.7%	27.8%	31.4%	36.4%	51.7%	38.2%
No answer	2.1%	1.8%	2.8%	1.4%	2.3%	0%	1.6%

It is known that economic reasons force a migrant to emigrate in search of a higher income and means for subsistence. For this reason, the migrant is most likely to agree for a work, that does not correspond to his/her level of education and qualifications. Eventually, a foreign citizen, a labor migrant is less “capricious” in this matter.

Our survey confirmed this fact²⁵. Almost every second (47%) of the Moldovan migrants surveyed has a work that does not match or is below their qualifications. This picture is observed in all the countries studied, with the exception of Russia (4 %). In Italy, the share of such workers among Moldovan migrants makes 54 %, in Israel – 50 %, in Germany – 49 %, in the UK – 48 %, in Portugal – 47 %.

At the same time, a significant share (38 %) of respondents indicates that the work they perform is in line with the existing qualifications. The highest rates in this regard are in the UK (52%) and in Russia (44 %). In other countries, this figure is below the average for the sampling: in Israel – 36 %, in Italy – 33 %, in Germany – 31%, in Portugal – 28 %.

Only 13 % of migrants note that the work they perform is above their qualifications. The figures are above the average in Portugal (22 %) and in Germany (19 %). The figures are below the average in Russia – 12 %, in Italy – 12 %, in Israel – 11 %. These cases have not been recorded by our survey in the UK.

**Table 25. Average income of Moldovan migrants
in the country of destination**

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Less than €500	17.8%	11.4%	11.1%	13.6%	8.9%	6.3%	13.7%
€500-750€	42.6%	13.8%	19.4%	17.0%	8.9%	3.1%	24.7%
751-1000€	23.8%	30.9%	22.2%	17.0%	17.8%	12.5%	23.0%
1001-1500€	8.9%	29.3%	22.2%	36.4%	40.0%	37.5%	23.6%
1501-2000	5.0%	12.2%	22.2%	13.6%	20.0%	21.9%	11.6%
More than €2000	2.0%	0.8%	2.8%	2.3%	4.4%	18.8%	3.0%
No answer	0%	1.6%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0.4%

The income in the country of destination is both an important criterion for the profitability of migration, and the condition for integration into the host society. The majority of migrants (71 %) is presented in the range with an average income of €500 to €1501 per month. The 14 % of Moldovan

²⁵ Цуркан В., Мошняга В. Профессиональная идентификация молдавских трудовых мигрантов: проблемы и решения (по результатам социологического исследования шести стран). // Мошняга В. (коорд.) Политика и практика регулирования миграции в условиях современных вызовов. – Кишинев, MOM, 2017, с. 52-64 (Tsurcan V., Mosneaga V. Professional identity of Moldovan labor migrants: issues and solutions (on the basis of sociological research in six countries). // Mosneaga V. (coord.). Politics and practice of migration regulation in the conditions of modern challenges.-Chisinau, IOM, 2017, pp. 52-64)

migrants have income, which is below €500 per month. At the same time, 15 % of Moldovan migrants have a monthly income of more than €1501. At the same time, we note that such income is provided not only by high salaries, but also by the payment of overtime (an increase in the duration of the working day, work in two or more places, work without days-off or only one day-off, etc.).

In the country context, the situation looks as follows. In Russia, the majority of migrants (84 %) has a monthly income of up to €1000. Whereby, 18 % of respondents have an income of up to €500; 43 % – income from €500 to €750; 24 % – income from €751 to €1000. The 9 % of migrants has the income from €1001 to €1500 per month. Only 7 % of migrants have income above €1501. Let us note that Russia in terms of the size of the monthly income is in the last place among the six countries.

In Italy, the majority of migrants (74 %) is represented in the following three categories of income from €500 to €1500. Whereby, 14 % of respondents have income from €500 to €750; 31 % – from €751 to €1000; 29 % – from €1001 to €1500. The 13% of respondents have income over €1500. Whereby, 11 % of the respondents have income less than €500.

In Portugal, the majority of respondents (67%) is presented in the following three categories of income from €751 to €2000. Thus, in each category are presented 22% of Moldovan migrants. Only 3% of migrants have the income of more than €2000.

30 % of the respondents are in the category of up to €750. Whereby, 11 % of the respondents are in the category of €500 and 19 % – in the category of €500-€750.

In Germany, the majority of migrants (70 %) is represented in the following three categories of income from €500 to €1500. 17 % is in the category of €500-€750, 17 % – in the category of €751-€1000 and 36 % – in the category of €1001-€1501. 14 % of respondents are in the category of up to €500. Whereby, 14 % of the respondents are in the category of €1501-€2000 and 2 % - in the category of more than €2000.

In Israel, the majority of migrants (78 %) is represented in the following three categories of income from €751 to €2000. Whereby, 18 % of the migrants are in the category of €751-€1000, 40 % of the migrants – in the category of €1001-€1501, and 20 % – in the category of €1501-€2000. 4 % of respondents have income over €1500. Whereby, the 9 % of respondents are in the category of up to €500 and 9 % of respondents – in the category of €500-€750.

The Moldovan migrants in the UK have the highest monthly income among the countries researched. The majority of respondents (78 %) is represented in the following three categories of income of more €1000 and higher. Whereby, 38 % has an income of €1001-1500, 22 % - income of €1501-2000, and 19 % – income of more than €2000.

6 % of respondents are in the category of up to €500, 3 % of respondents – in the category of €500-€750 and 13 % of respondents – in the category of €751-€1000.

This monthly income is based on the following sources: work – 89 % for the entire sampling; scholarship – 3 %; state allowance – 2 %; support from the family in Moldova – 3 %.

In the context of the countries studied, our survey showed the following results: in Russia, 94 % of Moldovan migrants forms their monthly income based on salaries; 2 % of respondents indicate assistance and support from the family in the Republic of Moldova and 1 % notes the scholarship.

In Italy, 86 % of Moldovan migrants from their monthly income based on salaries; on the scholarship – 4 %; on state allowance – 1 %; on support from Moldova – 6 %.

In Portugal, 95 % of Moldovan migrants forms their income based on salaries. People do not indicate other sources of monthly income.

In Germany, 78 % of respondents forms their income based on salaries; on the scholarship – 10 %; on state allowance – 5 %; on support from the family in Moldova – 6 %. The Moldovan diaspora in Germany shows the most diverse sources of monthly income.

In Israel, 93 % of respondents forms their monthly income based on salaries; on scholarship – 4 %; on state allowance – 2 %.

In the UK, 82 % of Moldovan respondents form their monthly budget based on salaries. 9 % indicate state allowance and 3 % of respondents – support the family.

**Table 26. Main sources of income for Moldovan migrants
in the country of destination**

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Work/salary	93.7%	85.7%	94.7%	77.5%	93.3%	81.8%	88.5%
Scholarship	1.0%	4.0%	0%	10.1%	4.4%	0%	3.4%
State allowances	0%	0.8%	0%	4.5%	2.2%	9.1%	1.7%
Support from the family in Moldova	1.9%	5.6%	0%	5.6%	0%	3.0%	3.2%
No answer	3.4%	4.0%	5.3%	2.2%	0%	6.1%	3.4%

The survey outlined that 94 % of Moldovan migrants have a valid Moldovan passport. The picture is as follows on the country level: in Italy – 97 %, in the UK – 94 %, in Germany and Russia – 93 %, in Portugal – 90 %, in Israel – 87 %. The other Moldovan respondents do not have a valid Moldovan passport.

Table 27. Availability of a valid Moldovan passport

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Available	93.2%	96.8%	89.5%	9.3%	88.6%	93.9%	93.5%
Not available	6.3%	3.2%	10.5%	6.7%	11.4%	6.1%	6.3%
No answer	0.5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0.2%

However, many Moldovan citizens have citizenship (passports) of other countries. The dual citizenship is allowed by Moldovan legislation. Our survey showed that in all these countries, there is a significant mass of persons who possess the citizenships of other countries. The highest figure of having a second citizenship/passport in the UK is 97 %. In other countries, this figure is lower: in Germany – 72 %; in Italy – 66 %; in Portugal – 50 %, in Israel – 38 %. The lowest percentage of persons with a second citizenship is in Russia (23 %). This is due to the fact that one can enter the countries of the European Union without a visa on the basis of a biometric Moldovan passport and stay there continuously without problems for up to 90 days. But the Moldovan passport does not give the right to employment in the EU.

The Moldovan citizens solve this issue by “restoring” Romanian or Bulgarian citizenship. The Romanian and Bulgarian states grant their citizenship to Moldovan citizens on the historical or ethnic grounds. Their citizens, as EU citizens, have the right to work in the EU. The Moldovan citizens use this option and obtain the second citizenship of these countries. According to the German expert, *“more than 700,000 Moldovan citizens have Romanian citizenship. Most of them received Romanian citizenship/passport for economic purposes in order to be able to visa-free entry and free employment in countries in the European Union. There are, of course, persons who received a Romanian passport (citizenship) for ideological reasons, in order to emphasize and consolidate their identity”* (3.05).

The data from the table clearly show that Moldovan migrants often have a passport of another country in order to take certain advantages in the country of destination, to resolve issues of stay and employment.

Table 28. Availability of the citizenship (passport) of another country

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Yes	22.7%	65.9%	50.0%	71.9%	37.8%	97.0%	48.7%
No	77.3%	34.1%	50.0%	28.1%	62.2%	3.0%	51.3%

The above data on Moldovan citizens with a second citizenship / passport do not apply to the host country. The question of availability of the passport/citizenship of the host country was considered separately, in addition to the question on the second citizenship. Whereby, the respondents were explained that these are different questions and they concern different things. And it is also necessary to separate these concepts in the answers.

The survey showed that 20 % of the interviewed Moldovan respondents have a passport of the host country. Herewith, this process is the most widespread among Moldovan respondents in Portugal – 37 %; in Russia – 23 %; in the UK – 21 %; in Israel – 18 %; in Italy – 15 %; in Germany – 10 %. These figures suggest that among the Moldovan migrants there are persons who have three citizenships.

Table 29. Availability of the citizenship (passport) of the host country

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Available	22.5%	15.4%	36.8%	10.1%	17.8%	21.2%	19.4%
Not available	77.0%	84.6%	63.2%	89.9%	82.2%	78.8%	80.5%
No answer	0.5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0.2%

Our survey showed that many Moldovan migrants would like to have citizenship of the host country. Of proportion of those who do not have (in total 81 % of the sampling of Moldovan migrants) the citizenship of the host country/destination, almost 2/3 – 64 % would like to have it. In the country context, the situation is as follows: in Russia – 67 %; in Italy – 63 %; in Portugal – 85 %; in Germany – 58 %; in Israel – 50 %; in the UK – 63 %.

Table 30. Desire to obtain citizenship / become a citizen of the host country

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Yes	66.5%	63.1%	84.6%	58.0%	50.0%	63.0%	63.5%
No	32.9%	34.2%	15.4%	40.7%	47.5%	29.6%	34.7%
No answer	0.6%	2.7%	0%	1.3%	2.5%	0.4%	1.8%

The citizenship of the host country provides for the extension of human capabilities in various spheres of life. In addition, the presence of the citizenship of the host country creates more favorable conditions for the integration of migrants in society countries.

Integration in the host country largely depends on the knowledge obtained.

Our survey showed that, contemplating what Moldovan background (knowledge, skills, experience) would be of use in the country of destination, the migrants noted such things as general (school and university) education and, above all, learning and knowledge of foreign languages.

Table 31. What are the experiences/skills/knowledge obtained in Moldova that have been useful for you in this country?

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Education, including knowledge of foreign languages	67	13	4	14	5	4	188
No, nothing was useful							68
Work, life, communication experience	75	33	5	19	6	6	144
Professional knowledge, skills, abilities, experience	38	30	12	15	17	7	129

This is indicated by 34.9 % of interviewed migrants. People also indicate the professional education, namely, professional knowledge, skills, abilities, work experience, which they accumulated in Moldova (24.0 %). In addition, Moldovan migrants also highlight the home education (knowledge, experience of life, work and communication, which they accumulated in the family, from their parents). This draws the attention of 26.8 % of the respondents. It should also be noted that 12.6 % of respondents indicated that in the country of destination they have no use of the knowledge, skills and experience obtained in Moldova.

Integration in the host country is greatly facilitated by the presence of relatives. Moreover, the presence of relatives living with the migrant makes it difficult for him to leave/return to his country of origin. In our case, this is the Republic of Moldova. The presence of relatives in the host country is indicated by the 58 % of respondents from the whole sampling. The highest figure is in the UK (70 %); in Italy – 64 %, in Portugal – 61 %; in Russia – 59 %; in Israel – 51 %; in Germany – 43 %.

Table 32. Presence of relatives in the country of destination

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Yes	58.9%	64.3%	60.5%	42.7%	51.1%	69.7%	57.6%

Table 33. Who are the relatives in the country of destination

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Husband	7.4%	19.7%	21.7%	12.5%	10.0%	22.7%	50
Wife	11.0%	11.3%	13.0%	5.0%	10.0%	31.8%	34
Children	17.4%	31.0%	30.4%	17.5%	30.0%	50.0%	72
Parents	19.3%	26.8%	21.7%	25.0%	10.0%	9.1%	59
Brothers/sisters	51.4%	63.4%	43.5%	55.0%	80.0%	40.9%	158
Grandparents	2.8%	0%	0%	2.5%	0%	0%	4
Grandchildren	4.6%	5.6%	4.3%	2.5%	5.0%	4.5%	13
Cousins	39.4%	33.8%	34.8%	42.5%	30.0%	27.3%	104
Aunts/uncles	18.3%	31.0%	8.7%	30.0%	15.0%	0%	59
Nephews	1.8%	1.4%	0%	10.0%	0%	9.1%	9

Our survey revealed that many migrants have relatives entering both a simple (“nuclear”) family and a large family in the country of destination.

Husbands: 23% of Moldovan migrants in the UK have a husband in their country of destination. The migrants in Portugal represent almost the same figure (22%), in Italy (20%). The significantly lower figure is in Germany (13%), Israel (10%), and Russia (7%).

Wives: the UK also has the highest figure (32%) of migrants who have a wife in the country of destination. Although Portugal, like in the first case, is in second place, however, the percentage of migrants, who have a wife in this country is much lower (13%). The Moldovan migrants in Italy make almost the same figure (11%), Russia (11%), Israel (10%). The figure is twice lower in Germany (5%).

Children: the UK has the highest figure of 50%; Italy – 31%, Portugal – 30%, Israel – 30%. Lower figures are in Germany (18%) and in Russia (17%).

Data on the “nuclear” family indicate that, according to a survey in the UK, the highest share has migrants, who live in the destination country with family and children. The second and third figures in this regard have Italy and Portugal.

Parents: the highest figure of parents who are living with their children is in Italy. This is indicated by 27% of migrants. In Germany, this figure is 25%; in Portugal – 22%; in Russia – 19%; in Israel – 10%; in the UK – 9%.

The brothers and sisters of migrants are the most widely represented in the country of destination. In Israel, this is indicated by 80% of respondents, in Italy – 63%, in Germany – 55%; in Russia – 51%, in Portugal – 44%, in the UK – 41%.

The second largest category of relatives in the destination/host country are cousins of Moldovan migrants. In Germany, this is indicated by 43 % of respondents; in Russia – 39 %; in Portugal – 35 %; in Italy – 34 %; in Israel – 30 %; in the United Kingdom – 27 %.

The migrants in destination countries have large numbers of older family members - uncles and aunts. The highest share of them is in Italy – 31 %, in Germany 30 %, in Russia – 18 %, in Israel – 15 %. This is insignificant number of them is in Portugal – 9 %, and is not recorded in the UK at all – 0 %.

At the same time, such categories of migrants as “grandparents”, “grandchildren”, “nephews” of migrants are represented insignificantly. “Grandfathers/grandmothers of the Moldovan migrants” make 3% in Russia and Germany. The “grandchildren of migrants” do not yet represent a significant figure, but they are already visible. Their share in almost all countries is recorded from 4 % to 6 %. The exception is Germany, where their share is lower and makes 3 %. In Germany and the UK, the “nephews of Moldovan migrants” make 9-10 %. In Russia and Italy, their number is still insignificant (1-2 %). In Israel and Portugal, they are practically not recorded – 0 %.

Summarizing the results of the survey on this parameter, it should be noted that migration has a family nature, which is accompanied by the existence and development not just of massive Moldovan Diaspora, but the Diaspora, where blood ties are strong.

7. INTEGRATION INTO THE HOST SOCIETY

The process of forming the Moldovan communities, diaspora abroad involves solving the problem of integration of migrants. The integration of migrants in destination countries is a multifaceted and multidimensional process that includes many different aspects. The integration is an individual process of forming a commonality/identity of every person, every individual, in our case - a Moldovan migrant, in the context of his or her community, belonging to the country of destination, the host country, the population, the people of this country. This process involves the impact of the host country, the state structures, their migrant integration policies, the civil society and its institutions, the attitude to the processes of adaptation and integration of the population, citizens of the country of destination on the individual. In addition, there is no doubt that the country of origin of the migrant influences this process. This influence can be both informed and immediate - through promoting cooperation policies, the return and reintegration of migrants in their homeland, both indirectly and often unconsciously, both positively and negatively. At the same time, we do not lose sight of the influence of the context, which, again, can influence both in a positive and negative way - to promote, accelerate the integration process or to slow down, even block it.

Moldovan migrant and his/her relationship to integration in the host society

The success of integration into the host society is influenced by the cultural proximity of the Moldovan culture and culture of the host countries of migrants. Moreover, in this respect there is a real cultural similarity caused by a common European civilization and Christian values, and the proximity of language groups, the common linguistic roots. At the same time, recognizing this commonality, which contributes to a better understanding of the new country, its people and culture, people note certain differences that are not conflicting in nature and are not limited to the different branches of Christianity (Orthodoxy, Catholicism or Protestantism). Moreover, people note the assistance of the Catholic Church, which provides their premises for the church service and religious rites of Orthodoxy, etc.

In this respect, a special case is Israel, culture and religion of which are different from the known and understandable to the Christian-European culture and civilization. We have had to meet repeatedly with people saying that holidays in Israel are different from our Christian ones in the framework of the focus groups in Israel.

Whereby, respondents note that cultures of the host countries (Italy, Germany, UK...) and Moldova are different. People see this difference in the fact that it is more developed. In their view, this difference is expressed in the

civilizational, industrial, cultural, educational and social backwardness that they consider to be time-bound and measured in a space of at least 20 years. *"Problems of integration. I had difficulties in the beginning. There was a problem in understanding Italian culture, because the current Moldovans are like the Italians 20 years ago. Thus, their mentality has lagged behind for 20 years"* (2.16). The experts in Italy, UK and Germany also pay attention to this when they say that the Moldovan university education is lagging behind in the field of exact sciences, underdevelopment of the applied component in the training of a specialist with higher education, repetition and cramming in the school education of children in Moldova.

For many Moldovan migrants integration in Russia is simpler and easier, which is due not only to the common historical past and knowledge of the Russian language, but also to the proximity/commonness of economic, cultural and socio-psychological conditions. In this regard, the views of labor migrants who have migrated to Russia, and to the countries of the European Union, Italy, Poland, etc. are indicative (1.08).

The participants in the focus groups also indicated this. They see these differences most often at the household level, first of all, at the level of Moldovan and Italian cuisine. Italians do not eat fatty foods, prefer cheese, greens, pasta (macaroni), etc. *"I cook the meat broth jelly. They come, see and are surprised, they turn the plate upside down and ask why the food, the contents do not fall to the floor... I have cooked our Moldovan dishes many times - cabbage rolls, placintas and they have not really admired them. They said that they could not eat it. They like pasta. And I start to prefer their cuisine more than Moldovan one. In the beginning, I could not consume their olive oil, their pasta or rice, not boiled enough. During the meal, my face muscles hurt. And today I cannot live without their oil, rice, and pasta. The stomach will then be healthy, when it works, chews food. They are very attentive to the time of their meals, to the amount of food they eat. They eat a lot of salads"* (2.16).

In many respects, the integration process depends on the migrant himself/herself. It is natural that people are different in their spirit, temperament. Also less sociable people are closed to intercultural communication and contacts²⁶. It is natural, that there are more shy and closed persons, persons having problems with communication, whose integration is more difficult and troubled.

However, the process of integration depends not only on the social and psychological constitution of a person, his ability to communicate, adapt and

²⁶ Мошняга В., Бурдельный Е., Васильева Л., Малиновская Е. Проблемы реинтеграции и возвращения трудовых мигрантов из ЕС в страны програницья. - Вильнюс: Издательство ЕГУ, 2012 (Mosneaga V., Burdelnii E. Vasilieva L., Malinovskaya E. Issues of reintegration and return of labor migrants from the EU in the neighborhood countries.-Vilnius: EHU Publishing House, 2012)

integrate into the host society, but also on those attitudes that he adheres to in the matter of integration. Respondents point out that the integration process depends largely on the mindset that migrants adhere to. As one respondent pointed out, integration was easy for him because *“he is not a patriot of Moldova”* (2.16).

Naturally, in conditions of seasonal, circular migration, the mindset for integration is not the dominant one. Difficulties, problems with the arrival, stay and work of the migrant in the country of destination determined his mindset to preserve the existing situation, the status in the country of destination, under the simultaneous domination of the mindset for temporary stay in the country of destination, which is *“to earn money and return home”*. This contradiction between the strategic and tactical attitudes of the migrant was solved (and resolves) by increasing the length of stay in the country of destination. People come to the country of destination with the idea to solve their financial issues, working there for a year or two, earn and then return home.

The process of integration of migrants is also affected by their age. The young people, unlike representatives of older ages, integrate easier into the new society. *“The integration/naturalization depends on many factors. First of all, it depends on the age. The younger person is, the easier the integration process is. And, inversely, if a person comes to the country of destination in an adult age. If to talk about our parents, their integration is a more complicated process. They have a habit, a pattern of behavior, the environment in which they live, etc. It is rarely possible to hear a young man saying that he wants to go home. The people of the older age are usually not happy, they do not like it there, they cannot adapt. Even if they are here with their family. They want to go home, because they do not accept this way of life”* (2.16).

The experts in Italy note that Moldovan migrants are inclined to integrate, take real steps along this path. *“Our Moldovan migrants are well integrated here. The language is very close, we do not differ in culture, way of life, etc., there are no problems in the integration process neither by Moldovans, nor by the Italian authorities. I think that the main problem is the problem of recognizing documents. If several years ago the main problem was the problem of legalization, because most of the migrants entered the country illegally or tried to obtain a labor contract, they were waiting for legalization, today this problem has become secondary one”* (2.01). The experts in Portugal also pay attention to this.

The practice has shown that Moldovans, in comparison to Ukrainians, Russians, learn the language of the host country more easily, in particular the languages of the Latin group (Italy, Portugal, Spain, France, other countries). It occurs thanks to the traditional bilingualism of the Moldovan people, who speak Romanian and Russian, belonging of the Moldovan citizens to the Romanian / Slavonic / Turkic etc. language group, foreign language learning in

school system (lyceum) and pursuit of the Moldovan citizens to speak in the language of the host country. High educational level of Moldovan migrant workers also contributes to it. Moldovan citizens actually start speaking languages of the Latin group within three months without visiting the special language courses²⁷.

But it doesn't speak about the knowledge of the standard language or the knowledge of the official dialect. It influences the attitude of the native speakers, who do not consider a person as 'a friend' and distinguish immigrants, who are not equal to them on the spot.

One should say that the language problem in the countries of non-Latin language group is often a difficult barrier in the integration process. It refers to Germany, the United Kingdom²⁸ and especially Israel. If earlier the language problem, its proximity and knowledge were essential in the choice of the host country, then today, for example, Germany and the United Kingdom witness that the essential factor is salary/material welfare, professional growth. It is no wonder that highly skilled specialists in medicine, banking, programmers and IT specialists, students, people who want to try themselves in business go to Germany and the United Kingdom today.

There is a little bit more complicated situation in the process of Moldovan citizens' language integration process in Israel. Hebrew is rather difficult for Moldovan immigrants, in particular for the residents of the rural areas, older people, who do not have a high educational level and language skills. But, as experts say, there were employment opportunities among Russian-speaking Israel citizens, native-born and immigrants from the former Soviet Union. *"Moldovans are easier integrated than the others. As a rule, they work in Russian-speaking surrounding. That means that there is no language barrier. To what extent will they learn Hebrew? Hebrew is a very difficult language. I know it from my own experience. Some of them already speak Hebrew. But in the evening when they meet, they speak Moldovan, sharing the news. I also communicate with them during such meetings... But not all of them are social workers in Russian-speaking surrounding. That is why it is important for them to show the knowledge of the language. If they do not know Hebrew, Israel gives them the second chance – English language. English*

²⁷ Marques J.C., Gois P. Imigranții din Europa de Est în Portugalia: asemănări și deosebiri între ucraineni, ruși și moldoveni. // MOLDOSCOPIE (Probleme de analiză politică). nr.4 (XLIII), 2008. - Chișinău: CEP USM, 2008, p.81-103 (Marques J.C., Gois P. Immigrants from Eastern Europe in Portugal: commonalities and differences between Ukrainians, Russians and Moldovans.// MOLDOSCOPIE (Issues of political analyses). Nr. 4 (XLIII), 2008.-Chisinau: CEP MSU, 2008, pp. 81-103)

²⁸ We think that attraction of the Great Britain among the Moldovan young people is explained by the mass learning of the English language, culture and history in the school system of the Republic of Moldova; promotion of the English language through different channels in the countries of Eastern Europe. Situation with the German language learning is less favorable; it concerns less number of pre-university educational establishments.

is the official language the same as Arabic.... On grounds of language, immigrants from Moldova have the advantage compared to Chinese, Thai, Ethiopians and other citizens of Asian countries, where the knowledge level of Russian language is lower. In this respect the Moldovans occupy more favorable position" (5.02).

At the same time, Moldovan immigrants in Israel note, that the process of adaptation and integration in Israel becomes more complicated due to the tough climate and language problem. The problem is not only in Hebrew, but also in Arabic language, which is spoken by the considerable part of the population, many builders. *"Integration process was more complicated because, first of all, the climate differs from that of the Republic of Moldova. The second problem is the language. The majority does not know it. This is why it is difficult for them to integrate. The guys get here because they know Russian or Romanian (there is a requirement during the selection process to know one of these languages). It is difficult to work on construction sites if you do not know Hebrew. People, who speak the language, integrate easier.*

When our citizens appear on the construction sites, they have to work together with the Arabs. And the Arabs communicate in Arabic, and that is the reason why the workers don't often understand each other and have conflicts. Those, who speak Arabic can answer them and ease the situation. Later we met the Jewish Moldovans. I should say that they helped us a lot. For example, it was very difficult for me at first. I did not know how to dispose Israel money in such a way that it would be enough for food products. My fellow Jewish Moldovan helped me a lot. He owned a food product store at that time. Actually, Jewish help Moldovans" (5.08). Another expert says, that Moldovan communities abroad, relatives, friends, fellow-villagers, compatriots play an important part in the process of integration of Moldovan immigrants. *"I think that the main thing is communication between compatriots, which is moral or spiritual backing" (5.03).* Immigrants often speak about the versatile help, which they receive both on the side of Moldovan communities and on the side of citizens of the host country.

It is important to speak about the EU citizenship role in the integration process as certain legal status and certain citizenship obtaining process, approaching to a particular civil, social, and cultural status. It is not only the problem of preparing of certain acts, but also knowing of the language, history, rules of social and political behavior, belonging to certain values. In addition, for many Moldovan citizens the citizenship of an EU country was not only the tool of the legal access to the host country, but also an opportunity to get a legal job. First of all, it concerns Romanian citizenship, which, according to estimations, have more than 700 thousand Moldovan citizens belong (3.05).

Herewith, the vast majority of people "restored" Romanian citizenship, as experts note, on the basis of economic considerations. Simultaneously,

many Moldovan citizens did it on the basis of ideological considerations, demonstrating and consolidating their Romanian identity and belonging to the Romanian state. At the same time, we should note, that there are many Bulgarian and Baltic (first of all, Lithuanians) citizens among the Moldovan citizens (especially ethnical Russians, Bulgarians, Roms, and Ukrainians). In recent years, a massive process of obtaining citizenship by Moldovans citizens in Portugal, Italy, and the United Kingdom has begun. In this regard, the process of Russian citizenship obtaining began much earlier, which is connected with peculiarities of establishment of the independent state of Moldova and Russia based on post-Soviet space.

Herewith, availability of citizenship is an additional tool for the further integration both in the host country and during the migration of the Moldovan citizens – citizens of Portugal, Italy to Belgium, Luxemburg, the United Kingdom, Canada and other countries.

Moreover, experience shows the variety of forms of citizenship obtaining: by birth, naturalization, marriage, etc. *“We have different categories of our citizens, who obtain Italian citizenship on the different basis. Many of our citizens (first of all women) marry Italian citizens and obtain citizenship on the basis of marriage. Official statistics show, that 70 % of the mixed marriages is between citizens of Moldova (female) and Italian citizens (male). Other marriages are those between our citizen (male or female) and a foreign citizen (male or female) who are on the Italian territory. About 1 % of mixed marriages are between a Moldovan citizen (male) and an Italian citizen (female). According to the Italian legislation, you can apply for the citizenship after two years of marriage. Procedure of citizenship obtaining takes one or two years (it depends on the local council). We have more than 10 thousand mixed marriages registered. So, one can draw the conclusion, that 7-8 thousand Moldovan citizens received Italian citizenship on the basis of marriage. Most of them apply for the Italian citizenship.*

Another category of citizens is those who were granted the citizenship by means of naturalization. It is true, that the Italian legislation (for example, in comparison to Portugal) concerning naturalization is stricter. It was necessary to live and work legally in Italy for 8 years previously. Today, if I am not mistaken, this term was overruled... After application, you should wait for a couple of years. It makes 8-10 years totally. Therefore, many of our citizens, who came to the country in '90-2000s, apply for the Italian citizenship now. They have been legalized, received permission to stay, permission to stay for a long time and are now on the stage of applying for citizenship... last year, according to official Italian data, more than 1300 Moldovan citizens were granted Italian citizenship. If we sum up these numbers, we get about 15-17 thousand of Moldovan citizens, who have obtained Italian citizenship” (2.01).

Unfortunately, such integration can lead (and there are such cases) to

the total rejection of the previous Moldovan identity, which is expressed in the refusal of Moldovan citizenship, public/demonstrative throwing out the Moldovan passport, disregard of parents' and ancestries' language, unwillingness to know, learn and use it in communication, etc. *"You should have at least some regard, dignity. Well, I understand that our country is poor and we are shaken all-round. But we shouldn't express in such a way. There are many people, who demonstratively throw out their Moldovan passport after they have received citizenship; there are such persons. Unfortunately... And you know, it is a peculiar filter between the situation in the country, Moldova, and Moldovan community here"* (2.02).

Unfortunately, renunciation of Moldovan nationality is rather common. Herewith, one should note, that such protesting attitude to the old identity, striving to become a citizen of the new country as fast as possible, a "friend" among the Italians, Germans, Portuguese, Russians etc. is influenced by the complexity of immigrant's self-awareness, who although having two or three identities, doesn't become wealthier, having received something from each of these identities. It often happens vice versa. The reason is that the identities do not become wealthier, but stigmatize, they obtain one superficial identity and the other one becomes lower. *"We immigrants don't have one homeland. We are torn into two. We are discriminated when we return home. And we are also sometimes discriminated and demonized here. We are loved here and there. We don't have one homeland to know that it is ours, my homeland. Our women say: "I'm eager to come home. But when I come I have no patience, I want to come back to Italy". And there are women who have husbands and children there. It is very painful and sad"* (2.07).

One of the main problems of integration is the problem of papers, their acknowledgement, employment according to the qualifications and diplomas. People say that it is easier to integrate if you have Romanian citizenship (passport), Romanian academic certificates, etc. And it is also one of the stimuli to receive Romanian, Bulgarian citizenship or citizenship of other countries of the European Union.

Immigrants note, that the legislation of the host countries provides mechanisms of acknowledgement of papers, received in the origin country, in our case the Republic Moldova. Herewith, such mechanisms are similar to those, which are applied in the process of integration of the foreign citizens in the Republic of Moldova, recognition of their academic certificates, qualification and profession. *"They offer two options to the candidate: 1. To continue education and to obtain necessary credits, which correspond to the diplomas of the United Kingdom; 2. Partial recognition of the diploma on the particular level. The procedure concerning foreign diplomas is the same as in the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Moldova. But the core of the problem is that we don't have a bilateral arrangement on the recognition of*

qualifications, because of the difference in the educational system. I assume that this question is rather complicated and a lot depends on the authorities of the Republic of Moldova. The most difficult is to recognize diplomas in medicine and law, as the systems of education in these spheres are different" (6.01). We should mention that experts and respondents give many examples related to the difficulties in Moldovan medical diplomas recognition. Our doctors, who want to work (and will work) according to their profession in Italy, have to continue education in the Italian universities, graduate and get Italian diploma.

Attitude of the authorities and government institutions of the countries hosting immigrants

Respondents note that integration also depends on a policy of the country-hosting immigrants; to which extent the policy is aimed at integrating of migrants. This is typical for all EU countries. However, the integration rate of immigrants in some countries is higher, but in other ones is lower.

Experts note that the legislation of the European Union countries is an inclusive one, which allows the effective integration of foreign citizens into the host society, but for this purpose, people have to know their rights and be able to use them. Practice shows that, unfortunately, it does not always happen. One of the key issues of integration is the information problem. People often do not know their rights or responsibilities in the host country. People have to be informed, have to have an access to information about all the necessary aspects of life and work in the designated country. The information helps them to secure their rights and use all benefits that are offered by the host country.

Experts and respondents note that the immigration policy in the European Union countries and also in Russia has undergone a positive change in the last few years. The immigrants who arrived in their designated countries in the early 2000s faced great difficulties in the process of integration, compared to today's immigrants. Respondents note that there are many factors that influence the process of integration, its effectiveness and painlessness. *"I think that it influences the year of arrival to Italy. In 1999-2005, it was a painful period of emigration for Moldovans. Then there were the biggest problems, because later, thankful to Romanian citizenship and the actions of the Italian government, the situation has changed. The Italy was very responsive to the problems of immigrants and Italian society is open enough. You may notice it as being on an individual level, because you come across people, see their relation... Why Italy? Most of the European countries during this period (2005) did not provide any documents to anyone; therefore the majority came to Italy"* (2.16).

Of course, it is common not only in Italy. Modern Italy is pursuing a tolerant policy towards immigrant integration, based on respect for human

rights, regardless of race, gender, sexual, political or religious affiliation. It seeks to create equal opportunities in the labor market for an Italian citizen and an immigrant, recognizing both qualifications and diplomas acquired in the country of origin. *“Professional qualifications of migrants are recognized. Documents confirming personal qualification of an immigrant must be translated into Italian and legalized in Italy. Legalization is carried out on the basis of the convention on the recognition of qualifications, and people can work on the basis of their acquired documents.*

Recognition of university diplomas is more difficult; however, it is carried out. It is more difficult in the sense that we do not have any bilateral agreement. However, both Moldova and Italy are countries, which signed the Madrid Convention in the field of education. This is a multilateral convention. On the basis of this convention, any Moldovan citizen addresses to the Italian Embassy in Chisinau with a request to issue a document confirming the authenticity of the existing diploma. Upon arrival in Italy, one applies to the relevant university authority (depending on the profile) asks for recognition of one's diploma. Usually, they are encouraged to go through training to eliminate the difference in programs and, at the same time, for better integration into the educational system of Italy” (2.01).

Immigrants get diverse support from the EU host countries. Respondents compare the attitude (behavior) towards them from the host countries and Moldovan government institutions and make a positive conclusion not in favor of the Republic of Moldova. Immigrants note that they met good and positive attitude from the authorities, government institutions, and willingness to help migrants, and provide various assistance in the process of integration. *“Regarding the authorities, I can say that I have never encountered any problems or difficulties. There were some misunderstandings. I would appraise their activity by rate 7-8, on the basis of 10-point system. I have never met discrimination at the level of government institutions. Almost everywhere I was meeting very tolerant, very weighted relationship” (2.16).* Moreover, such cases are common.

At the same time, experts acknowledge that there are cases where government institutions demonstrate a negative, sometimes racist attitude towards immigrants. Within the conditions of economic and especially the migration crisis of 2014-2016, the attitude of government institutions is changing and it becomes a negative one. Even in terms of reduction of volume of information, number of consulting centers and services. *“Government structures also help immigrants. The Padua City Municipality has a cabinet for immigrants, which provides them necessary information, provides with advises and assist with information. It was a year ago. In the last year, the policy has been changed. A representative of the right party, “League of the North”, elected the mayor. This is an Italian party that promotes anti-*

immigration policy – “immigrants must go home”. The mayor is promoting these ideas. This office in the city municipality has been closed. A commission to solve the problems of immigrants has been dismissed. The commission consisted of representatives of various immigrant communities. The Moldovan community of Padua has also been represented. The Commission could not make decisions; it was an advisory body. However, this commission expressed the position of foreign communities in the region. The Commission could propose project proposals. A framework has been created for the integration of immigrants and foreigners. Now the situation became more complicated. Interaction with local authorities has been changed, not like it was before. All information centers for immigrants were closed” (2.06).

The country, trying to secure the rights of its citizens and immigrants, is not a third party, limited only to the development of laws and their implementation. It strives to implement them by monitoring the behavior of both business and other public and private structures. Moreover, the behavior of government structures must be not only legal, fair, but also correct, tolerant, respectful of the person, regardless of citizenship, social and legal status.

Attitude of the civil society and its institutions to Moldovan immigrants

Experts and immigrant-respondents note open and positive attitude towards them from the part of civil society, its institutions, labor unions, various non-governmental organizations. Immigrants often get accommodation, various financial support, legal, human rights, consulting, informational help, oblige dishonest businessmen pay an appropriate amount that have been earned by immigrants.

“... the labor unions work at their best for everyone. If an entrepreneur does not pay as it is necessary, contact the labor union and they will help you to get your money. My cousins worked on an animal breeder farm and got very little wages. They asked for labor union's help and then they were paid better. The owner was forced to pay all the money, which he did not pay. They also took into account their work experience” (2.13).

Catholic Church provides a significant help for immigrants. Our interviews, focus groups and individual interviews did not reveal any negative cases or negative attitude of Moldovan citizens towards the church. Only positive evaluations. *“Relations with the church. When we arrived there, we missed the moment when applying for a kindergarten. There is a special time for it. We could not do anything, because exceptions are not permitted. In this case, we had to go to a private kindergarten. Our Moldovans suggested us Catholic Church. Our child was taken to a parochial kindergarten, for an appropriate fee. They treated us very well, without any discrimination. We decided to take our child also there in the next year. Religion was taught in the*

kindergarten. I think that one must learn religious, humane values at this age” (2.16).

It is necessary to note that this is not the case in all countries. Serious problems of Moldovan immigrants were detected through focus groups in Israel, who arrived in Israel on the basis of a contract concluded through various employment agencies as builders, caregivers for sick people, nursing care workers. In order to arrive for work here people noted that they were forced to use their houses as collateral, and the first year they almost worked for free, since they had to pay amounts of money reaching eleven thousand dollars for the services of mediator companies. Moreover, the terms of the contract are not fulfilled, they are cheated and contract conditions are not observed. At the same time, people are afraid to complain because they are afraid to get back to their homeland, unpaid debts, etc. People are outraged that they cannot invite their relatives for holidays; they are forced to work on holidays that violates conditions of the contract, etc.

I will cite a speech from one of the migrants, a participant in the focus group, who tried to find justice. I have noted that others are simply afraid and keep silence. *“The only organization that protects our interests is Cabloved. This is a non-governmental organization. It has a “hotline” for everyone who works in the field of “metapel”. In emergency cases, they help to solve some problems. There is also a lawyer in the Ministry of Economy, who absolutely does nothing. We repeatedly applied to him, but did not receive any response. Unfortunately, the hotline did not help us either. We get their contact details free of charge from mediator companies. We even informed Mr. Avigdor Lieberman about our problems. We asked Mr. A. Lieberman to help us to arrive legally in Israel on the basis of a bilateral agreement similar to that which exists in the field of construction. ...*

First of all, the employer does not comply with the requirements of the contract, which does not correspond to the real conditions of work. The content of the contract does not correspond to the actual situation. For example, the contract indicates the amount of salary is 3,000-3,500 NIS. In reality, the amount is less. Secondly, weekends are not provided. Until now, we cannot use 2 free hours per day. Thirdly, it is unclear whether the work is paid for public holidays or not. Fourthly, what is the mode of our work? We are in the work place in non-stop mode. It is impossible to work 24 hours a day. We work from 8 to 22 hours a day. We have 2 hours of free time. However, we are paid only 8 for hours. It happens that we accompany clients into the hospital. No additional services are paid. We are with clients 10 hours a day. No additional services are paid. In majority cases, families hiring us, treat us as slaves. Not talking only about mediator companies” (5.08).

Another example, Moldovan builders come to work at the construction site where everything is arranged according to contract and even in such cases

there are uncertainties. *"We were brought by the Israeli company Onbone here, which does not treat Moldovan citizens well. It is a mediator company between the recruitment agency in Moldova and the employment company in Israel. It literally sells us in their labor market. I witnessed when a group of Moldovans was expelled from the construction site (without any explanation or pre-notice) after 5 days of work and residence in Israel. They did not know the language or other elementary and necessary things for staying in Israel. This company has not provided any additional information that is necessary for immigrants, only "Hotline" of Israeli authorities. If we had personal issues that do not concern them, they even did not pick up the phone at all. Guys are often left on the streets. And I was on the street because we were simply kicked out. With the help of another migrant, I found work and accommodation. Immigrants themselves help us.*

... Yes, I contacted the "Hotline" of the State of Israel. I got this information from the employment agency in the Republic of Moldova. I turned to this hotline to get help from the competent structures and to force the company, which hired me to work, to pay for my labor at the construction site. The operator told me that they will study my case and report about the result. Nothing is clear until now. Unfortunately, those who were dismissed from this company, nobody got compensation for their labor. The topic is closed and is not discussed anymore. I would like to note that the employees of the "Hotline" did not contact me and inquire about my situation: whether I got a job or not. Representatives of hotline provided me some links to a web page that should help me in finding a job. But by that time, I have already found a job" (5.06).

It should be noted that the issue of the activities of private Moldovan companies for the employment of Moldovan citizens abroad has been studied in the Republic of Moldova, with the support of the International Labor Organization; the strengths and weaknesses of their activities have been considered. However, apparently, it is too early to take the issue off the table. There is a need to pay attention to their activities and law enforcement agencies, both in the Republic of Moldova and in the State of Israel.

Local population's attitude towards Moldovan immigrants

As experts and participants of the focus groups mark, the attitude of population of host countries towards the Moldovan migrants is good, in general. This fact arises from a number of factors, including the fact that there are many persons with higher education among them – the Moldovans have not come to live off the host state and its taxpayers.

The population of the host countries values the Moldovans for scrupulosity, human decency, hard-working nature. For example, Italians understand that Moldovan citizens have come to work honestly and to earn their living, their children's future, i.e. to solve problems that are close and

clear to an ordinary Italian. *“Fundamentally, Moldovans in Italy have a positive reputation. A reputation of persons who are honest and hard working. Our women working generally in Italian families are valued especially high. They possess the ability to integrate into the Italian families and even become much integrated family members”* (2.01).

An expert from the United Kingdom also draws attention to other aspects of the problem of the local population's attitude towards the Moldovan migrants, their reputation in the host country. *“I didn't hear about stereotypes formed in respect of the Moldovan migrants in the United Kingdom. Probably because their number is not high. The people respect those who started from nothing and reached serious results in a career in the banking and financial sphere. Here you are given a credit of trust and, if you achieve a result, the professional environment values you”* (6.01).

“The problem of discrimination. I think you must not do any generalization. It depends on many factors. In any society, there are persons who discriminate others, and there are persons who are discriminated. We, the migrants, are among those who are discriminated. The politics of the country is directed against discrimination. ... But specific cases depend on the persons, their tolerance, on the Italian patron, on the teacher at school, on the police officer, etc., on their culture, on migrant phobia... However, I would like to say that many things also depend on us. If you don't steal, don't do anything bad, go to work, have good, normal attitude towards the Italians, then you may count on an adequate attitude” (2.06).

At the same time, people underline that in the conditions of social and economic crisis of 2008-2011, migration crisis of 2014-2016, certain developments concerning all the migrants, including Moldovan citizens, take place. *“There is a strong and negative tendency. When there was no crisis, and economic development was good, we were calmer. Now, in the conditions of crisis, the situation has changed. Moreover, it is not clear what instructions the illegal migrants that arrive in Europe, in Italy, have today”* (2.04).

And this is characteristic not only for Italy, but for other countries in question. Herewith, there is a certain specificity caused by the cultural tradition of the people. The Germans, as the experts mark, are rather cold in relations with others; they do not approach to themselves. If you work, pay taxes, behave within the law, then there are no questions to you. The British accept professional integration and promotion, but they are close socially. And this makes them closer to the German perception of the foreigner, the migrant.

In the conditions of crisis, people become more intolerant, malicious, discontented, and aggressive about all the migrants. *“Population. In particular, the attitude towards migrants is felt among the population. Usually you cannot feel it with the authorities... there is no problem with the authorities. And it is felt by people. When we watch evening programs on the TV, we can*

observe this attitude. People are already embittered. Certainly, everyone understands that it is difficult there, in Africa, in the Middle East, in Asia. But, at the same time, people understand and say that Europe is not a bucket without a bottom. It cannot accept everyone. I think, the Moldovans also suffer for this reason, because they are also foreigners. The word "foreigner" already puts you on the same scales with all the others. No one will already say that the Moldovans are good guys, that, in general, they are praised" (2.02).

Cases of criminal behavior of some Moldovan citizens also have an impact on the attitude of the local population towards Moldovan citizens, immigrants. The experts and respondents draw special attention to the case of theft of pictures in the Verona museum, among the participants of which there were also Moldovan citizens. Undoubtedly, it is very easy to lose confidence of the local population and it is much more difficult to recover it. Correct, weighed efforts, actions of the representatives of Moldovan diplomatic circles in the country and the representatives of Moldovan diaspora are necessary for this.

The experts mark that the Moldovan authorities in Moldova took all the efforts to search for the criminals, and to return the pictures to Italy. Moldovan diplomats found the right tone and words in this situation, were on TV, and begged pardon for the behavior of their citizens, and this received a positive mark from both the authorities and the public opinion of the country.

At the same time, people make that accents committed to integration and tolerant attitude of the local population towards migrants do not always dominate in the behavior of the mass media. *"But I think that you also need to talk about good affairs and actions. For example, about two Moldovan boys who with an Italian girl (all of them from Padua) won "Galileo Galilei" national contest. However, it was not written anywhere that they were Moldovans. When they write about thefts, violations of law, mass media point out who they are, speak about their national identity" (2.16).*

Related to this, it is necessary to note that in Portugal, when events connected with indecent behavior of migrants are described, the nationality of the lawbreaker is never mentioned in order not to create the negative attitude towards all the migrants, persons of this nationality.

Note that evolutions from the Moldovan migrants of the attitude of the local inhabitants towards them, towards other groups of migrants are different, there are as weighed positions, as extremist ones – from categorically positive to categorically negative. That testifies the fact that they also are not always objective, they are often ruled by emotions, their own, specifically positive or negative experience which they try to generalize, make it an absolute truth, absolute it.

Related to this, we will quote two members of a focus group who, in our opinion, answered this question very correctly, fairly and multifaceted, they highlighted that you must not view yourself as the guardian of truth, you

should be able to look at yourself with a critical eye. And this is the only right and successful way to a real tolerance and integration of you and of other persons both in the host country, and in the homeland, in Moldova.

"I think that everyone has their own history, everyone has their own way, their past, experience that formed them. I also had difficult situations in my past. And they leave their marks on us, form our personality.

Here we have another mentality, another world. Imagine that an Italian comes to Moldova. Many things will be strange for him. That people sit in a bar and drink vodka, that they drink wine at 6 o'clock in the morning or even at lunch. There are many moments when it will seem to him that we have no culture, that usually people do not do like this, do not say like this. When you go to a shop here and buy bread, when people say curse words. Thus, many moments are strange for him. I do not think that we are good guys and they are not good guys. Or that we are bad, and they are good. There are different people.

However, I notice one important thing, because I work at school, I teach English... Yes, racism exists. It does. But it exists not only here. It also exists in France, in England, and in Moldova (Russians with Moldovans). There is such a problem. My father, for example, is against the Russians. Everyone chooses their street, makes their choice in life. They choose what to do and what not to do. To believe and to decide.

I see that things here are also changing... Each of us has their own history. Each of us lived difficult moments. And I think that a great lot depends on how we see these things. If we take the pain that we passed through and bury it in our heart, make it absolute, carry it in ourselves for years, it remains with us. If we try to forgive, to understand and afterwards to forget, we get free and move on with another mentality. It strengthens us...

Yes, new generations are a bit more open. And there are different people. There are open people who invite to them foreigners' children, Chinese, Filipinos, others, and there are persons that are more unsociable. But there are a lot of us, we can choose with whom to communicate and with whom not to communicate" (2.15).

At the same time, the process of integration represent an interest, more exactly certain specificity of integration in other countries, particularly in Germany. The experts draw attention to a certain specificity of integration in Germany. Firstly, it is the presence of different types. *"There are two types of integration of immigrants in Germany. One variant concerns ethnic Germans and Jews (as a payment for the Holocaust). As repatriates, they receive assistance from the German state. It concerns also teaching the language, profession, job retraining. Everything is done by the state, with the help of its money. My wife and boys received such assistance. As to me, I went by another way – of learning the language – at my own cost. If you need – learn, look for, pay" (3.02).*

Secondly, it is the knowledge of the language. The German language is more difficult for Moldovan citizens than, say, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French... *"The main problem that migrants face is the language problem. Moldovans are hard-working, responsible, do not put many questions, but lack of knowledge of the language influences both the possibility to find a job and the work itself. My acquaintance owns a firm that deals with the delivery of postal correspondence, and he has two Moldovan migrants who work for him. He says that they are efficient, responsible, but it is a big problem for them to learn some standard phrases to communicate with clients"* (3.09).

For this reason, people often strive to communicate with those who speak their language (Romanian, Russian languages). *"If absolutely necessary, I can testify that Moldovans make many friends and have relations out of work not with Moldovans, as with the natives from the former Soviet Union and with Russian Germans, i.e. with natives from the former Soviet Union, from new independent states who are ethnic Germans. Probably, here we have an impact of some nostalgic feelings, striving for a closer communication in frames of a common culture, the Russian language. Probably, there is an impact of the fact that these people do not speak German as good as local Germans, that for them the German language is not a native one"* (3.04).

That is why integration and communication is often limited by an "intimate circle". *"We have got friends, an intimate circle where there are also Moldovans are also present. However, to be friends specially only with Moldovans or other native-born of Moldova/Moldavia – we do not have this. Our circle is the former Soviet Union. No matter how long we live in Germany, our acquaintances, friends are native-born of the former USSR (Georgians, Russians, Ukrainians, Moldovans, Germans, and Jews). We are still different from the Germans born in Germany"* (3.02).

Thirdly, it is a certain social indifference to migrants. *"In general, there are two important principles in the integration of migrants in Germany. These are knowledge of the language and work. Learn the language, as without the language you have very little chances for legal employment. And the second – work and pay taxes. Nothing else is important. Everything else is your own personal business. Society does not show any interest towards you"* (3.02). *"I do not think that Moldovan migrant workers create any special problems for German society and authorities, law-enforcement bodies. They are configured on integration. They want to work and they work. And, it is the main thing, they adopt the German way of life and culture. Certainly, there are some peculiarities in this. German society is rather cold in communication. No one strives to dig into anyone's soul. Do your work, pay taxes, do not offend the laws, and no one cares about you. And they, as I noticed, become like this. Communication is generally at work and after work at a restaurant or a café with a jug of beer. If you want..."* (3.04).

And Moldovan migrants in other countries see the certain parallels and discrepancies, particularly, in the United Kingdom: *“Actually, there are two levels of integration in the United Kingdom: professional and social. For example, personally I integrated very easily in The United Kingdom. In the United Kingdom, initiative and professionalism are valued very much. If you have an initiative and a wish to work, they will support and promote you. The law about discrimination is severe and it is followed. Entrepreneurs are very attentive in following this law. The accent is made on the professionalism and effectiveness of the activity. Thanks to this, the United Kingdom is in the group of countries with favorable environment for professional realization. Social integration is carried out more difficultly in the society of the native British. There are difficulties not only for foreigners, but for the British also. It is difficult to make friends with them”* (6.09).

Fourthly, it is the presence of certain historical narratives connected with the interpretation of migrant phobia as a display of fascism. *“I think that here the question is not only connected with the coldness of Germans, but these are also certain narratives caused by the processes of denazification, getting rid of fascism in the conscience of the German people. It concerns racism, fascism, attitude towards migration. To speak out against migration – it means to be a racist, to promote pro-fascist tendencies. If you drew attention, then the Germans, provided all the influx of refugees during the last several years, are not marked by a splash of negative attitude towards immigrants.*

I understand that you will say: “And what about PEGIDA, a German party that speaks out against immigration and now winning mass support among the voters?” So, this party was created under the influence of migration crisis and the arrival of thousands of refugees and illegal migrants to our country. It was created in the Eastern territories, in the former GDR. And it is supported on a massive scale, in general, in this part of Germany. Therefore, in that part of Germany which did not pass the process of denazification, which did not absorb the narratives of tolerance that were realized in Western Germany in the after-war period” (3.04).

To notify also one more very important and principal aspect of integration. This is about conservation of one's own identity in the process of integration. It is not a secret that many Moldovan migrants strive for integration in the host country. They often follow the road of assimilation in this process; they strive not only to become citizens, but also to give up of what they had in Moldova. And especially it is revealed in their policy of bringing up children, refusal of their language and use only of the language of the host country at home, family communication (“to facilitate the integration”).

Migrants tell that they strive not only to integrate into the culture and society of the host country, but also to bring our national symbols and

traditions. So, it was told that our symbol of spring “martisor” had been perceived with great interest both at school and in the kindergarten at a focus group in Portugal. *“They wanted very much to learn more about the Republic of Moldova. We made an open lesson and told about our country, culture, the “martisor”, people. They liked the “martisor” very much. They invited to make a lesson in another class, too. At the lesson there were three old women who could knit. They found out from the Internet how to make the “martisor”, from what materials. They asked me to tell the story of “martisor”. And these were they who made “martisors” for all children in the class during 45 minutes of the lesson. And we gave them solemnly to everyone” (4.06).*

To preserve the culture, the language and the identity of children, people propose to open a school of Romanian language. However, it is a difficult business, with many pitfalls and difficulties. They understand very well the problems that arise with this. The children do not live compactly; they need to come from different parts of the city, from the suburbs. Let us familiarize with the opinion of Moldovan migrants in Portugal.

“We already know from our practice that our attitude towards education differs from that one that Ukrainians and Russians demonstrate. It is no coincidence that they have appropriate schools, and we do not have. We tried to teach Math or other subjects to primary school children. Partially parents were also interested. It is clear that 2-3 persons could not satisfy the needs of all participants. In order that the school worked, money and placement is needed. On the other hand, parents must be assured of the teachers' professionalism, they must be sure that what the teacher does is correct. Taking this into consideration, parents had to decide whether they agreed to spend time and additional resources to bring children for classes on Saturday, to wait until the lessons end, to pay additional money” (4.04).

The integration of Moldovan citizens into the host society is taking place. It is taking place with a relative success. However, we also need to think about a perspective, in order to have there a Moldovan diaspora in the future that preserves its traditions, culture, and language, does not forget and cooperates with its homeland.

8. MOLDOVAN BUSINESS IN THE COUNTRIES OF DESTINATION

Business plays an important role in consolidating the diaspora. Its role is quite multidimensional and ponderable in this regard.

First, its formation and consolidation shows that active, self-motivated, enterprising and successful persons who, by their success in doing business, can contribute to increasing the wealth of the host country, creating new jobs in that country are also among the migrants. It creates an 'added value'²⁹ for itself and the host country. Accordingly, it contributes to handling the problem of employment of both the local population and migrants. At the same time, it promotes the image of its homeland, the country of origin by its successes (it maybe both directly and indirectly at the same time).

Secondly, immigrants who set up a business in the host country often act in an objective way as a bridge for establishing contacts, setting up a business of their own or of other businessmen in the country of residence with their homeland. They provide counseling assistance, help with establishing contacts, know and advise on the socio-economic and political situation in the country, local specifics, search for partners, profitable or potential areas of activities, etc.

Thirdly, migrant business often not only supports and employs its immigrants in the host country, but acts as a sponsor of the activities of diaspora organizations.

Fourthly, it acts as a partner and assistant both to representatives of business of its homeland and to state structures, exerting an informational, advisory and intermediary function, contributing to the establishment of mutually beneficial relations between the authorities, business in both the country of origin and the host country.

Characteristics of Moldovan business abroad

How successfully plays the Moldovan business its role - i.e. a business founded by Moldovan citizens, Moldovan immigrants in the countries of destination?

We should note that the Republic of Moldova has no historical traditions in developing business abroad, in general, and Moldovan business in certain countries, in particular. For example, Moldovan business in Italy

²⁹ Moraru V. Valoarea adăugată a migrației: Italia și Republica Moldova. // Мошняга В. (коорд.) Современные миграционные процессы: состояние и основные формы. Материалы международного научно-исследовательского семинара Тирасполь, 17 декабря 2015 года. – Кишинэу, MOM, 2016, с. 109-112 (Moraru V. Additional value of migration: Italy and the Republic of Moldova.//Moșneaga V. (coord.). Modern migration processes: state of play and main forms. Proceedings of the international scientific and research workshop, Tiraspol, December, 17th 2015)

began its formation only with the appearance of Moldovan labor migrants that is from the second half of the 90's of the 20th century. In 1998, Italian statistical services recorded the presence of only 2 individual enterprises of Moldovan citizens in Italy. In 10 years, in the middle of 2008, there were already 1493 of them. By the end of the year, as of 31st December 2008, according to the Italian newspaper 'La Repubblica. Metropoli', 2,245 enterprises created by Moldovan citizens were registered in Italy. For reference, citizens of Ukraine registered 2,213 enterprises for that period³⁰.

In this regard, the growth trend was unambiguously seen (and is still noticeable today): 96.1 % of 'Moldovan' enterprises appeared after 2002. In the last 2 years (2006-2008), 4 0% of 'Moldovan' enterprises appeared in Italy. At the end of 2014, according to the Italian statistics, such enterprises amounted to about 4.5 thousand³¹. More than 5 thousand were at the end of 2015³² *"There are Moldovans who have worked well by setting up small delicatessen shops, pastry shops, and clothing manufactures. People know that they are Moldovans, and had managed to start up business on their own. Their business is passed on from generation to generation here. Few people will be able here to set up their business without the inheritance received"* (2.13).

However, that does not mean that such phenomenon is massively represented in the Moldovan immigrant environment. The Moldovan community is not involved massively in the business sector. About 4,500 owners of individual enterprises were registered (which is 1.3% of the total number of entrepreneurs from countries outside the European Union), and 8.5% of Moldovan labor migrants are self-employed. Compared with a year earlier, the number of Moldovan individual enterprises increased by 6.5 % (269 units)³³. *"But thinking that they are doing big deals, big business is not fair here. In general, these are individual enterprises. Some of them are in the field of construction. Another part is in the domestic services sector: cleaners, social workers caring for the sick and the elderly persons. There are cases, when individuals have set up, managed to set up larger enterprises, but they are rare"* (2.01).

Let us compare indicators of business of the Moldovan migrants with business of other migrant groups. The bulk of Moldovan businessmen is concentrated in construction – 70.2 % and trade – 8.2%. In general, the Italian rate of migrant enterprises set up in the construction sector amounts as to all

³⁰ La Repubblica. Metropoli', 2009, 7 juno, p. 8

³¹ Moldovan community in Italy, Executive report. – Rome, 2015, p 5

³² Vitali G., Filippi M., Miron D. Imprenditori esteri in Italia: caso della Moldavia. // Moraru V. (coord.) Migrație, diaspora, dezvoltare: noi provocari și perspective. – Chisinau, Tipografia-Sirius, 2016, pp. 143-160 (Vitali G., Filippi M., Miron D. Imprenditori esteri in Italia: caso della Moldavia.)// Moraru V. (coord.). Migration, diaspora, development: new challenges and perspectives. – Chisinau, Sirius Printing House, 2016, pp. 143-160)

³³ Ibidem.

labor migrants to 39.1 %, in the service and trade sector, respectively, 35.0 %. The difference is noticeable with the naked eye. However, analyzing development trends, experts believe that this testifies that the formation of Moldovan business in Italy follows the same path as of other ethnic groups of labor migrants. Actually, with a certain delay³⁴.

Experts note that the process of diversification of business set up by Moldovan migrants in Italy begins – the number of enterprises increases in various fields, including in the service, transport sector. *“There are restaurants, and agencies, Moldovan salons in Padua now. A family set up its pizzeria. A family set up its hairdressing salon. There are women who set up beauty salons. There are fine fellows; they have already started their business”* (2.12). The Moldovans are losing out to other immigrant groups in business today yet. *“There is little information about businessmen who work in the economy. The share of foreigners at the average for Italy is 13 %. The number of the Moldovans is small. Their rate is two times lower than the share of foreign business in general. The fewer rates are only for the Filipinos, because their men work also in the home services sector. The leaders are the Chinese; one in two is engaged in business. As to Albanians, Moroccans, Romanians, these communities are among the leaders... there are very few Moldovans in agriculture. Hindus are leaders here. They deal with animals. Sikhs, the Sikh community. There are many Albanians in agriculture. Romanians take the first place in the industry. One in three. It is similar for the Albanians – one in three. The Moroccans. The fifth part of all Moldovan businessmen is in industry only”* (2.04).

Factor of success of Moldovan business

What is the path to success in the development and functioning of Moldovan business? Let us analyze the example of Italy.

We should note that business, with undoubted assistance of the state, is not easy and is costly. *“A lot of patience is needed. The procedure is very strict and costly. In terms of law, this is a very serious matter. There may be an uncle who can help you in Moldova. You have to do everything on your own here. If you have not something, get money and pay. Here's the paycheck! In short, without going into details, it is very strict. And very expensive. I want to tell you that it is very difficult. It is an absolute mistake to think that it is easy to exist here. Yes, the idea, the desire, the dream is realizable here. But, in any case, it is necessary to roll up your sleeves above the elbow here”* (2.12).

Our interviews with businessmen, Moldovan immigrants allow us outlining some features of that process. We should note that our experts were representatives of Moldovan business abroad in the field of market and

³⁴ Mosneaga V., Moraru V., Turcan V., Rusnac Gh. Faces of a process: labor migration from the Republic of Moldova in Italy. – Chisinau, Editerra Prim, 2011, p.15

information technology analysis, real estate, construction, medicine, trade and services, etc.

First, this is a desire, a persistent dream to set up your own business. In addition, the availability of knowledge and work experience in the profile of the set up business, enterprise. The Moldovan entrepreneur must know the process not only in general terms, but also in details, govern not only the production process, but also the existing situation in the business market, see himself, his products in that market. *"I wanted to set up a business... I had ideas, as well as experience in this field. And so I was convinced that I could do it. And I began here. I set up this tailor shop. I set up this shop with my own money"* (2.08).

Other experts say the same. *"The firm does not hire you for life. Moreover, if we are talking about a small firm. That is, a contract for at the most a year or two. It can hire under a half-year contract. So I worked in different places, in different firms. I saw more approaches, accumulated different experiences. I saw how a business was done, how employees were hired, where they took orders, how they carried out them, how accounting worked. And I decided to set up my own business. I am implementing today a project that offers innovations to small business. I'm working for myself now"* (2.11).

The motivation for setting up a business, given by an expert from the United Kingdom, is of interest. *"There, in the UK, I realized that if I continue working by hire, I will have a decent life. If I would invest in myself and set up my own business, I will have a life that I want, without restrictions"* (6.06).

Let us listen to the story of the Moldovan businessman who owns a big real estate agency in Rome today. The complexity and difficulty of ascending to the heights of business, the variety of applied forms and efforts for achieving results, setting up and prosperity of own business was reflected in this story. *"Initially, I found a job in a restaurant through a friend, acquaintance I had here. I have learned a lot from working in the restaurant. First, I dealt with people. ...People who had their own business have been visiting the restaurant. And they made an offer to me: "Do you want to work with us in a fashion salon?" Because I spoke French, English, Russian, Romanian, slightly Italian...*

I worked one year in that salon.... Later, I worked as a secretary in a real estate agency. Later, I found something else – I worked in a bank as an accountant (I graduated from the Economic Academy in Chisinau. I completed accounting courses, convalidated my diploma here in Rome). Thus, I had several proposals and I did not miss even one, I worked in the bank and in the real estate agency...

Then I decided to work with real estate... Thus, I started selling to the most serious persons. I sold houses to the most serious businessmen in Rome. ... I was very responsible, as many employees were in the agency. But I was appointed as a senior; I worked with directors of banks, embassies...

...And I said then: "I'll study and set up my own business," because I already had a package of clients. As it is very important, I learned that from ten years of work in the agency. I decided to set up my own business. It was not easy. All 10 years that I worked in Italy, I invested, deposited. But I do not regret that. I saw (understood) that it is not so important for the client what agency you work with. You are important as a person, individual – "I trust you, and that means that you are." And that encouraged me" (2.09).

This is the same opinion of Moldovan businessmen from other countries. The stories are different, but the experience is similar. *"Honestly speaking, my business came out by accident. When I went to Russia, I did not even dream of becoming an entrepreneur. I accumulated a certain amount of money; I tried to make some guarantees (savings). In fact, I wanted to come back home and set up a business, open a shop in the village, do something that would provide me with a working place and a source of income. I worked at the construction site. I learned and worked as a crane operator. It worked for a Russian who had several cranes and provided services for the construction of real estate. At a certain stage, he had financial problems and he began to be in want of money. I invested the initial amount; I borrowed more money and bought a crane. So I started working for myself, began to earn well. It was about in 2005. The real estate market was developing rapidly at that time. So I started to accumulate capital and purchase cranes one by one" (1.07).*

A German doctor shares his experience of coming to business. Professional specialty training, experience in the profession in the host country, assistance and training for business from local government structures, the use of experience, brand, professional staff of the existing structure are reflected in his experience. *"I started working as a doctor in Germany in 2004. I worked in the hospital for 10 years. Then I decided to set up my own medical praxis, for which it was necessary to work for a year as a doctor in one of the private praxes. After passing the exam, I got the right to set up my own praxis, and I became the owner of praxis as a general practitioner from 2016... After several years of work in the hospital, rough duty schedule, I decided that the setting up of private praxis was what I need. I left the hospital, got a job as a doctor in praxis, where I worked for a year. To set up your own praxis, it is necessary to pass the exam to a special commission in Munich. I collected the necessary documents, submitted an application, a time was appointed to me. I passed the exam, received a certificate empowering to own private medical praxis within the due period.*

In the process of setting up the praxis, I was advised by representatives of financial authorities, various organizations that helped in that process. The system works very clearly and consistently: if it is necessary to give an answer within three days, it will be so. No delay, nobody puts a spoke in your wheels, no

one requires money, etc. And, as I said, I became the owner of the praxis from that year.

As to the workforce, I can say that I have three highly qualified nurses with experience in private medicine working in praxis, and all three are German. Nobody quitted, we have immediately come to an understanding. I understand my responsibility to them, and all of us understand our responsibility to the patients” (3.09).

Initial capital is needed. “It was necessary to have the initial capital at the initial stage. It was quite difficult for us, because the Moldovans invest in their homes in the Republic of Moldova, guided by the idea that they will come back home. Therefore, it is difficult to accumulate the necessary amount of money to set up a business; you need to have sufficient initial capital in order to develop a business. When there is the necessary capital, it must be invested in industries that are innovative for the market. So I did. I provide services that are not available in the Portuguese market. I do what others refused to do. Thereby, I achieved results and success. You have to be brave to implement your business project” (4.05). Furthermore, “the ability and skills to carry out/manage the business. Stable and numerous customers. Authority and serious approach. This is very important for the Portuguese. The legislation is strictly observed here, including the payment of taxes. It is necessary to pay vast sums of money” (4.05).

Only desire, knowledge, experience and initial capital are not enough to succeed. Success will be closer if the emerging businessman finds support, assistance of other structures that will enhance its stability. Experts specify that they were not alone, but they developed their business in a team, they were members of a corporate professional association. “We are practically an association, which includes 60 shops. They are called stores here. Stores (shops) of Rome, which are engaged in repair and production of clothing. And that association embraces the principles of solidarity. That is, some of our money goes to help those who set up their business in Africa... My idea was to set up such a shop in Moldova, because we have either only booths or large enterprises. To set up a shop like those that exist here. So that they would be perfectly equipped, the chief and several employees work, to satisfy needs of clients who cannot repair or sew clothes independently. We have more people who can do so on their own, because we were taught certain skills in that area at school” (2.08).

Other experts also pay attention to this part of success. However, everyone has its own point of support, its use of the social context. Someone has an orientation toward the post-Soviet space, Russian clients. “I work more on the basis of the request. I receive an offer from Moscow, because I once sold a house to Russians... I had no business with the Russians before that and did not know how they behave. ...I dealt with them and I know how they behave.

They give you full confidence. I do not know how they get their money, but it is important for you to be honest, to the last penny. I have gained their full confidence and try to justify it, to be honest, responsible, and careful.

... I was convinced that if they appreciate your work, than they pay additionally, they reward for any anxiety. I had a very good relationship with that lady from Russia. She could not often come to Italy. She came only to see the house she wanted to buy. And then she left me her money and checkbook. And that's all. This is what we call confidence" (2.09).

An expert from Israel also pays attention to the importance of confidence in business. *"The most important side of establishing business relations is the existence of confidence. In my opinion, there is no confidence in the Moldovan party. The same thing, the lack of confidence from the Moldovan party to the Israeli partners. Even, perhaps, they know each other. They trust each other, but not as business partners" (5.05).*

Someone uses informal connections in government structures, contacts in the business environment, the Moldovan community, which has access to decision-makers, etc. This, unfortunately, is a reality, and this has to be contended. This, to a greater degree, is typical for Russia (and even for Moldova), where many Moldovans and natives of the republic achieved tangible heights, professional and administrative career during the Soviet period. *"Establishment of relations with influential persons (we work according to the principle 'scratch my back and I'll scratch yours' (1.07). 'I decided at some time to start my own business. In the construction sector. I practice my profession in a construction company today. My connections with G.I., family connections, acquaintances had an impact on the setting up of the business. People helped with advices, contacts at a certain stage and finances. In general, everything was in the accepted manner, for which I am very grateful to all the persons who helped me. I established a small firm in the field of construction" (1.08).*

Someone is attracting people who can be trusted and who can be relied on in case of help, need, that are relatives, close friends. *Opportunities to earn money and provide jobs and earnings for my kin, relatives. Many people from the Republic of Moldova work for me today. I helped also my brothers to set up their own business, to have a comfortable income. And they helped me not just once, so I can rely on them. I think that due to the fact that I engaged them into the business, and they work here, next to me, they take care that things work out, I'm succeeding" (1.07).*

Someone set up initially business in two countries, so that there was a greater stability of the enterprise. *"Brand 'DiVeirol'. It was the idea of a friend of mine. As I said, we have a firm in Chisinau. There is only a branch here... The procedure of our work is the following here in Padua: the client comes, we talk, find out what the customer wants. I draft a model. I send it to Chisinau, they*

carry out the order, sew. After that, the dress is sent to Padua. I receive it and show it to the customer. The dress is sold. That is, Padua – Chisinau – Padua. Because it is very expensive to do everything in Padua. Even setting up a small laboratory is very expensive. So we have to seek options, other ways out” (2.12).

“It is not easy. Especially for a woman. I did everything on my own. It is said that problems are solved here with someone else's help. I do not know, I did everything on my own, with my own mind and by own efforts. My husband is in Moldova presently. We set up a large dental clinic here and in Moldova in August. The services that we will offer in Moldova will be also provided here” (2.15).

Consolidation of business continuity is related to the expansion of activities, both with access to the national and international level and with the diversification of activities carried out by the firm. “I already work at the national level. My work is not limited to Rome. I have deals in both Calabria and Capri. I have a lot of work. And not only at the national, but also at the international level. ...I work in Spain, France and other countries” (2.09). ‘Our company is important. It has a branch in Moldova. I am the Development Director. In reality, we have not only a construction business. There are other directions. More precisely, the scheme is the following. In fact, this is a group of companies. It is a consortium of companies of multidirectional business” (1.08).

The availability of a certain brand, image that the created company buys / inherits strengthens also the business continuity. “Nobody helped me. When I came here, the shop was already here and had a name – ZIP – the name was already registered, and when you buy, you do it along with the name. You buy everything” (2.08). And the Italian business market provides such a service to businessmen. “I bought from the owner of that name. He creates a shop, stands it up and sells it. I could certainly do it on my own. But it was to my advantage to enter that network, learn more useful things. Take advantage of the name that more promotes visibility. Moreover, meetings, exchange of experience with other owners of similar shops. It is worth it – sharing experiences, discussing problems, finding solutions, etc.... that is, the name of the shop was already a brand and I made the 40th shop set up. And six more were set up after me. We have 60 stores (shops) in all. And I already helped. Two women from Moldova also set up their shops under the trademark ‘ZIP’. I helped later four more women who also set up their shops. But without that name. They wanted not to depend on anyone, to do everything themselves. You know, I pay 100 Euros only for the brand every month here. I told you about the support of African women, their business: we allocate (pay) monthly also 100 Euros for that. Frankly, those 100 Euros was not the biggest problem for me. I feel good in this consortium, I meet, discuss, share experience, and adopt experience of others. Most are Italians, but there are also foreigners” (2.08).

Carrying out of PR, information campaigns for the company's brand promotion, its products. Use for that of various information opportunities, traditional and modern, electronic – Internet, social networks, fashion shows. The expert notes the orientation towards Moldovan migrants is still ineffective in this regard. Moldovan migrants are not yet ready to pay/buy expensive goods.

If the diaspora associations are focused on providing services, solving various issues related to compatriots or the target group is representatives of Moldovan communities abroad/diasporas, then the Moldovan business (like any business) is guided not so much by ideological, patriotic or ethno-cultural as by economic interests, gaining. It prefers employment not of its compatriot, countryman, but of an employee who will achieve the expected result faster and better.

Moldovan businessmen in other countries speak about the same thing. *“As regards the office management, Petersburgers are basically here. That is due to the fact that this is a permanent job, requiring not only knowledge of logistics, accounting, economics, but also the availability of permanent registration. I have Russian citizens (accountant, management apparatus). I hire local, Russian citizens here. As regards sloggers, the picture is as follows: 85% of my employees are the Moldovans. I try to hire not only the Moldovans. But such a high percentage of the Moldovans is due to the fact that they are executive and conscientious. They do not drink at work. You assign a task to them and do not recheck. They cope with the task assigned by 100 %. More precisely, by 99%. It happens that they drank off. But not at work. Let us say, someone came from Moldova, brought homemade wine. They drank in the evening. They say the next day at work: 'Sorry, D.! Today we cannot work, our hands are shaking. We talked yesterday 'over a glass of wine'. I understand. As we have an accurate and tender deal – restoration” (1.08).*

“I have no favors in the recruitment of the Moldovans or representatives of other nationalities. I named the selection criteria above. They guide me. The main thing is to observe the agreements, pay salaries, provide some conditions. We used other things: we fed people, deducting a certain amount of money from the salary. For example, the legislation requires workers to be provided with special clothing. We tried to give them better clothes, to do other things. But people did not appreciate it. And so we returned to the framework of standard services” (1.08).

A Moldovan entrepreneur in Portugal speaks about the same thing. *“My company employs the Moldovans, Ukrainians, Romanians, and Africans. We are 20 persons in the team. I have a thermopane factory for the Moldovans. About 25% of customers are Moldovans” (4.05).*

A Moldovan businessman in the UK explains why this is so. *“There is usually a tendency to employ also insiders, citizens of the Republic of Moldova.*

This is good, because it is easier to work with them. You know their mentality and nature. That is why, it's easier to communicate with them. In this regard, there are often cases that our businessman does not speak English well. Furthermore, the Moldovans are hired for less salary. A person needs housing, other necessary things in the beginning and, helping with the solution of these issues, the entrepreneur conditions this with a lower salary. Naturally, compared to a local resident. In any case, no one pays less than the statutory minimum established by the legislation. I have not heard that Moldovan businessmen prejudice their Moldovan workers. We try to help them. First of all, the British legislation does not allow you to pay less than 7.20 pounds per hour (the minimum salary in the country). Secondly, the Republic of Moldova is a small country in which information spreads very quickly. A self-respecting businessman will not use other people to enrich himself. Hiring their compatriots and exploiting them? In our environment, an idea dominates that we employ our compatriots to give them a chance to grow. We select them certainly. After all, most of them go abroad with the idea of earning money. I explain to them that they came to produce new values by their labor, which is evaluated in the market. So, they are rewarded for that produced value, receiving salaries" (6.03).

"That's how we say as to D. Why are the Moldovans drawn to him? Because he treats them right and honestly, and they respond to him in the same way. That is, everything depends on both sides - on the side of the owner, entrepreneur and on the side of the workers. If they see a good and honest attitude, a salary subject to the law, etc., then they have a normal attitude. They do not want to let him down. In addition, he knows who is to be hired. Therefore, they hold onto him. Therefore, they honestly work for him. They see his attitude. They always see the owner's attitude to them. That serves as the basis for their behavior. At the very outside, if not of all of them, then of the majority" (1.08).

The businessman considers professionalism when the worker is responsible for the task entrusted to him. The entrepreneur does not believe that he should perform the functions of a supervisor monitoring the performance of works, labor discipline, etc. Everyone must be responsible for their work in modern society, in modern business.

The state should be interested in business development. To accomplish this, it should simplify the company registration procedure; provide certain benefits in the initial period of the existence/operation of business. *"Portugal is a very good country for a business. You can set up, register a company here within 1 hour (not one day or month, year, etc.). Various benefits are provided in the first year of the activity. In other words, it is possible to work in other fields, not only in construction" (4.03).*

A Moldovan businessman in the United Kingdom speaks about the

same thing. *"The biggest difference relates to the legislation. In the United Kingdom, an enterprise can be set up in one day, from home, via the Internet. In any field. All registration types are carried out on-line and that creates a very big advantage. Any action can be made from the office or from home. No one needs to stand in a queue for the corresponding window in the relevant office, etc. There is no interaction with officials; you will not be forced to give a bribe accordingly. The system is created and works differently, in order to avoid direct contact with representatives of the authorities"* (6.06). Furthermore, there are relevant information sites, a large number of necessary software, programs, etc.

Business should be carried out in accordance with the legislation, established norms. This is a guarantee that an aspiring businessman will not be 'strangled' by various kinds of constant checks in Italy. *"I set up my business 6 years ago. And employees of various inspection services came to me in the first month of work. They came from the police, from the financial service, from other services that give you permission to set up a business. Then they come, check if you have really set up and how have you set up. They came with a check. ... I did not have more checks. Once they came from the financial service. When does the financial service come here? If you behaved badly, did not pay or if they have any information... That is in the worst case scenario"* (2.08).

The situation is similar in Portugal. The migrants should have all the documents in order. Otherwise, they will not be hired. *"People who have recently arrived cannot find a job until they are legalized. Citizens of the Republic of Moldova, even if they entered the country legally, do not have the right to work. We, the entrepreneurs, cannot hire them without a contract, service record, bank account, social security number. I personally do not risk employing anyone"* (4.05).

In this respect, the situation is less favorable for businessmen in the post-Soviet space. *"There are many difficulties in setting up and running a business: lack of knowledge and experience of doing business, bureaucracy and corruption. Each year of work is a difficult year of survival and struggle with the system, a dishonest and unhealthy business environment. This is the world where either you will be managed or you will manage them"* (1.07).

"The same principles are used in business administration both in Moldova and Italy. But it is easier in Italy, because there are not so many checks as in Moldova. Furthermore, the procedure for setting up a business in Italy is easier, simpler, although taxes and fees are higher than in Moldova. We are not strangled by government checks, as it is in Moldova. There is such a principle in Italy: if the company pays taxes and all necessary payments on time, it will be supported by the state and will not be ditched, as my friends told me about the situation in Moldova. For example, it is necessary to present many declarations, a pack of documents in Moldova. According to the stories of my

friends in Moldova, who have their own business, there is a big bureaucracy, corruption of the controlling bodies” (2.10).

Financial authorities start to check the business in Italy, if they notice certain inconsistencies in the reporting. An accountant ensures that everything is in order; he signals to the entrepreneur that he does not have everything in order and it is necessary to eliminate inconsistencies, otherwise financial services will appear with check. *“I had a case: my expenses were higher than the income in the first years. And what did the accountant do? He called me and said: “You are in the red. What do we do? You will have to pay additionally 1500-2000 euros to cover expenses and to be at least so much in the black that you exist.” Decide: do either as I advise you or wait for checks of the controlling bodies that will come. But you will have the opportunity to work. The accountant monitors your situation. Do not wait for the check. But if you pay for his services, then he checks you, says that the situation is such as it is. And then everything is fine” (2.08).*

An association hires the accountant in this regard for a small amount each businessman pays. *“That is, working as a team. You know, as the saying is, ‘one hand washes the other and they wash the face together.’ The accountant is Italian. He serves 60 stores, has a large sum... He is not in a consortium. We pay him. Each... Every store. I give him 100 Euros a month, another 100 Euros a month and so on. He has 60 stores- 100 Euros per month from each. If I had my own personal accountant, it would have cost me a lot of money. I had not really understood that at the beginning” (2.08).* This is beneficial to every businessman, since he does not need to pay a full salary to an accountant. In a word, the association is beneficial for this reason as well.

Certainly, it is not easy to have your own business. Then a person, if he does everything according to the rules, feels like independent, the owner. You need to be polite to visitors and customers. Careful, accurate and precise in fulfilling your obligations. These are normal requirements for both Moldova and other countries. *“I do not regret, because I feel myself the master of my fate, my work. I have no fear that I have a boss, an owner above me. I observe all the rules and arrangements. I am punctual, because I really respect that approach. If I promised the client today that the order would be ready, and then this means that it is necessary to do it. Then if it could be done faster and better... And smile; receive the client with a smile. A greeting means a lot for them” (2.08).*

Moldovan business abroad and its business prospect in Moldova

It is known that the diaspora acts often as a catalyst of the development of trade and economic relations between the country of origin and the host country both through its own enterprises and by advising its colleagues, partners in the host country, influencing them in terms of setting up a business

and cooperating with the country of origin of migrants. And the Republic of Moldova is not the exception in this regard.

Thus, in particular in terms of Moldovan-Italian trade and economic relations, Italy ranks third in relations of Moldova with foreign countries. Italy ranks first as to the number of enterprises in Moldova. There are 1500 enterprises, in which Italian investments are present in Moldova. Italy is the second investor after the Netherlands, which invested in the Giurgiulesti port. Most Italian enterprises are small- or medium-sized enterprises.

Experts note that many Moldovans working in Italy returned home and set up a mixed enterprise with the Italians in Moldova. *"The Italians have quite a few companies in Moldova, but they are all actually in the clothing industry. There are mini-factories in Moldova. Italian business is not very common in the field of agriculture. Our potential in the field of agriculture is quite large. And if there is political stability and business support, if the state carries on a balanced policy towards foreign investors, provides them with a simpler and easier platform for investment, cooperation, development. And, certainly, political stability, because no Italian will invest a million Euros if they do not know what happens tomorrow or the day after tomorrow. When a billion dollars disappear from banks, and Lei is devalued doubly, no one wants to invest after that. Theft of a billion was a deadly blow"* (2.02).

Experts note the interest of the Italian authorities in developing business of the Moldovans in their homeland. The Italian authorities strive to help Moldovan migrants who want to start their own business and both are in Italy and return to their homeland, Moldova. It is about the setting up and operation of social enterprises. *"The Italian Ministry of Labor provides funds to help us in Moldova in setting up a business, in order to set up more social enterprises. Italy is of our great interest in this regard. There are more than 8 million initiatives, projects, and enterprises in the social sphere. The Italians are among the leaders in Europe in this issue"* (2.01).

We should note that in this regard that the Italian experience of innovative business is very interesting for Moldova both because of its component and in terms of employment of people in small enterprises as to set them up there is no need for large investments. *"A quarter of Italy's national wealth is produced on the basis of new technologies, advanced technologies. We have 6 million entrepreneurs (every tenth Italian citizen is an entrepreneur). The enterprise can employ only 2-3 persons, but there are 6 million companies of different scale, financial capacity, economic and legal status. First of all, it is a small business, which brings innovation"* (2.04).

Specific ways of running business in the homeland are proposed in this regard. *"The first aspect: it is necessary to certify products of biological quality. That concerns food products.*

The second aspect: financial investments in the agricultural sector,

assurance of industrial development of agriculture. The denial of the Soviet planning model. Each one determines its own role in the agricultural market of products and services.

The third aspect is that there should be as many agricultural micro-enterprises as possible. Consortiums should also be set up. The diaspora should also play its role, return home, implement the program '1+1=2', and Italy will invest another '2', it turns out '4'. That is not PARE '1+1', but PARE '1+1+2' ... ' +2' will be from the Italian side, and it turns out '4', and the diaspora will be the favorite. But it should be clear that the investments should be....

We must conclude an international agreement between Moldova and Italy, not so much on migration as on the return of migrants. In Italy, we have your diaspora, people who are already 50-60 years old. They all want to return home, everyone wants to help their country. In Moldova, there is a program PARE '1+1' – 10,000 Euros (an individual invests) plus 10,000 Euros from the state. It turns out 20,000 Euros. And if we add 20,000 Euros from Italy with the guarantee that they will set up agricultural micro-enterprises in an organized consortium that will produce agricultural products – carrots, apples, pears, nuts, based on certain planning. This will be the first planning that we can require for Moldova from Italy, and from Europe” (2.03).

Assessing positively the tendency of the Moldovan authorities to stimulate the development of Moldovan business in Moldova and abroad, to strengthen their connections and interaction, and investments for the development of the homeland, experts believe that the specificity of modern Moldovan business abroad is not always taken into consideration. And, thereby, the shot is often blank. In particular, that concerns the participation of business circles in such events as the Diaspora Business Forum in Chisinau and Investment forums organized abroad. “I think that this is a good thing, especially for serious businessmen or for those who want to invest in Moldova. I do not participate usually in Investment forums or in such kinds of events, because they are interesting for big business or for those who work in the field of sales and are interested in expanding the sales market' (1.07). 'In my opinion, the Business Forum is a chance for those who want to invest, who want to create new markets for their business. This is for major companies. And we are small ones...” (2.10).

Experts note that the key problem of the development of Moldovan business in Moldova is the gap between a quite civilized and liberal Moldovan legislation in the field of entrepreneurship and the procedures, practice of implementing these laws. “Relatives say that there are problems with the tax service, which carries out checks. And the tax service is very strict in Italy. But there are also a lot of useless procedures in Moldova, especially as far as standards are concerned. And I heard from my friends in Moldova that business in Moldova is facing great difficulties, especially those who have

business in the agriculture sector. But I think that the main problem is still corruption. And all are saying that. At the same time, my relative told me that there was very difficult to get European funds, so many obstacles were created, the authorities do not help, do not provide quality services” (2.10).

Furthermore, experts believe that it is necessary also to take into consideration the Moldovan mentality, which is still slightly focused on setting up a business. Dominance of non-market traditions, ignorance/inability to run business, and fear of the unknown, and fear of risk, etc. form the basis as well. *“Unfortunately, there are few Moldovans who invest money in business. Or they are very poor or very proud and have no perspective vision. They prefer to work hard to repair a house, a fence, but certainly not to invest in something that will earn income and make life easier. Even my brothers who set up their business. They did not agree to invest in business in the beginning, even on pain of death. Their wives were making plans to repair apartments, which required enormous expenses. Waste of money without any logic. I have long insisted, persuaded, but they are conservative in thinking, view of life. They do not want to risk. They like to spend everything they earn, do not think about profit. I think that this is typical for many Moldovans. It is necessary to change their mentality. Few people think about how to make money. Many people want only to have a job, a large salary, to live within their means” (1.07).*

Moldovan and foreign businessmen are afraid to invest in Moldova. The reasons are both political instability and corruption, and the theft of a billion, and an unfavorable investment climate. They want guarantees that that will not happen again, they will not lose their savings, business. Furthermore, it is necessary to inform people about the opportunities of setting up their own business, simplification of the procedure... *“In my opinion, the Moldovan business should have more free, profitable and easy access to commercial loans. Businessmen should also be better informed about investment projects, loans, simple access procedure, other financial instruments and tax preferences. It is required to explain to the Moldovan migrants who returned home what and how, not to wait until they come for information, advice on their own. For example, my relative who wants to buy goats of elite breeds, when he was asking something about import, what documents were needed, etc., he got the answer: “I do not know, read the law.” But this man had not been in the country for so many years, what does he know? He needs help. Not least of all, businessmen need to know the rules of the game, which will ensure a stable development. And that is exactly what is not observed in the Republic of Moldova. The same concerns also both economic and political stability” (2.10).*

The expert from Israel, who shares his plans, agrees also with that. He is especially concerned about the problem of guarantees, so that people do not lose their money. *“There is no legislative stability in Moldova. If there is certain stability, the investment climate, for example, in the tourism sector, could*

improve. There are beautiful places for recreation in Moldova. I dreamed always of developing tourist programs for children. To bring groups of children from Israel to Moldova, as it was once in pioneer camps. So that the children can rest there. Locations are formidable in Moldova. Improving the level and quality of services is necessary only.

I am currently negotiating with a travel company from Moldova on joint activity. We want to bring tourists from Israel to Moldova. Tourists from Moldova to Israel. We want to try medical tourism, so that people come to Israel for inexpensive treatment. We have an agreement with the clinics for a 3-4-day full client medical examination.

My nephew came from Moldova. We have repeatedly discussed this issue with him. We decided together, at the family meeting, that we could set up a business in Moldova. Unfortunately, we did not manage to develop the business project. Everything went fine in the beginning, but, apparently, someone had deceived him somewhere. And we lost investments. My nephew set up a business in Moldova a year ago. After a while, the investments were exhausted. They wanted to earn millions and immediately and lost millions of Euros. To resolve that situation, it is necessary to solve in the Israeli court or apply to the European Court. Clear legislation is still absent in Moldova.

It is necessary to have a solid base and an appropriate level of trust. And, certainly, to work. We discuss always various initiatives related to developing business in Moldova or importing goods to Israel at various meetings. But there are still problems. First, there are problems on the Israeli part, for example, the customs system or, most importantly, the kosher system. It is certainly much easier to export from Israel to Moldova. Therefore, many businessmen are ready to sell goods or their business to Moldova.

State insurance or state guarantees of investments of joint business should be. I must have state guarantees in relation to my investments. I have already said that normal laws, appropriate taxes, trust between business partners are necessary. The trust of the Government in the business community. And of businessmen in the Government. Then some investment initiatives will be" (5.05).

A Moldovan businessman in the United Kingdom pays also attention to these and other issues of business development. "Entrepreneurs in the Republic of Moldova work in difficult conditions. I think that special, privileged conditions should not be created for us, foreign businessmen. Another thing is that people, who have earned their capital abroad, need guarantees, protection, so that they feel safe. Information is spreading very quickly in the business environment and numerous examples are known, when restrictions were artificially created, obstacles were put for entrepreneurs so that they could not sell their goods, develop their businesses, etc." (6.07).

In conclusion, we should note that the Moldovan business abroad is

developing. This process is still at the beginning of the road. However, there are already positive examples and the main problems, overcoming of which will serve as a more massive, successful and effective development, promotion of its role both in the host country and in the country of origin, the homeland of the Moldovan migrants, were identified. There are things to be learnt from the Moldovan developing businesses in the host countries. And that experience will undoubtedly be useful for the Republic of Moldova, the authorities, Moldovan businessmen.

9. DIASPORA ASSOCIATIONS

The Bureau for Diaspora Relations of the Republic of Moldova proceeds from the premise that the Moldovan diaspora is structured “in about 250 associations in more than 30 countries, including various initiative groups and professional skill groups. The most numerous associations are registered in Italy, Romania, Ukraine, Russian Federation, Portugal, France, the USA and Canada. The typology of diaspora associations is complex and diverse, depending on the legal status, case management model and the field of activity. 'Associations and groups of diasporas play an important role in the implementation of strategic actions and tasks in the field of diaspora, migration and development. The integrating factor for all structures of diasporas is national and civic affiliation’”³⁵.

At the same time, according to the statistics of the Bureau for Diaspora Relations of the Republic of Moldova, 94 associations of the Moldovan diaspora from 19 countries of the world were registered on the basis of self-registration at the end of 2016³⁶ (5 non-governmental organizations of the Republic of Moldova, which proceed from the assumption that their activities are connected with the Moldovan diaspora abroad were registered besides them).

Certainly, these figures are not so impressive as compared to those that appear in the National Strategy 'Diaspora-2025'. However, it appears that the self-registration managed to perform a certain selection, cutting off those organizations that do not identify themselves as associations of the Moldovan diaspora or are not assessed as really working ones. These associations are diverse in terms of their goals and direction, efforts and forms of activity. There are associations that existed for a long time, have earned a positive image by their activity, holding of various cultural and social events both in the country of destination and in the Republic of Moldova. The majority of the Moldovan diaspora associations cooperate with the Bureau for Diaspora Relations that is constantly represented at the events of the Moldovan diplomatic missions abroad, Diaspora congresses, and the Diaspora Days.

There are also organizations representing the countries of our interest in this list. Thus, 32 associations represent Italy, 10 associations – Russia, by 2 associations – Portugal, Germany and the United Kingdom. There are no associations of the Moldovan diaspora from Israel in the above-mentioned list. Our analysis showed that not all active associations of the Moldovan

³⁵ Hotărîrea de guvern Strategia națională „Diaspora-2025”, nr. 200 din 26.02.2016. // Monitorul Oficial din 4.03.2016, nr.49-54, art.230, http://brd.gov.md/sites/default/files/sn_diaspora_2025_web.pdf (Government's Decision. National Strategy “Diaspora-2015”, nr. 200 dated on 26.02.2016.//Official Gazette dated on 4.03.2016, nr. 49-54, art. 230 http://brd.gov.md/sites/default/files/sn_diaspora_2025_web.pdf)

³⁶ <http://brd.gov.md/ro/content/lista-asociatiilor-comunitatilor-si-grupurilor-de-initiativa-ale-diasporei-republicii-1>

diaspora in the above-mentioned countries were registered in the lists of the Bureau for Diaspora Relations. However, there are associations we did not know about during our research.

UNITED KINGDOM

There are two officially registered associations of the Moldovan diaspora in the United Kingdom – the Association of Moldovan Students in the United Kingdom and 'Vatra' (6.05), which carry out various activities to consolidate Moldovan citizens, to resolve issues of recreation and entertainment for children and adults ('Martisor', children's festivals, festival 'La Vatra Neamului', football matches, etc.). There is an active search for new forms in attracting people, increasing their activity. Experts note that there are more Moldovan associations in the country, because many of them are created and operate via the Internet (6.09).

We should note the importance, attractiveness, and usefulness of the 'Mentor me' program offered by the Moldovan students in the United Kingdom. Experts believe that this program aimed at students "should be expanded at the expense of other initiatives aimed also at other categories of the Moldovan migrants" (6.09).

An important feature of the Moldovan associations in the United Kingdom is that they had learned to seek independently financing for their projects, they do not ask for financial support from Moldova. That is an important indicator of the maturation of the diaspora, its formation as a serious, self-respecting and respected by other actors of social processes.

Diaspora organizations in the United Kingdom are characterized by high social activity. This is due to the fact that the British mentality is focused on charity. And this approach is transmitted to the Moldovan migrants in that country. *"Those living here adopt the behavior of the British in relation to charity. Thus, the transfer of behavior is effected. Charity Fairs are organized. Communities identify projects, define different goals. Students or young professionals are very active. We appreciate their pragmatic approach. They are very motivated to contribute to charity"* (6.01). The orientation towards charity creates a real basis to unify the diaspora, representatives of the Moldovan communities within the country of destination and for rendering assistance to children, the elderly, disabled persons and orphans, in general, the needy people in Moldova.

At the same time, a well-defined tendency for coordination of efforts, cooperation between associations of the Moldovan diaspora is observed in the United Kingdom. Furthermore, a policy is implemented for information cooperation and holding of events, first of all, in the field of charity with the Republic of Moldova, with associations of the Moldovan diaspora in other countries (6.05).

The Moldovan diaspora with its associations in the United Kingdom is not numerically large, but it is characterized by the maturity and quality of activities, wide accumulated experience.

GERMANY

At the same time, this process was not widely spread in Germany. According to statistics, there are 5-7 associations of the Moldovan diaspora, among which only two are active (in Berlin and Frankfurt am Main). These associations are practically unknown to the Moldovan migrants, their activity is insignificant, which indicates that the Moldovan diaspora in Germany was not yet formed, it is at the stage of formation. That is caused, in our opinion, by a number of circumstances, among which the most important is the later, lagging nature of the formation of the Moldovan communities in this country. It appears that the German expert reveals quite convincingly the reasons for. *"Frankly speaking, I do not know the Moldovan diaspora organizations / associations in Germany. Maybe, this is my fault too. I mind more my own business, my family. However, I think that there is also another problem. The Moldovans who are in Germany are not inclined to social activities. I think that many factors influence – the social status, the number of the Moldovans in the locality. In addition, Germany opened later for Moldovans. In addition, the diaspora, as far as I know, is formed among those migrants who need help, have unprotected social status, who are in the same difficult situation. That is, there must be a large community that has the same status and the same problems of existence. In our case, it is not so. And one more thing – I make a comparison with Italy – there are many people who take care of the elderly, sick people. They work on principle of 24 hours in 24 hours. Naturally, in order to overcome depression, these people need communication, foremost with their compatriots who face the same problems. They must get rid of negative energy, emotions. They must have a good cry to someone. Therefore, such meetings with compatriots represent a psychotherapeutic treatment for these Moldovan migrants. Not with a medical specialist, but with our Moldovans, with whom they will sit on the mound of earth, eat together pizza, cabbage rolls, drink a glass of wine. It is less popular here, in Germany, because the situation is different. Such activities as taking care of the elderly, sick people or children in the family do not exist (or almost do not exist). There is another model of social assistance in Germany"* (3.03).

In Germany, Moldovan citizens prefer virtual associations, communities in social networks. *"Students are united in social networks on-line (Facebook, etc.). Several Moldovan communities provide consultations on various topics and answer various questions of our citizens in social networks. For the most part, members of these communities are young people, students"* (3.08). Real (physical) interpersonal communication is replaced by a virtual one, via the

Internet, social networks and that is much easier, simpler, more comfortable and less costly, in terms of time, mental and physical energy of a person. *“I think that the Moldovan migrants are not very inclined to maintain and establish permanent connections with their compatriots. That is, they are limited mainly to the relations at work and this is enough for them. Like for the Germans. There is an intimate circle of friends they meet with. And then I think that the main criteria is not so much a nationality common interests.*

You said that no one reacted to your request for a meeting made in social networks. I think that this is probably a negative reaction to the 'theft of a billion.' But the main thing is another, it is the reason I have already spoken about. You do not make part of their intimate circle and they do not want to charge themselves with any additional contacts, information. They do not need it. Social contacts on the Internet largely replace communication with compatriots for them. No needs to strain them, prepare for communication, go somewhere, and waste their time... Everything is simple on the Internet. I do not see a man face to face, but when I want to, I write to him, I look at his photos. It is non-intrusive and comfortable. It is kind of is, but it is kind of not. There are no obligations” (3.04).

ITALY

Moldovan and foreign experts believe that the formation of diaspora organizations occurs in Italy fully. Experts pay attention to the quantitative and qualitative growth of the associative sector, diaspora organizations and note new trends in their development. In 2014, the Moldovan Embassy in Italy, jointly with the Italian Ministry of Labor, performed mapping of diaspora associations in various regions of the country and found out over 70 associations of the Moldovan diaspora. It was found that most of these associations are poorly structured. They were registered, acquired a fiscal code, but they do not keep accounting records actually; they do not even have a minimum budget. Basically, they exist on paper. Many of them are not active. At the same time, various groups and associations act as informal structures. There is partial solidarity; a whole variety of political orientations is noted between the associations of the Moldovan diaspora. There are pro-Romanian, unionist and Moldovan, 'statallistic' associations. There are fewer pro-Russian associations. There is a communication problem between existing associations. Attempts to establish cooperation, the dialogue between them have not taken a positive effect yet.

As the expert notes: *“In the beginning, most of them concentrated on promoting culture, traditions, organizing cultural and artistic events, concerts. In recent years, in fact in the last 2-3 years, organizations engaged in promoting and protecting human rights have started to appear or transform existing associations into associations of social orientation. This trend is*

positive. If we talk about associations from the position of quality, then we observe that a transition to quality is made gradually, little by little. They begin to be structured. They learn from each other, they try to create networks. There are still communication problems. But they aim at establishing an exchange of experience – how to write a project, how to present and win the funding of a project. This is also a good trend” (2.01).

ISRAEL

Unlike other countries where diaspora associations are formed basically by labor migrants, overwhelmingly of Moldovan nationality, associations of the Moldovan diaspora were formed in Israel by Moldovan natives, ethnic Jews who moved to their historical homeland – to the State of Israel both in the Soviet times and after 1991, already from the independent Republic of Moldova. The role of Moldovan labor migrants in the formation of diaspora associations is practically absent by virtue of the specificity of the Moldovan labor migration to Israel, and, mainly, comes down to participation in activities, in the events of existing associations. Associations of the Moldovan diaspora are few, Beit Bessarabia created in the interwar period by immigrants from Bessarabia³⁷ and the association 'Izvoras' are among them.

The specificity of the Moldovan diaspora association is that the Moldovan diaspora is based on natives of Moldovan cities who live in Israel and who are united according to the community ('parochial') principle – (people from Balti, Telenesti, Edinet, etc.). At the same time, the Moldovan diaspora in Israel is united enough, unified, the all-Israeli gathering of the Moldovan diaspora, in which the Moldovan labor migrants also participate, is taking place. We should note that there is no division into the diaspora representatives originating from the left and right bank of the Nistru River. *“Restaurant 'Belyi Aist'. This is our base, in which 2 hospitable hosts come from Moldova. The name of the restaurant speaks for itself... Diaspora is a notion that includes so many characteristics and parameters. It is difficult to describe everything now. But, first of all, this is the feeling of yourself and the lack of stringency from the fact that you are a native of the country. There is a certain pride in your country. We fall much short of joy for the successes of Moldova here” (5.03).*

PORTUGAL

Presently, there are about 10 Moldovan cultural associations in Portugal, which function in all regions of the country. Where there are more

³⁷ Аникин В. Выходцы из Молдовы в Израиле: портреты в деловом интерьере и не только. // MOLDOSCOPIE (Probleme de analiză politică). nr.4 (LXXV), 2016. - Chişinău: USM, USPEE, AMSP, 2016, c.133-134. (Anikin V. Originars from Moldova in Israel: portraits in the business entourage and not only. //MOLDOSCOPIE (Issues of political analyses). Nr. 4 (LXXV), 2016. – Chisinau, MSU, USPEE, AMSP, pp. 133-134)

Moldovan citizens. *"I want to say about the Moldovan cultural center. From the very beginning to today, it assists migrants in legalization, social integration, learning of the Portuguese. The association 'Capela' from Portimao, in the south of Portugal, also deals with the problem of legalization of Moldovan citizens. 'League of Women' from Almada promotes the culture of the country, works with children. Association 'Tezaur' from Faro works with our children. There is the association 'Kalina' that deals with the issues of legalization and integration of migrants In Porto. Association 'Trei Culori' promotes the culture of the Republic of Moldova in Portugal. Association 'Pro-Diaspora' works in the field of mass media. Association 'Miorita' deals with children and culture"* (4.06).

The interest in creating associations by industry has been growing in strength and increasing lately. So the 'Association of Doctors' operates successfully. Professional associations of teachers are created. *"The High Commissioner for Integration and Dialogue in Portugal provides annually financial support to the most active associations. Certainly, 15-25 thousand Euros, that is more symbolic support, but it is positive. Such support is provided on the basis of projects....About 60 diaspora associations from around the world obtained financial support from the Portuguese authorities in past years. We were pleased that two, three, and even four Moldovan associations are always among the winners. The Moldovan diaspora is considered a model of the diaspora in Portugal"* (4.01).

Moldovan associations in Portugal had shown the capacity for unification and solidarity. In the last decade, congresses of the Moldovan diaspora were held, in which the Moldovan Cultural Center that managed to unify diaspora associations played a key role, which led to the formation of the general advisory council of the Moldovan diaspora in Portugal, closer cooperation between associations. We believe that Portugal is one of the three most developed Moldovan diasporas and their associations abroad along with Italy and Canada.

RUSSIA

Considering the presence of numerous immigrants from Moldova since the Soviet times, their high social, professional and cultural status in Russia, as well as the number of Moldovan labor migrants and the duration of the post-Soviet formation of Moldovan communities, the number of Moldovan associations is not great, about 20, of which 6 associations operate in Moscow and one in St. Petersburg. The rest are in the territories. As the expert notes, in order to have a federal-level Moldovan diaspora association, it is necessary to be represented in 46 sub-federal units of the Russian Federation. *"Interesting, where there are more migrants, we should expect more activity of the diaspora. But there is not. And where there are 10-20 persons, then the union*

occurs both faster and easier. For example, in Irkutsk, Novosibirsk, where there are only a few persons, but they found each other and united and are more close-knit than in other regions, where there are thousands, even tens of thousands of the Moldovan migrants. It is much more difficult to unite people there” (1.01).

The reasons for that are as follows. The circular nature of labor migration does not favor to creating diaspora associations. In this regard, it should be taken into account that the Moldovans, by virtue of historical, sociocultural and psychological reasons, are easier integrating in Russia, are 'dissipated'. Furthermore, existing associations do not sufficiently meet the needs of Moldovan labor migrants and Russian citizens who are natives of Moldova and permanently residing in Russia³⁸: *“The mess with the organizations of the Moldovan diaspora... is that they see their mission as being a bridge between their homeland and Russia” (1.02).*

It should be also taken into account that the Moldovan migrants have a *“very cautious attitude towards diaspora organizations. About 80 percent of the Moldovan migrants do not know anything about them, they have not heard anything about them. If they appeal to diaspora organizations, then for some help. But getting it extremely rarely. In general, legal and informational assistance can be provided” (1.02).*

The lack of openness of Russia, its integration policy towards migrants also affects. The existing difference in approaches to the representatives of different regions of Moldova affects the appearance of Moldova right-bank communities, which do not contact each other. And that happens both in Moscow and in the regions.

Poor contacts between the natives of Moldova in the Soviet era and modern Moldovan labor migrants, which is due to different social statuses, peculiarities of mentality and public opinion.

The lack of unity among the Moldovan diaspora associations, the creation of a privileged position for some associations (placement in the embassy, etc.). All this affected the issues of unity. Furthermore, that association was the initiator of the unification of all associations. *“They (the Congress of Moldovan communities) claimed to be some sort of unifying force. But not everyone wanted to agree with this” (1.03).*

The Moldovan diaspora in the Russian Federation is at the initial stage of formation. In the last 5-7 years, as experts noted (1.01), it has become more active.

³⁸ Мукомель В., Кяну-Андрей Д. Молдаване в Российской Федерации: социально-экономический профиль и вызовы на уровне политик. – Кишинев, MOM, 2013, с.75 (Anikin V. Originars from Moldova in Israel: portraits in the business entourage and not only. // MOLDOSCOPIE (Issues of political analyses). Nr. 4 (LXXV), 2016. – Chisinau, MSU, USPEE, AMSP, p. 75)

Associations of the Moldovan diaspora: strengths and weaknesses of activities

Experts note that the process of forming the Moldovan diaspora associations is a spontaneous process linked to the tendency of representatives of the Moldovan communities to unite, create their own organizations in promoting and preserving native language, culture and traditions, protecting migrants, providing them with information and legal support. *“There are three most important goals of the association: promotion of culture; promotion of the Moldovans. We even have the main slogan: “Where the Moldovans are, there we are!” – to preserve culture, traditions, identity. To not get lost among foreigners, other people, to preserve what we came from home with.” Associations are considered as structures that deal with culture, preservation of language, traditions, and customs. It is not improbable that the church does not appeal to us. And we do not appeal to it. We seek solutions from our own capabilities. But we are in a normal relationship and cooperate. We organize with the church joint events, meetings for migrants, for our Moldovan community”* (2.06). However, other associations that did not aim at ethno-cultural goals began to emerge gradually.

Organizations of social, informational, consultative, human rights, sports, entertainment targeting have begun to emerge. *“But the main direction of our association is to inform a person, a migrant. A person, when having information, feels freer, more confident, more integrated. It does not feel disadvantaged, discriminated. It feels happier. It can devote his life, his time, to something else. This goal is our main goal. However, there are other goals – cooperation, other activities. We are open to cooperate. The second the goal is to protect women’s rights and inform them. And not only women appeal to us, but also men”* (2.07).

The leader of the Moldovan association in Germany speaks about the same thing. *“Initially, our organization was called – the Moldovan Society in Germany. However, given that the name did not answer the purpose and working strategies of the organization, we changed the name to the Association of Moldovan-German Friendship in 2013”* (3.08).

Such an expansion of the sphere of activity of associations witnessed not only to the expansion of the interests of people, Moldovan citizens who turned out by a twist of fate to be abroad, in a new country, but also their growing integration into the legal, sociocultural space of the host country. In other words, the associations that contemplate preserving the language, culture, traditions, identity, namely the Moldovan associations in the host country, are gradually being transformed into associations of the host country, civil society associations of the host country, which depart from the original goals of preserving the Moldovan identity and the whole range of activities in

that direction. They begin to set goals related to the civil society of the host country. Specific, Moldovan goals, at best, are relegated to the background. Certainly, this transformation does not affect the preservation of the identity of the Moldovan migrants of the first generation yet. However, the second generation is already starting to become another, more often not Moldovan.

Under the circumstances, the role of the custodian and catalyst of the Moldovan identity should be adopted by the specialized state (more precisely and better, a distanced state) structure of the Republic of Moldova, as long as the tendency is expressed so that *“the vacuum of identity will emerge and deepen: the migrant's family does not educate the child in the spirit of the Moldovan identity, taking care of his greater and non-conflict integration into the environment of the host society. Diaspora associations, relying on different goals and circumstances, begin to reorient and free this niche. The state structures of the country of destination (embassies and consulates) have a slightly different task related to implementing interstate cooperation, promoting the image of the country, working with citizens and solving their problems in the host country. The cultural-identity component of the Moldovan communities, fundamentally, is not their concern”* (1.03).

The specialized state structure of the country of origin designed to work with the diaspora is far away, at home. Indeed, it does a lot to preserve identity, consolidate the diaspora, but it is better, when it is near, it can really act as rather a physical than a virtual event organizer. In this regard, it is not easy to fly abroad every time to organize an event. And, then, the more events are, the more diverse they are, the more they are oriented to certain groups, categories of migrants, children of migrants, diaspora, the more they are visible and required. Including, on the part of the diaspora, the Moldovan communities abroad. Therefore, the actual practice of the functioning of diaspora associations and the further development of the processes of integration of Moldovan citizens in host countries will require the emergence of a proper specialized structure such as the Goethe Institute (the Cervantes Institute, the French Alliance, the Romanian Cultural Institute, etc.), which will assume the core function of promoting preservation and development of cultural and linguistic identity abroad.

But the situation is still different. Associations, along with the church, exercise the function of uniting, cultural and identity appearance of migrants. Associations conduct various works. Here are some examples of their activities. *“We organized our own conference in Florence by own efforts three years ago. Migrants helped us. Our Moldovans came from Germany, Norway, France, and other countries. We showed that we are not weak, and if we set a goal, then we achieve it. We organized everything by own efforts, did not ask for help from the Bureau for Diaspora Relations or other government agencies. It is a success for me, because you see that you can do it yourself, relying only on*

your own resources. We did not expect a reward. We did what we considered necessary" (2.06).

"There are also many active Moldovan associations in Rome and in other provinces and cities. Associations play a positive role. They organize cultural and artistic activities. First of all, events in terms of promoting our image, culture, but also other things. They promote tourism to Moldova; promote our products in the Italian market. I have already mentioned the participation in the Feast of Peoples in May. We advertised our wines and tourism then. We organized a representation of our country all over Italy every year. First of all, tourism and economy, trade. Cultural events are meant for both the Moldovans and the Italian public" (2.01).

"There are two organizations in Israel. There are rare cases when people in any city apply for help to the leaders of both organizations. But nothing more.

Labor migrants do not apply to us. There are rarely requests for help from people in some situations and for assistance in resolving issues with the Consulate of the Republic of Moldova. They know me personally, but not as representatives of the organization. These are isolated cases. But so that the centre of receiving requests and defending their interests is set up, no, it was not. Whereas their interests must be defended. There were many cases when they were not treated honestly, when they were deceived, and other incidents. We cannot control it. The Embassy should monitor and protect the interests of its citizens" (5.03).

As the practice of functioning of the most successful associations of the Moldovan diaspora abroad have shown, the stability and vitality of the association depends on many factors, including international cooperation. It is important not to close yourself in the world of your local problems, but also to see the prospect. Associations that are aimed at cooperation inside and outside the country have great chances to become famous, popular, achieve an image that can lead in time to more significant results.

How important, known and authoritative among Moldovan citizens are Moldovan organizations in the host country? Experts who are not representatives of diaspora organizations note that the circle of activists, representatives of these associations is very insignificant, represented by the same people practically. *"Honestly speaking, the same faces are everywhere. In other words, there is a certain narrow circle of people. I never understood such tactic. I was a participant in many political events with concerts. ... When, for example, there is Children's Day, associations hold activities with children. And the children are from the same circle. This circle includes 20 children. I will not say that this is something fantastic. 20 children means 20 families. Someone is a godfather, someone is a cousin, someone is else one. They come to take pictures, to show they did something" (2.02).*

Thus, one of the key problems of the Moldovan diaspora institutions abroad is personnel, professional training of leaders, limited potential of members, activists of these associations. Experts note that the leader of the association should be a good organizer, have the charisma, the ability to communicate with people, convince them, argue own positions, master methods of communication, take interest in people, and be distressed for them. *“In the first instance, a person should be a good organizer in order to involve people in the organization's affairs. He must be able to represent the organization. To be able to quicken interest in people. It is necessary to consider both elements of tradition and elements of communication in interaction. A person who has problems with time can be brought to some place, but it is necessary to find the motivation for him for that purpose, we need to know how to influence him. Accordingly, we strive to organize various events that will be useful and attractive for our compatriots, people of different ages, education, social status, gender”* (2.06).

Others draw attention to the same thing: *“to be a leader you need to have a certain charisma. You have to be generous. Be able to give your time, give your time and not just time. You have to be a person who can listen. You need to invest financially sometimes. And if you promise something, when you organize something, you need to be at the level of people's expectations. And people, when they come to the event, should remain satisfied with what they saw, heard, feel their personal result. I do not like to use people, and, perhaps, people appreciate such qualities as donation. And, as a leader, I never left people without an answer, without clarifying what worries them. I like working with people”* (2.07).

The activities of the diaspora associations are based on volunteering, voluntary nature of activities of concerned, not indifferent people. That, certainly, is the strength of the diaspora organizations.

“We have associations of young people, Moldovan students here. I do not want to offend those who are older, but I note that they are characterized by a different mentality and act differently – they are quick off the mark and familiarize faster. We organized several events with them. They, in principle, do not ask for help. They handle everything themselves. The only thing they ask for representatives of the authorities to attend the event, to be next to them. They do not ask for money. They ask for patronage. And another thing – they do not ask, they do. And this is very good” (2.01).

An expert from Israel draws attention to the role of personal motivation. *“Personal motivation. Some kind of feeling for the work that you are doing (love, warm relations, memories of your Homeland, which gave education and place of birth). In our case, we have two homelands: Moldova and Our Home – Israel (our grand-Homeland), where we live, we love it, we cherish our cities due to everyone's profession. We do not litter anyway. We clean after*

ourselves. We educate our children to observe the rules of decorum in modern society. As the phrase goes '7 ani de acasă' (eng. - good family upbringing). It is important how they were brought up in the family. We try to pass these traditions to our children (tranquility, sobriety, friendly attitude to others). Our children know that we are from Moldova. We do not mobilize. Those who want and can participate in events. Tickets for our events are purely symbolic, make 20-30 shekels. We do not stimulate in any way" (5.03)

The Italian expert, on the basis of his experience in the association, familiarity with other leaders and associations, aims at identifying the strengths and weaknesses of the Moldovan diaspora associations. *"The strengths of associations can be qualities of the intermediary, cultural and social mediator with the Italian community. Being among the Italian experts, you just have to provide the Moldovans with the necessary information. In such conditions, you feel closer to the Moldovan personality... The strengths are that associations show us that we are active, that we are organized, we can do something on our own, and we can organize and mobilize people, that we are a team that represents us.*

The weaknesses. Why did the summer camp for children go wrongly the following year? Because the support of the Moldovans is small and the weaknesses of the associations result from it - each works for itself. This is the first. Unfortunately, the social spirit is developed poorly. This is the second. A person works, gets tired and does not really want to participate in additional activities. Three. Associations do not work. Everyone takes advantage of somebody. It rarely happens when something is common for everyone. I do not understand that. Because we must unite here. But our result is opposite, we separate, we break away. Everyone organizes something independently. We are competitors. We have ambitions. And it seems to me that there is most often the ambition of the person who created the association and which it leads. We have a tendency not to cooperate" (2.16).

The Russian expert speaks about the same thing. *"The strength is the desire to do something, because Moldovan citizens have an unconditional request to satisfy cultural needs, to organize meetings. They feel their solidarity within the diaspora and solidarity in the state origin. Many diasporas have such a request. But there is one weakness, namely the lack of financial resources, the lack of real support from the state of origin. There is no real financial assistance, as a rule. That is in the first place. And, secondly, competition between the leaders of these organizations is quite clearly expressed" (1.02).*

Limited number of activists is one of the problems of the diaspora, its weakness. This is due to both the fluctuation / movement of activists of the organization, staff and the accumulating fatigue of people, fatigue, including from volunteering. That forces organizations to resort to more modern forms

of functioning of associations, less often to hold general meetings and more often to resort to videoconferences, conversations by phone, Skype and other modern technical means of communication.

“People in the Republic of Moldova must understand that when an organization is established in Italy, while we are on the territory of a foreign state, we have no support from anyone. We have no place, where people can meet. People who know each other well create the organization... I will give an example. In the beginning, in 2004, when creating the organization, we were 15-25 persons. Of those people who were in 2004, only I remained today in Rome. Someone went to Canada. Someone returned home. Or a woman is sick and lives now in another city and is no longer involved in public life, is on treatment... Some have changed their status (the girls have married) and no longer participate in public affairs now. That is, associations are always changing. And when it comes to electing someone - this person leaves tomorrow, changes its place of residence. Or tomorrow it does not want to work on a voluntary basis. We are volunteers and no one pays us. And when I want to introduce someone into the leadership, I must hold a meeting, elect that person. But we do not conduct meetings in the strict sense of the word, we are not convening in any room, because we have already become modern in Italy. We do everything via the Internet – on-line. Via Skype or other electronic communication system. That is, we can hold a videoconference for 12 persons. That is, everything is done distantly. If you need to sign something, an electronic signature signs it. In a word, we are becoming more organized” (2.07).

The problem of improving the quality of Moldovan diaspora organizations is not alien for representatives of Moldovan associations. A certain work is carried out for finding and training future leaders. *“We hold certain meetings with people. We teach who is a leader, what an association is, why it should be created” (2.07).*

Another direction to improve the quality and statusness of organizations of the Moldovan diaspora could be attracting prominent representatives of the Moldovan diaspora that 'made themselves' in the host country, became well-known persons, with high social status not only among the Moldovan communities, but also among the local population, citizens of the country to the activities of organizations. *“I think that this potential was not fully used. Very many migrants are persons I know very well – artists, writers who live in Italy – were not attracted to work in our associations. Thus, the artist Iuri Bujoreanu told me: 'These associations invite me only when they need me. Thus, the national folk costume festival was organized on Sunday and I was invited to close the walls with my beautiful pictures and graphics. And they forget about me after that. Therefore, there is no constant cooperation and communication, which I have been supporting since 2003 and so far” (2.05).*

As experts from Israel accentuate, the weakness of associations is often

related to the fact that they do not have the necessary resource base, financing of projects that they carry out. *"We are facing currently the main challenge in activities of our organization, that is, the lack of a material base. We are working for an idea, not for a reward. We do not have a budget. Possibly, if we had finance, we would organize many more events. This is the only difficulty.*

The more financial assistance is, the more motivation and desire to carry out activities is. Unfortunately, economic opportunities do not always allow" (5.03).

Funding of diaspora organizations activities

Having limited financial resources, diaspora associations use different ways to obtain funding for their projects. We should note among such ways: search for sponsors among business representatives of Italy, Portugal, the United Kingdom, Moldovan businessmen in these countries, submission of projects to the Bureau for Diaspora Relations of the Republic of Moldova, search for funds from the European structures. *"There were attempts to appeal to European funds. A concrete example of this is the association 'Assomoldave'. It tried to obtain various grants, various projects in Italy, in Europe and in the Republic of Moldova in 2008-2009. Other associations have succeeded in obtaining funds from the Romanian Cultural Institute for the Romanians from everywhere. They were given books or translated books. I will give an example of O.E., who translated the book of poems by Grigore Vieru (250-300 pages) into Italian in 2012 and the Romanian government paid for these translations. In one word, there is such an opportunity. However, it is still used insignificantly"* (2.05).

The position and motivation of the financial support of associations, which was expressed by and which guide a businessman from the The United Kingdom, is interesting. In this regard, he relies upon the British mentality based on social responsibility: *"Undoubtedly, business bears social responsibility for financial support of cultural events. We like it. In this regard, the amount and the event is not so important. It is more important to support local projects and promote holding of social events in the activities of associations"* (6.06).

Another expert, the leader of the association of the diaspora in Italy shares also his positive experience of seeking funds and cooperation with business representatives. *"We appeal to financial structures to finance our events. There are migrants who set up their own business here. They are most often our sponsors. They financed many of our events, because we have no money. And we do not always have financing from projects. I think it is very important that there is cooperation between the diaspora associations and Moldovan business abroad. We provide them with advertising; they provide us with financial support and services"* (2.06).

Representatives of the Moldovan associations in Portugal also speak about this. However, they recognize that there are not so many successes in cooperation with Moldovan business in this country. Cooperation is not forming yet. *“One or another association appealed to businessmen for financial support. And they do not really welcome such things. Moldovan businessmen are few here, but they are, including prosperous ones. But they do not support associations financially. They say usually: ‘I cannot afford yet, maybe in the future, I need to think, etc.’ It is very difficult to convince them to help. They do not participate in diaspora events. Entrepreneurs who provide assistance are very few... We do not have many common initiatives. If there was cooperation, a sort of barter: you support us financially, we place your advertisement, information about your firm in the magazine. However, such a marketing strategy is not very attractive for them” (4.03)*

At the same time, diaspora leaders note that it is not easy to work with a sponsor and have a positive result. In this regard, as experts emphasize that it is important not only to interest a sponsor, to show him benefits, interest, but also to learn how to look after the sponsor, to show him signs of respect and attention. *“In order to attract sponsors, I visited a special training course in Rome. The course, which is held by the Italians for association leaders: how to attract sponsors to work of the association, how to work with them. Sponsors should be respected, courted. You must send him compliments; send a greeting card for the New Year. Congratulate bankers, dentists, builders on the professional holiday. Depending on what sphere they operate in. You need to know who is the sponsor, when his professional day is, have other information and use it in his favor. If you have a sponsor, then you should treat him like a gold nugget, a precious stone. Show him signs of attention. Invite to all events that you organize. I learned these secrets at this training course” (2.07).*

Solidarity and cooperation between the diaspora institutions

Diaspora is related broadly to the existence of diaspora organizations, associations. Experts emphasize that the Moldovan diaspora in many countries and in the first instance in Italy, is dissociated, isolated. There are several reasons for this.

First, the political dissociation of the diaspora organizations. Diaspora associations are often geared to certain political forces in the Republic of Moldova. In this respect, Italy, in which the most numerous Moldovan communities in the European Union are concentrated, is of undoubted interest, especially during the parliamentary elections, when representatives of the leadership of the Moldovan political parties come to Italy in search of electoral support. Comparing the political dissociation of the diaspora in Italy and Portugal, experts note that this is almost invisible in Portugal. The reason is that Portugal is far away, the Moldovan community is insignificant in this

country. And the Moldovan political parties thereby do not have much interest in this country. *"It is far away and they are not very interested, because the Moldovan community in Portugal is small. If 50 thousand were there once, then the number of the Moldovans decreased later. There are 11-13 thousand Moldovans now, because they are all given Portuguese citizenship. Today many, already with Portuguese citizenship, leave. Portugal is not such a fantastic country. Many people leave for France, Germany, and Switzerland. Even Spain is more attractive as a country.... Our parties have no interest in Portugal. They had such an interest here, in Italy, in the last resort. I do not know how it will be further, but there was great interest in them. They were coming with grand concerts"* (2.02).

Understanding that involvement in the political process is accompanied by the loss of independence, face and authority, many association leaders seek to distance themselves from politics, Moldovan political parties that are solving the immediate tasks of obtaining mandates of the members of the Parliament. *"We do not participate in political events; we do not take any political position. We are a public organization, we have our own goals. Politics is not the sphere of our activity. We respect the charter. Certainly, each member of the association is a citizen of Moldova and has its own position, its own political sympathies. And each member can express it in elections by voting for one or another party, one or another candidate. But this is a personal matter, and the association has nothing to do with it. I prefer to have the association neutral. I prefer to help those in need, than to engage in politics. Yes, we promoted the idea of participating in elections and voting. But we did not do agitation in favor of one or another candidate"* (2.06).

However, there are also organizations that seek to receive dividends from friendship and cooperation with political parties.

Secondly, this dissociation of the diaspora goes also along the geopolitical vector as well as among the Moldovan population in Moldova itself. Someone, a part of the population, inclines and is oriented towards Romania; someone, another part of the population, towards Russia. There are associations oriented towards the Republic of Moldova. And that affects the unity and cohesion of the diaspora, cooperation between the diaspora organizations.

In this regard, experts note that there are no separate, isolated Transnistrian or Gagauzian communities of Moldovan citizens. *"There are no associations that would have been formed by the Transnistrians. They are integrated into Moldovan associations, along with the Moldovans. Those who speak Romanian. Those who speak Russian are distanced a little"* (2.02).

This is due to various reasons, including the fact that a small number of migrants and the well-reasoned policy of the Italian authorities towards Moldovan citizens, regardless of the region of residence in their homeland, represent the representatives of these groups.

Thirdly, dissociation goes along the religious, church line. The church plays a very important and significant role in the functioning of the Moldovan communities abroad. This refers not only to the spiritual guidance of believers, to delivery of assistance, establishment of contacts, rallying among the representatives of the Moldovan communities, job search, receipt of various kinds of advices and consultations.

But the church is also divided into the parishes of the Russian Orthodox Church and the parishes of the Bessarabian Metropolis of the Romanian Orthodox Church, which are competing for influence on the souls of the Moldovan believers. That has undoubtedly a negative impact on the cohesion of the Moldovan communities. And this opposition is noted everywhere, where there are Moldovan communities – in the North of Italy, and in the Center, and in the capital Rome, in other countries. *“The political palette affects not only the orientation towards this or that political party in Moldova. It affects also the division of believers into two churches in Moldova – the Russian Orthodox Church and the Romanian Orthodox Church. We have also two churches here. They are competitors. And it affects people. They quarrel among themselves. They can even be friends, relatives. If you visit a certain church, that's all, you are the enemy. And, vice versa, because priests are not pursuing a tolerant policy. They struggle with each other. I tried to involve them in joint activities, because I do not want to be a conflict that will divide the community. But it does not work, because they break the community consciously and purposefully. It is impossible to understand, but it's true. They think that they harm the opponent. But they actually harm everyone, including themselves. It will affect them both. Two camps are fighting, and the reverend fathers are their leaders. There is still one problem here. It is the problem of leadership between them. They will never make peace. And that means that the conflict gathers inside the community. It is an issue of the number of believers, the size of the parish. That is, among other things, there are hidden economic and material interests – the problem of material welfare and prosperity of the priest. It is not only the problem of leadership and ambition. There is also an ideological and religious problem – the Romanian Orthodox Church and the Russian Orthodox Church” (2.16).*

Furthermore, as practice shows, the first Moldovan associations arose in the parishes. Experts in Russia, Italy and Portugal speak about that. Moreover, the representatives of the clergy quite often act today as representatives, creators or leaders of non-governmental associations abroad. And these organizations are also often in confrontation and competition, but already with other Moldovan diaspora institutions. Fourthly, this is a problem of leadership, personal ambitions, sympathy and antipathy towards certain leaders, friendship 'with insiders', competition between the leaders of the Moldovan diaspora associations, which often carry out a under-

the-carpet struggle for information resources, finance, proximity to the Moldovan embassy, projects of the Bureau for Diaspora Relations, etc. This is, in general, natural and understandable.

Fifthly, experts point also at the problem of the relationship between the old and the new diaspora. The nature of interaction between different communities of migrants that arrived earlier/later may also have an impact on the cooperation within the diaspora.

"I must admit that there is a problem of the relationship between the old and the new diaspora. There is such a tendency. Not for all associations. There are older and more experienced associations. And there was a problem initially. If a new association appeared, it was not comfortable for old associations – a new competitor appeared. However, it became clear over time that there was no point in conflict, offence by one to others. We are not so many here to divide the field of activity. Fighting between associations will not work. It is better to unite" (2.06). All that in totality affects the solidarity and actions of the diaspora in Italy. Experts note that, unfortunately, the Moldovan associations are not sufficiently solidary, united in general.

The experience of Israel shows that it is possible to unite in a joint action not only the old and the new diaspora, but also those who arrived and live permanently in Israel, are citizens of the State of Israel and labor migrants from Moldova who reside in this country for some time. *"I find a twofold, double-edged activity. The community or labor migrants should appreciate with dignity the opportunities for implementing their potential in Israel. Given that, they are implementing their life plans, and Israel receives highly qualified creative force, language and spiritual help and assesses their contribution to the development of our country. The strength is the continuous spiritual connections. The society in Rehovot was created, for example, more than 10 years ago. It holds national Moldovan festivals (for example, 'Martisor'). This is a very popular holiday in Israel. In addition to culture and spirituality, there is a production component that helps both parties, participants in this process"* (5.02).

A Moldovan labor migrant, who (and not only him) cooperates with the association of the Moldovan diaspora in Israel speaks about the same thing. *"I know. I am a member of the association Basarabia-Beit (Bessarabian House) from Tel Aviv. All migrant Jews in the State of Israel participate in its work. They constantly organize meetings with the diaspora. Thus, I participated in the Day 'Limba noastră' (eng. – Our language), the holiday dedicated to March 8. Famous persons of Israel are invited. We discuss various issues"* (5.08).

At the same time, a completely different picture is observed in Israel. There is solidarity of the Moldovan diaspora in Israel, which is built taking into account the specifics of this country – the fraternity of cities. This tradition overlaps with the tradition of the patronage of the Jewish communities of large cities over the development of Israeli cities, help in financing their socio-

economic development. Experts in Israel note: *“There is a common Israeli assembly from Moldova. This is an obvious solidarity. The natives of Balti or Edinet began to meet less often, and the population leaves them. These meetings become collective, all republican – all-Israeli.*

As a specialist in civil society, I was interested in their current state in Israel. For example, the organization 'For a Decent Future', its leader is a very active mate A.B. (co-chairman of the Board). First, they have obtained financial support from the Government for the relatives of the Holocaust victims. They raised the issue that the state should compensate for housing needs.

A feature in Israel is the fraternity of cities. Annual assemblies of natives of Balti, Edinet or other cities are held. There is a network of communities in the main cities of Israel. I wrote recently about such a meeting of fellow countrymen, which was held in the city of Rehovot. Representatives of more than 20 cities gathered there. Everything was organized by own efforts and with the support of the organization House of Bessarabian Jews in Tel Aviv... Topical issues of the Moldovan diaspora in Israel were discussed at that meeting. These meetings take place in the restaurant 'Belyi Aist' (eng. - White Stork) in Rehovot. The owner of the restaurant, a native of the Republic of Moldova, has kept that symbol” (5.02).

Diaspora organizations and communication

One of the key problems in the functioning of the diaspora is the lack of, or inability to obtain and use information. This is due to communication, inability to use effectively existing communication channels. Experts note that communication has several sides.

First, communication between diaspora associations and Moldovan migrants in the country, communication between the associations themselves. Various forms of communication are used, namely via social networks, Internet, telephone, press, newspapers published and distributed by the diaspora, live direct communication. *“The most problems of communication arise between migrants and community; because the Moldovans, but I think that this refers to other communities, settling in a certain country, in a certain place, striking here the roots, communicate very hard with fellow countrymen. All contacts are almost broken. Very few people keep in touch. But those who remain communicate through various forms, various types of activities. We communicate through the newspaper and magazine, which we distribute free. We communicate through social networks” (2.06).* This remark is true for the Moldovan communities and experts point it out in other countries – Germany (3.02), Russia (1.02).

Another situation has developed in Israel, where the Moldovan diaspora, consisting mainly of natives of Moldova, persons of predominantly Jewish nationality, is sufficiently unified, active and united. *“We created the*

Association of People originating from Moldova in August 2005. They are not indifferent persons who have not lost interest in their Homeland, where they were born and brought up. Members of our organization are ethnic Jews, Russians or Moldovans, Ukrainians. In principle, this does not interest anyone. The NGO operates on the basis of the enthusiasm of urban communities. There are about 1000 active members of our organization. Certainly, our joint work with Beit Bessarabia. We organize joint events together with them twice a year" (5.03).

At the same time, we should note that there are many active diasporas today. Examples of communication, cooperation and mutual assistance within the Jewish, Armenian, Chinese, Indian, Korean or Vietnamese diasporas, diaspora of African states are quite indicative in this respect. A similar example in the post-Soviet space can be the Tajik diaspora, which created in a short period of time a fairly effective and working model of mutual assistance and communication of Tajik labor migrants in Russia, Moscow and other regions of the country (1.02; 1.03).

The reason why the communication between members in some migrant/ethnic communities occur and doesn't occur in others relates in many respects to the action of both external factors (the attitude of the local population and the state towards certain ethnic groups (racism, xenophobia), labor market situation) and internal factors of the formation and functioning of this community (difficulties with the language of the host country, level of education and professional training of migrants, their occupation in the labor market, dominance of the traditional culture, complexity of adaptation and integration into a new society). Therefore, we do not almost encounter diasporas of Western European peoples in the USA. The Italians are the exception, which is connected both with the later 'discovery of America' and with, most importantly, the dominance of traditional culture. After all, the Italian diaspora of the community was created, first of all, by natives of the South of Italy, for whom communication within their community was an important tool that was reducing the complexity of adaptation and integration into the urban culture of American megacities.

Secondly, communication between the diaspora institutions, associations, church, etc. *"The Church is what unites us; it affects the community, ensures its unity, unites people" (2.06).*

Thirdly, the communication between diaspora associations and (state and non-state) structures of the country of origin, of the Republic of Moldova. In the first instance, that relates to the diplomatic and consular representations of the Republic of Moldova in Italy, Bureau for Diaspora Relations, representatives of ministries and departments of the Republic of Moldova in the period of the Diaspora congresses, Days of Diaspora.

The expert from the United Kingdom pays also attention to cooperation

and communication. *"It would be good to have specialized resources about the activities of the Moldovan communities abroad. Thus, people will be informed, including public authorities. For example, the Charity Forum took place in the premises of ENDAVA company. The participants arrived there and it was found that they did not know about each other, about the events that they were holding. They did not know that they carry out separately similar activities at the same time. And if they would join forces, their initiatives would have a greater effect. It is necessary to use more electronic media (Internet, social networks, etc.), greater transparency in their actions is needed. And that will serve as a basis for the promotion of joint projects. It is necessary to see all these initiatives entirely, in all the diversity of actions, efforts, cooperation and communication"* (6.01).

Experts give numerous examples of cooperation of non-governmental organizations with Moldovan institutions, with the Bureau for Diaspora Relations. *"On June 1, I usually schedule and hold events dedicated to the International Children's Day. And I, as a representative of the association, work together with other people (through the projects of the Bureau for Diaspora Relations). We managed with the International Organization for Migration to publish a magazine for children 'Pro-diaspora kids'. We are trying to promote talented children who are in Italy. They deserve it, they have many merits, diplomas. Summer camps for children were organized. We cooperate with the Romanian language association. We help them with the book 'Albinuta', other books for children. We organized also a concert for children, a presentation of books. We participate actively in the organization and holding of national holidays: Independence Day, 'Martisor', 'Limba noastra', Children's Day, the Day of Peoples (Italian holiday), the Football Championship of the Moldovans in Italy, various information events, etc."* (2.06).

Experts from Israel say the same. *"For example, 'Martisor' is often celebrated this restaurant 'Belyi Aist' on 1st of March. We invite to participate all 3 categories of people – the Moldovan diasporas in Israel. Certainly, we invite also representatives of the Embassy and city leaders. The Moldovan community is considered a serious community in Israel. It is very important to maintain communication and dialogue. First of all, this must come from individuals who are engaged in this issue on both sides. I name what we are doing on the humanitarian front as the drawing together of hearts, so that our relations become better"* (5.04).

Fourthly, communication between associations of the Moldovan diaspora and the state and non-state structures of the host country. This communication is based on the legislation of the country.

Experts note that the Moldovan migrants perceive often diaspora associations not only as ethno cultural, but also as social, human rights, information and consultative structures that can help with job, employment

and various social issues. The reason, apparently, lies in the fact that people see activism, the social position of the leader, feel the strength, ability to solve various problems. *"People are not informed. Furthermore, people do not believe anyone today. Neither the state structures, nor associations. Our Moldovans, when they hear that you are the leader of the association, they regard you with reverence, as a representative of the authorities. And I do not like it. The rural contingent arrived here, to Italy, from Moldova basically. They believe that if someone came here, then he is the boss. They have the same idea of the association. They believe that you receive a salary, you must do something for them"* (2.07).

Experts understand the importance of disseminating information and share their own experience of its dissemination among the Moldovan migrants. *"We can talk about three stages in the dissemination of information. First step. When we came to Italy, there was no Internet. We were three girls lost in the Internet. And we were searching for at least one Moldovan in the Internet.*

Second step. There were more opportunities - there was a website/sites for Moldovans in Italy after 3-5 years. And we were there in the chat. I want to emphasize that Italians, who were married to Moldovans, created the networks. They understood that there is no information and they have revealed these opportunities. The second network connected us with the embassy. These networks still exist. They were our first help.

After that, we, who were more active, accentuated in communication the interaction via mobile phone. People began already to have telephones. All information was transmitted over the phone. When I started to discover many association leaders throughout Italy, I used the possibilities of the embassy, the Internet possibilities. I created a database, in which I entered all the information related to the Moldovan community in Italy, contacts of association leaders, e-mails, phone numbers, postal address, place of residence. The farther in, the more extensive my database became.

The third step. Even richer in terms of technical means of communication, which we can use and which we use in communication with each other, between associations, in our community" (2.07).

The conducted researches showed that the Moldovan citizens do not know essentially about the existence of such organizations or heard something most often.

Undoubtedly, there are many reasons for the insufficient notoriety of the diaspora associations. This issue and weakness of such organizations, and localization in certain places / regions, and their insignificant number, and insignificant support and notoriety among the Moldovan communities. However, one of the reasons for this phenomenon is also the fact that the Moldovan migrants themselves are open to interaction, cooperation and

communication to a small extent. This is due to the fact that people came to earn, they aim at saving every euro. Undoubtedly, the fatigue of people, their closeness with respect to their own problems, the desire to postpone their decision play also an important role. It is important to take also into account the nature of the activities of the Moldovan labor migrants in Italy, the massive employment in the home services sector, the limited free movement and communication of people due to the specifics of the labor process.

Experts testify that representatives of Moldovan communities abroad often express fair and correct proposals on improving the functioning of diaspora associations, their approach to the interests of ordinary migrants. However, the remark of the representatives of the diaspora associations that assistance, a great activity of the very ordinary representatives of the Moldovan communities is also needed for the implementation of these proposals and suggestions is equally true. *"We can conclude that there is a certain inertia, moreover, even apathy among our community" (2.01).*

The associations of the Moldovan diaspora are at the very beginning of the journey. They begin to grow up, carry out certain work to preserve the ethno-cultural identity of representatives of Moldovan communities abroad, to consolidate the Moldovan diaspora out of borders of Moldova. There are still many problems. Solution to them depends both on the associations themselves and on the support, activity of the migrants themselves, their involvement in the process of consolidation and functioning of the Moldovan diaspora, its institutions.

Is it necessary to help diaspora associations? Yes, it is. Both in terms of information and financial support. However, this support should be more focused on the training to fish ('to give and to teach to use the fish rod'). *"It is necessary to help diaspora associations. As the Bureau for Diaspora Relations does. Some funds for projects are allocated, various initiatives are funded. They have a good resonance. In Italy, people participate; they are more and more interested in that. There is a financial issue, communication, organization. These problems are fundamental" (2.01).*

The expert from Israel draws also attention to that. *"We really need information support. We had a good newspaper 'The Jewish Place'. Once, in 1993, it was delivered in suitcases from the Chisinau printing house. The printing stopped later. There was only the site www.dorledor.md. And it closed on 20 June 2016. We lack it seriously. This source was a unifying principle for us. Now we use Facebook - the Chisinau window. People exchange photos, old movies about Chisinau, the latest news. Certainly, this is interesting. But additional information support will be helpful... Promotion of cultural projects related to Moldova (festivals, exhibitions of artists, etc.); promotion of the image of Moldova (very few people knew that such a country exists before our arrival). And people hear in the mass media about events organized in different*

cities now. We do not hesitate to say that the specialists are natives of Moldova. We would like to have our own newspaper or website. But that requires additional costs and human resources, which we cannot afford now. We have already tried several times to create a website” (5.03).

It is necessary to support the development of the Moldovan associations abroad, to help in expanding the spheres of activity, training of personnel, including among young people. Representatives of the second generation of migrants, their children. *“I do not agree with people who say that there are too many associations in the diaspora. This is not true. 15 thousand Moldovans live in Rome and in the area of Rome. There must be at least 100 associations. Alternatively, there should be as many associations as possible. We should unite people by interests, by hobby...” (2.07).*

During the survey of respondents, Moldovan labor migrants, we tried to find out the attitude of migrants to the Moldovan diaspora associations in the countries of destination. And here are the results we obtained.

Table 34. Membership in organizations / associations of the Moldovan diaspora in the country of destination

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Yes	3.4%	6.3%	7.9%	5.6%	2.2%	18.2%	5.6%
No	96.1%	92.9%	92.1%	94.4%	95.6%	81.8%	93.9%
No answer	0.5%	0.8%	0%	0%	2.2%	0%	0.6%

Ethnic/national communities of migrants are transformed into diaspora in conditions of conscious aspiration to maintain various connections with their historical or real homeland. Various diaspora associations that serve as the institutionalization of the diaspora facilitate this broadly. Membership in diaspora associations shows the migrant's desire to maintain connections with the homeland not only at an individual, but also at a collective level.

Our survey revealed the activity of migrants in this regard. The absolute majority of migrants (94 % of respondents in the total sample) are not members of the diaspora organizations. The situation is as follows as to countries. 96 % of respondents in Russia are not members of Moldovan diaspora organizations; 96 % in Israel; 94 % in Germany; 93 % in Italy; 92 % in Portugal. The exception is the United Kingdom, where the share of respondents who are not members of Moldovan associations in this country is much lower and is 82 %.

At the same time, the survey shows that 18 % of respondents in the United Kingdom position themselves as members of diaspora associations, 8 % in Portugal, 6 % both in Italy and Germany, 3 % in Russia and 2 % of Moldovan respondents in Israel.

Table 35. The level of participation of migrants in activities of the Moldovan diaspora associations

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
I am an active member of the Moldovan diaspora organization	17.4%	0%	25.0%	0%	0%	25.0%	12.3%
I take part sometimes in activities of the Moldovan diaspora organization	30.4%	25.0%	25.0%	42.9%	0%	25.0%	28.8%
I follow only the events and news of the organization, but I do not participate actively	52.2%	75.0%	50.0%	57.1%	100%	50.0%	58.9%
Total	23	12	4	14	23	16	73

The survey showed that only 12 % of respondents are active members of the Moldovan diaspora associations. This indicator was achieved in this regard due to migrants in the United Kingdom (25 %), Portugal (25 %) and Russia (17 %). The indicator was fixed as 0 % in the remaining 3 countries.

Almost every third respondent (29 %) indicates that he participates sometimes in activities of the Moldovan diaspora organization. The situation is as follows in the country profile: Germany – 42 %; Russia – 30 %; Italy, Portugal and the United Kingdom – 25 % each; Israel – 0 %.

The answer “I follow only the events and news of the organization, but I do not participate actively” was supported by 59 % of respondents. The situation is as follows, according to the country profile: 100 % of respondents who positioned themselves as members of the Moldovan diaspora associations indicated that in Israel; in Italy – 75 %, in Germany – 57 %; in Russia – 52 %, in Portugal and the United Kingdom – 50 % of respondents each. The bulk of respondents who consider themselves members of the Moldovan diaspora associations are not active participants in the process.

Table 36. Reasons for non-participation of Moldovan migrants in the activities of the Moldovan diaspora associations

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
I am not interested	51.5%	38.5%	40.5%	45.2%	31.8%	12.0%	43.0%
I am not familiar with the Moldovan organizations in the region where I live	18.0%	44.3%	43.2%	38.1%	54.5%	44.0%	33.8%
I do not think it is important	17.5%	8.2%	13.5%	10.7%	9.1%	8.0%	12.7%
Other (fatigue after work, work related stress, etc.)	12.5%	9.0%	2.7%	4.8%	4.5%	36.0%	10.2%
No answer	0.5%	0%	0%	1.2%	0%	0%	0.4%

The main reasons for the non-participation of the Moldovan migrants in activities of diaspora associations are: lack of interest (43 %); unfamiliarity with the Moldovan organizations in the region where they live (34 %); opinion that “it is not important” (13 %); other (10 %).

The situation is as follows, according to the country profile: 52% of respondents in Russia explain their non-participation in activities of the Moldovan diaspora organizations as the lack of interest; 45 % in Germany; 41 % in Portugal; 39 % in Italy; 32 % in Israel; 12 % in the United Kingdom.

Respondents specify “unfamiliarity with the Moldovan organizations in the region where they live” as the reason for the non-participation in activities of the Moldovan diaspora organizations in the host country: in Israel – 55 %; in Italy – 44 %; in the United Kingdom – 44 %; in Portugal – 43 %; in Germany – 38 %; in Russia – 18 %.

Respondents adhere often to the conviction that “it is not important”. Such respondents in Russia make 18 %; in Portugal – 14 %; in Germany – 11 %; in Israel – 9 %; in the United Kingdom and Italy – 8 % each.

A significant value is also the position “other”, within which there is a work related stress (duration of the working day, fatigue after work, etc.). The highest indicator of supporters of this position among Moldovan respondents is in the United Kingdom (36 %). The remaining countries show lower indicators: Russia – 13 %; Italy – 9%; Germany – 5 %; Israel – 4 %; Portugal – 3 %.

Table 37. Respondents' assessment of the importance /unimportance of the tasks that the Moldovan diaspora organizations face in the country of destination

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
It is not important at all	1.9%	2.4%	0%	1.1%	0%	3.0%	1.7%
It is not important	1.9%	4.0%	5.3%	6.7%	4.4%	9.1%	4.1%
I do not know, it is hard to say	20.8%	14.3%	21.1%	25.8%	22.2%	24.2%	20.4%
It is important	48.3%	46.8%	36.8%	31.5%	26.7%	36.4%	41.8%
It is very important	27.1%	32.5%	36.8%	34.8%	46.7%	27.3%	32.0%

Although the commitment and interest of the Moldovan migrants (respondents of our survey in six countries surveyed) in activities of diaspora organizations in the host countries is small, however, people recognize the importance of achieving the goals of the diaspora in preserving and consolidating contacts of Moldovan natives with the homeland. Almost 3/4 of the interviewed persons (74 %) consider that the tasks the diaspora organizations face in the host country to be important and very important. According to the country profile, close figures are observed for almost all

countries: Italy – 79 %; Russia – 75 %; Portugal – 74 %; Israel – 73 %. Figures for Germany (66 %) and the United Kingdom (64 %) are somewhat lower.

Only 6 % of respondents do not consider them important. In this regard, it should also be noted that every fifth respondent does not know or has no position.

Table 38. Support to Moldovans aiming at organizing their lives in the country of destination

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
It is not important at all	1.4%	1.6%	0%	1.1%	2.2%	3.0%	1.5%
It is not important	5.3%	5.6%	5.3%	5.6%	2.2%	12.1%	5.6%
I do not know, it is hard to say	12.1%	16.7%	21.1%	29.2%	15.6%	18.2%	17.3%
It is important	53.1%	42.1%	28.9%	34.8%	33.3%	45.5%	43.7%
It is very important	28.0%	34.1%	44.7%	29.2%	46.7%	21.2%	32.0%

The attitude of respondents to various possible areas of activity of the Moldovan diaspora organizations in the countries researched was considered during the survey.

76 % of respondents noted the importance of supporting the Moldovans to organize their lives in the country of destination. The picture is as follows, according to the country profile: in Russia – 78 %; in Italy – 76 %; in Portugal – 74 %; in Germany – 64 %; in Israel – 80%; in the United Kingdom – 76%.

Table 39. Informing Moldovans about the situation in Moldova

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
It is not important at all	1.9%	.8%	0%	0%	0%	3.0%	1.1%
It is not important	4.8%	7.9%	2.6%	7.9%	6.7%	6.1%	6.1%
I do not know, it is hard to say	15.5%	14.3%	23.7%	29.2%	6.7%	18.2%	17.5%
It is important	55.6%	39.7%	31.6%	37.1%	35.6%	42.4%	44.6%
It is very important	22.2%	36.5%	42.1%	25.8%	51.1%	30.3%	30.5%

75 % of respondents noted the importance of informing the Moldovans about the situation in Moldova. The picture is as follows in the country profile: in Russia – 78 %; in Italy – 76 %; in Portugal – 74 %; in Germany – 63 %; in Israel – 87 %; in the United Kingdom – 73 %.

Table 40. Assistance (help) in the development of Moldova

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
It is not important at all	1.4%	1.6%	.0%	1.1%	0%	3.0%	1.3%
It is not important	6.3%	7.9%	2.6%	7.9%	2.2%	0%	5.9%
I do not know, it is hard to say	32.9%	23.0%	23.7%	18.0%	8.9%	21.2%	24.7%
It is important	37.7%	28.6%	42.1%	33.7%	44.4%	42.4%	36.1%
It is very important	21.7%	38.1%	31.6%	39.3%	44.4%	33.3%	31.8%

68 % of respondents noted the importance of assistance in the development of Moldova. The picture is as follows in the country profile: in Israel – 89 %; in the United Kingdom – 76 %; in Portugal – 74 %; in Germany – 73 %; in Italy – 67 %; in Russia – 59 %.

Table 41. Importance of Moldovan education for children of migrants

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
It is not important at all	1.4%	2.4%	.0%	2.2%	2.2%	3.0%	1.9%
It is not important	4.8%	10.3%	5.3%	2.2%	4.4%	6.1%	5.8%
I do not know, it is hard to say	11.6%	13.5%	15.8%	18.0%	15.6%	12.1%	13.8%
It is important	46.4%	31.0%	47.4%	41.6%	15.6%	51.5%	39.8%
It is very important	35.7%	42.9%	31.6%	36.0%	62.2%	27.3%	38.8%

79 % of respondents noted the importance of supporting the Moldovan education for children of migrants. The picture is as follows, according to the country profile: in Russia – 82 %; in Portugal – 79 %; in Israel and the United Kingdom – 78 % each; in Germany – 77 %; in Italy – 74 %.

Table 42. Contribution to the consolidation of the Moldovan society

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
It is not important at all	5.3%	3.2%	0%	0%	6.7%	3.0%	3.5%
It is not important	4.9%	7.1%	0%	11.2%	2.2%	3.0%	5.8%
I do not know, it is hard to say	29.6%	29.4%	34.2%	37.1%	22.2%	18.2%	29.8%
It is important	41.7%	39.7%	39.5%	39.3%	42.2%	48.5%	41.2%
It is very important	18.4%	19.8%	26.3%	12.4%	26.7%	27.3%	19.6%

61 % of respondents noted the importance of promoting the consolidation of the Moldovan society. The picture is as follows, according to the country profile: in Israel – 69 %; in Portugal and in the United Kingdom – 66 % each; in Russia and Italy – 60 % each; in Germany – 52 %.

Table 43. Contributing to the successful cultural and social integration of new immigrants

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
It is not important at all	2.4%	3.2%	0%	1.1%	0%	3.0%	2.0%
It is not important	4.3%	5.6%	2.6%	7.9%	2.2%	6.1%	5.0%
I do not know, it is hard to say	26.1%	20.0%	23.7%	22.5%	28.9%	24.2%	24.1%
It is important	42.0%	51.2%	42.1%	43.8%	31.1%	42.4%	43.6%
It is very important	25.1%	20.0%	31.6%	24.7%	37.8%	24.2%	25.3%

79 % of respondents noted the importance of the assistance in the successful cultural and social integration of new emigrants. The picture is as follows, according to the country profile: in Italy – 71 %; in Israel and Germany – 69 % each; in Russia and the United Kingdom – 67 % each; in Portugal – 64 %.

Table 44. Promoting respect for the rights of the diaspora representatives

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
It is not important at all	2.9%	3.2%	0%	0%	0%	3.0%	2.0%
It is not important	5.8%	5.6%	0%	5.6%	8.9%	3.0%	5.4%
I do not know, it is hard to say	32.4%	23.8%	18.4%	25.8%	26.7%	33.3%	27.9%
It is important	41.5%	38.9%	44.7%	37.1%	22.2%	36.4%	38.5%
It is very important	17.4%	28.6%	36.8%	31.5%	42.2%	24.2%	26.2%

65 % of respondents noted the importance of the assistance in the respect for the rights of the diaspora representatives. The picture is as follows, according to the country profile: in Portugal – 82 %; in Germany – 69 %; in Italy – 68 %; in Israel – 64 %; in Russia – 62 %; in the United Kingdom – 61 %.

Table 45. Assistance in promoting the image of Moldova during cultural events at the local, national and international level

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
It is not important at all	2.4%	1.6%	0%	1.1%	0%	3.0%	1.7%
It is not important	3.9%	6.3%	0%	12.4%	6.7%	3.0%	5.8%
I do not know, it is hard to say	15.9%	15.9%	21.1%	22.5%	17.8%	18.2%	17.7%
It is important	50.7%	37.3%	28.9%	36.0%	35.6%	51.5%	42.4%
It is very important	27.1%	38.9%	50.0%	28.1%	40.0%	24.2%	32.5%

75 % of respondents noted the importance of the assistance in promoting the image of Moldova during cultural events at the local, national and international level. The picture is as follows, according to the country profile: in Portugal – 79 %; in Russia – 78 %; in Israel, Italy and the United Kingdom – 76 % each; in Germany – 64 %.

Table 46. Organization of charity events to support socially vulnerable groups of the population

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
It is not important at all	1.9%	1.6%	0%	4.5%	0%	3.0%	2.0%
It is not important	3.4%	4.8%	5.3%	3.4%	4.4%	3.0%	3.9%
I do not know, it is hard to say	21.7%	26.2%	21.1%	20.2%	8.9%	15.2%	21.0%
It is important	41.5%	38.9%	42.1%	42.7%	40.0%	39.4%	41.1%
It is very important	30.9%	28.6%	31.6%	29.2%	46.7%	39.4%	32.0%

73 % of respondents noted the importance of carrying out charitable contributions to support socially vulnerable groups of the population. The picture is as follows, according to the country profile: in Israel – 87 %; in the United Kingdom – 79 %; in Portugal – 74 %; in Germany and Russia – 72 % each; in Italy – 68 %.

Table 47. Support to the initiatives to disseminate new knowledge and technologies

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
It is not important at all	1.9%	1.6%	0%	4.5%	0%	3.0%	2.0%
It is not important	3.4%	4.8%	5.3%	3.4%	4.4%	3.0%	3.9%
I do not know, it is hard to say	21.7%	26.2%	21.1%	20.2%	8.9%	15.2%	21.0%
It is important	41.5%	38.9%	42.1%	42.7%	40.0%	39.4%	41.1%
It is very important	30.9%	28.6%	31.6%	29.2%	46.7%	39.4%	32.0%

67 % of respondents noted the importance of supporting initiatives to disseminate new knowledge and technologies. The picture is as follows, according to the country profile: in Israel – 71 %; in the United Kingdom – 70 %; in Portugal – 74 %; in Germany – 74 %; in Italy – 67 %; in Russia – 59 %.

Table 48. Information based promotion of famous people – the diaspora representatives

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
It is not important at all	4.8%	3.2%	0%	0%	0%	3.0%	2.8%
It is not important	4.3%	12.7%	2.6%	9.0%	2.2%	6.1%	6.9%
I do not know, it is hard to say	22.2%	19.0%	26.3%	25.8%	35.6%	21.2%	12.6%
It is important	48.8%	38.1%	36.8%	38.2%	31.1%	42.4%	41.8%
It is very important	19.8%	27.0%	34.2%	27.0%	31.1%	27.3%	25.1%

67 % of respondents noted the importance of information based promotion of famous people – the diaspora representatives (scientists and workers of culture, professors, engineers, doctors, etc.). The picture is as follows, according to the country profile: in Portugal – 71 %; in Russia – 69 %; in the United Kingdom – 68 %; in Germany and Italy – 65 % each; in Israel – 62 %.

Table 49. Establishing contacts with the similar associations from other countries

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
It is not important at all	6.3%	1.6%	0%	2.2%	2.2%	3.0%	3.5%
It is not important	6.8%	5.6%	2.6%	7.9%	4.4%	3.0%	5.9%
I do not know, it is hard to say	33.3%	19.8%	23.7%	32.6%	17.8%	21.2%	27.3%
It is important	38.2%	49.2%	39.5%	33.7%	42.2%	45.5%	40.9%
It is very important	15.0%	23.8%	34.2%	23.6%	33.3%	27.3%	22.1%

63 % of respondents noted the importance of establishing contacts with similar associations from other countries. The picture is as follows, according to the country profile: in Israel – 76 %; in Portugal – 74 %; in the United Kingdom and Italy – 73 % each; in Germany – 57 %; in Russia – 53 %.

Table 50. Contribution to the development in the small homeland (localities of origin) in Moldova

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
It is not important at all	1.0%	3.2%	0%	0%	2.2%	3.0%	1.5%
It is not important	3.4%	5.6%	2.6%	3.4%	0%	6.1%	3.7%
I do not know, it is hard to say	26.1%	20.6%	28.9%	24.7%	15.6%	24.2%	23.8%
It is important	42.5%	42.99%	47.4%	39.3%	40.0%	36.4%	41.8%
It is very important	27.1%	27.8%	21.1%	32.6%	42.2%	30.3%	29.2%

62 % of respondents noted the importance of the contribution to the development in the small homeland (localities of origin) in Moldova. The picture is as follows, according to the country profile: in Israel – 82 %; in Germany – 72 %; in Portugal and Italy – 69 % each; in Russia – 68 %; in the United Kingdom – 67 %.

The survey showed that the bulk of the Moldovan respondents in the surveyed countries have a positive attitude towards possible directions of activities of Moldovan diaspora organizations. However, the most popular support for respondents was given to those directions of activities of the diaspora organizations that directly affect the life and well-being of migrants themselves. These directions are “assistance in the successful cultural and social integration of new emigrants” and “supporting the Moldovan education of migrant children”. In one word, directions of activities of the diaspora organizations that are related to the host country, country of destination of migrants. 79 % of all surveyed Moldovan migrants or the absolute majority of the persons interviewed spoke for them.

At the same time, such directions as “assistance in the consolidation of the Moldovan society” (61 %) and “contribution to the development in the small homeland (localities of origin) in Moldova” (62 %) are among the least important (attractive for migrants) directions of activities. A focus of these actions can be clearly seen not on the host country, but on the country of origin of migrants, or their homeland. It appears that the growing alienation of the Moldovan migrants from the Republic of Moldova, their reorientation to non-return, consolidation in the host country is reflected in this respect.

Interest in the homeland, the desire to be aware of the events taking place in Moldova in the political, social and other spheres presupposes the attention of the respondents to the policy of the authorities, knowledge of the actions of the Moldovan government, including to the Moldovan migrants outside the country. This is important, regardless of the attitude towards the government for assessing its activities.

Our survey shows that Moldovan migrants are characterized by low awareness of the initiatives of the Moldovan government regarding the Moldovans abroad. This is stated only by 15 % of respondents generally in the sample frame. The picture is as follows, according to the country profile. Russia – 21 %; the United Kingdom – 18 %; Israel – 13 %; Italy – 12 %; Germany – 11 %; Portugal – 3 %.

Table 51. Awareness of the initiatives of the Moldovan government related to Moldovans abroad

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Yes	20.8%	12.0%	2.6%	11.2%	13.3%	18.2%	15.1%
No	79.2%	85.6%	97.4%	88.8%	86.7%	81.8%	84.4%
No answer	0%	2.4%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0.6%

However, the answers to the question “What are the specific initiatives of the Moldovan government you are aware of” cause very great difficulties for people, including those who maintain that they are aware of them, they are informed about the initiatives of the Moldovan government regarding the Moldovans abroad. With some minor exceptions, they cannot say anything particular. In fact, people just do not know.

In our opinion, that is explained, as we have already noted above, by the action of many factors. In the first instance, the fact that people came to work and earn, and all their activities are aiming at that. Secondly, the problems of integration of the migrants in the host country become more important than what is happening in Moldova, considering that these are the problems of their daily life, the momentary effect and benefits for the Moldovan migrants depend on the information and knowledge of them. Thirdly, it is the insufficiency and often inaccessibility of information about the actions of the Moldovan authorities. In this regard, Moldova is not always to blame. This is often the fault of the migrants themselves, who sporadically search for and find such information. Fragmentariness of information, as is known, is accompanied by incompleteness, its complement from other sources, often unofficial ones, rumors that acquire various kinds of details, subjective comments, assessments, etc. In this connection, it is also necessary to consider the territorial settlement of people in the country of destination, conscious restriction of contacts with compatriots. In general, this is a problem of the quality of communication and information.

10. COMMUNICATION AND DIVERSITY OF CONNECTIONS WITH THE HOMELAND

The formation of Moldovan communities abroad, constitution of the Moldovan diaspora is inseparably linked not only with the interaction between the Moldovan representatives in the countries of destination, but also with the preservation of connections with the historical homeland, country of origin.

It develops in various forms. In the first instance, it concerns contacts with the homeland, its structures in the host country.

Communication with the homeland includes not only the preservation and development of relations with relatives in Moldova or abroad, with compatriots and natives of / immigrants from the Republic of Moldova in the host country, but also the maintenance of contacts, cooperation with Moldovan state structures in the host country. In particular, contacts of people with the embassy and consulate of the Republic of Moldova.

Our survey shows that 32 % of respondents (or one third of all respondents) apply to the Moldovan consulates abroad generally in the sample frame. 2/3 of migrants do not apply to the Moldovan state structures abroad.

Table 52. Contacts of migrants with the Moldovan consulate in the host country

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Yes	27.8%	40.0%	57.9%	19.1%	26.7%	42.4%	32.1%
No	71.7%	60.0%	39.5%	80.9%	73.3%	57.6%	67.5%
No answer	0.5%	0%	2.6%	0%	0%	0%	0.4%

The picture is as follows, according to the country profile: in Portugal – 58 %; in the United Kingdom – 42 %; in Italy – 40 %; in Russia – 28 %; in Israel – 27 %; in Germany – 19 %.

The bulk of respondents (73 % of the number of those who appealed or 29.1 % of the total number of respondents) that contacted the Moldovan consulate in the host country appealed there “less frequently than once a year”.

Table 53. Frequency of appeal to the Moldovan consulate in the host country

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Every six months	0%	4.2%	5.4%	3.6%	4.4%	0%	2.4%
Once a year	7.0%	9.3%	13.5%	4.8%	11.1%	3.8%	7.9%
Less frequently	22.5%	34.7%	51.4%	20.5%	28.9%	50.0%	29.1%
Never	70.5%	51.7%	29.7%	71.1%	55.6%	46.2%	60.7%

Only 10 % of the surveyed persons visited the Moldovan consulate more frequently. In this regard, only 7 % (or 2.4 % of the entire sample) visited every six months. The remaining 20 % (or 7.9 % of the total sample multitude) once a year.

Appeal to the consulate of the Moldovan migrants in the surveyed countries is most often related to the necessity to draw up official documents or consultations. In one word, addressing the issues within the established competence of the relevant state structure. The absolute majority (87 %) of the Moldovan respondents who appealed to the consulate noted the addressing the issues related to the registration / receipt of official documents. The situation is as follows in the country profile: in Germany and Russia – 92 % each; in Italy – 84 %; in the United Kingdom – 82 %; in Israel – 76 %; in Portugal – 71 %.

12 % generally in the sample frame appealed to the consulate for the purpose of consultations. The picture is as follows, according to the country profile: Portugal – 26 %; Israel – 22 %; the United Kingdom – 18 %; Italy – 14 %. These indicators are much lower in Russia and Germany and amount to, accordingly, 8 % and 7 %.

Table 54. Why migrants' are appealing to the Moldovan consulate in the host country

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Need for official documents	91.8%	84.1%	71.1%	92.1%	75.6%	81.8%	86.6%
Need for consultation	7.7%	14.3%	26.3%	6.7%	22.2%	18.2%	12.3%
Total	207	126	38	89	45	33	538

Besides consulates of the Republic of Moldova, such form as an institution of an honorary consul is also used. Our survey showed that respondents know about such an institution and a certain part of migrants appealed to the honorary consul. The absolute majority of the interviewed Moldovan migrants (76 %) have never had contacted the honorary consul. The bulk (18 %) of respondents who had contacts with the honorary consul note that these contacts were quite rare – less frequently than once a year.

Only 6 % of the surveyed persons indicate more frequent communication. 9 % of the Moldovan migrants in the United Kingdom indicate the frequency of contacts “once a year”, 8 % in Portugal, 7 % in Germany. Among those who contacted the honorary consul less frequently than once a year, we will point at Portugal (46 %), Israel (32 %), Italy (25 %), Russia (11 %), Germany and the United Kingdom (9 % each).

Table 55. Frequency of contacts between migrants with the institution of the honorary consul in the country of destination

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Every month	0.5%	0.8%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0.4%
Every six months	0%	0.8%	0%	3.4%	4.5%	0%	1.1%
Once a year	3.4%	4.9%	8.1%	3.4%	6.8%	9.1%	4.7%
Less frequently	10.7%	25.2%	45.9%	9.1%	31.8%	9.1%	17.9%
Never	85.4%	68.3%	45.9%	84.1%	54.5%	81.8%	75.7%
No answer	0%	0%	0%	0%	2.3%	0%	0.2%
Total	206	123	37	88	44	33	531

Furthermore, these are also contacts with relatives who are at home, in the Republic of Moldova. That presupposes, naturally, the presence of such people in the country of origin.

Table 56. Presence of close relatives in the homeland

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Yes	99.5%	98.4%	97.4%	95.5%	93.3%	97.0%	97.8%
No	0.5%	1.6%	2.6%	4.5%	6.7%	3.0%	2.2%
Total	207	126	38	89	45	33	538

Our survey showed that the bulk of the Moldovan migrants in these countries have close relatives at home, in the Republic of Moldova. The Moldovan communities in this regard show the highest indicator, the Moldovan diaspora in Russia (99.5 %) and Italy (98.4 %). These indicators in Portugal, the United Kingdom and Germany are slightly lower and rated in the range from 97.4 % to 95.5 %. This parameter is lower in Israel, rated at 93.3 %. It appears that the reason for the “backlog” of Israel and Germany is due to the fact that the process of emigration for permanent residence and reintegration of families began much earlier, even during the Soviet period and is related to the departure of ethnic Germans and Jews from Moldova. Consequently, the share of migrants who do not have relatives in Moldova is rated at a significant figure (Germany - 4.5 %, Israel – 6.7 %).

Table 57. Who are the close relatives of Moldovan migrants in their homeland?

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Parents	67.5%	67.7%	64.9%	73.8%	63.4%	87.5%	363
Spouse	33.0%	27.4%	16.2%	14.3%	53.7%	9.4%	145
Children	54.4%	40.3%	27.0%	16.7%	65.9%	15.6%	218
Brother / sister	61.7%	64.5%	51.4%	56.0%	51.2%	46.9%	309
Grandfather / grandmother	26.7%	25.0%	35.1%	41.7%	12.2%	31.3%	149
Other family members	19.9%	37.9%	29.7%	27.4%	19.5%	53.1%	147
Total	206	124	37	84	41	32	524

Our research revealed that the Moldovan migrants at home, in Moldova, have numerous relatives from both a simple (nuclear) family and a large family, including relatives that are even more distant. This constitutes a great potential both for the possible return of a certain part of the Moldovan migrants and for maintaining connections with the country of origin. At that moment, when these connections are minimized, disappear, both the idea itself and the practice of returning and carrying out contacts, maintaining connections with the homeland come to naught. "My country is England. Moldova is interesting for me while my mom is alive. I will not return to Moldova. End of the story!" (a migrant in the United Kingdom, answer to an open question in the questionnaire).

The presence of parents in Moldova is a common indicator for all countries and a leader in quantitative design among other forms of kinship. In this regard, the highest indicator is represented by the United Kingdom – 87.5 %. Subsequently, Germany – 73.8 %; Italy – 67.7 %; Russia – 67.5 %. The Moldovan migrants in Portugal (64.9 %) and Israel (63.4 %) show the lowest indicators.

The situation as to other parameters of the presence of relatives in the country of origin is not so identical. The presence of the spouse at home is most characteristic for Israel. That is indicated by every second Moldovan migrant – 54 %. Every third migrant in Russia, every fourth migrant in Italy (27 %), also indicates that. The share of persons who have left at home or have one of spouses is much lower in Portugal, Germany and the United Kingdom. This share is 16 % (every sixth) in Portugal, every seventh (14 %) in Germany and every tenth (slightly more over 9 %) in the United Kingdom. In one word, the discrepancy between the higher and lower indicators between countries is more than 6 times.

The presence of children at home shows also a quantitative diversity, depending on the country of residence of the migrant. The highest indicator characterizes the Moldovan communities in Israel – two out of three migrants (66 %) have children at home. Every second migrant in Russia – 54 %; two out of five (40 %) in Italy; every fourth in Portugal (27 %). To a lesser extent, this is typical for Germany and the United Kingdom, where this indicator is, respectively, 16.7 % and 15.6 % or almost every sixth migrant. The difference between the higher and lower indicators is more than 4 times.

Other members of the nuclear family are also quite widely represented. The highest indicator is among the Moldovan communities in Italy (64 %) and Russia (62 %). Almost 2/3 of the Moldovan migrants have brothers and sisters at home. More than half (from 51 % to 56 %) Moldovan migrants in Portugal, Germany and Israel indicate the presence of brothers and sisters in Moldova. This figure among Moldovan migrants in the United Kingdom (47 %) is slightly lower – 50 % – but quite proportionate to the second group of countries.

The Moldovan migrants having relatives of the third generation (grandfathers/grandmothers) remaining at home is typical for all countries. This is characteristic to the fullest extent for the Moldovan diaspora in Germany (42 %), Portugal (35 %) and the United Kingdom (31 %), where this figure is more or less than 1/3. This indicator is lower in Russia and Italy, respectively, 27 % and 25 %, but is more than ¼. The Moldovan diaspora in Israel stands somewhat apart. Only 12 % (every eighth migrant) of the Moldovan migrants in this country have close relatives of the third generation in Moldova.

Other family members ('large families') or distant relatives of the Moldovan migrants in the surveyed countries are most widely represented in the United Kingdom. Every second Moldovan migrant (53 %) in that country indicates the presence of such relatives. Further, according to the presence of relatives of this group, Italy (38 %), Portugal (30 %), Germany (27 %) follow. The lowest indicator is among Moldovan migrants in Israel and Russia. Only every fifth migrant in these countries has distant relatives in Moldova (about 20 %).

The migrants tend to communicate with them, create the effect of temporary and spatial physical presence in their historical homeland. According to the research, the respondents use actively this form of maintaining connections with the Republic of Moldova. The absolute majority (88 %) of the Moldovan migrants visited Moldova, since they were in the country of destination. The highest indicators in this regard are shown by the respondents in Russia (92 %), Portugal (92 %), Italy (91 %). We see lower results for the migrants in the United Kingdom (85 %); in Germany (79 %); in Israel (71 %). About 1/3 of migrants (29 %) in Israel; in Germany, 21 %; in the United Kingdom 15 % of respondents actually do not see the need to visit their country of origin.

Visiting the homeland, relatives living there, traveling to the Republic of Moldova for any other purposes (tourism, visiting ancestral graves, treatment, etc.) is also another way of maintaining connections with the country of origin. However, it is not all as easy as it sounds. *"I'm not interested in Moldova. I live in Germany and my world is Germany. I get in touch with my parents by phone. We speak twice a week by mobile phone. I come once a year to see my parents. Speaking by phone is one thing, but seeing them alive is another one. I come for a few days. No more. That is enough for me. Moldova is not Germany. I come alone or with my wife and daughter"* (3.02).

Table 58. Have you visited Moldova since you are in this country?

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Yes	92.3%	91.3%	92.1%	78.7%	71.1%	84.8%	87.5%
No	7.7%	8.7%	7.9%	21.3%	28.9%	15.2%	12.5%
Total	207	126	38	89	45	33	538

The frequency of visits to Moldova allows seeing quite a wide spread in the behavior of the Moldovan migrants. The most common form of visiting the homeland is a "once a year" trip. This is indicated by 39 % of respondents or 2/5 of questioned persons. The situation is as follows, according to the country profile: Italy – 51 %; the United Kingdom – 45 %; Portugal – 43 %; Russia – 38 %; Germany – 25 %; Israel – 24 %.

The position "every six months" – 25 % ranks second in the frequency of visits. The situation is as follows, according to the country profile: Germany – 40 %; the United Kingdom – 35 %; Israel – 24 %; Russia – 23 %; Italy and Portugal – 20 % each.

"Every three months" ranks third. This is the most typical for Russia – 35 %. The situation is different in other countries: Germany – 17 %; Italy – 11 %; Israel – 5 %; Portugal – 3 %, the United Kingdom – 0 %. Such a high indicator for Russia is due to the nature of the stay and labor activity of the Moldovan migrants.

If the bulk of respondents (96 %) is ranged from 3 months to 1 year for Russia, this figure is rated at 83 % in Italy and Germany; in the United Kingdom – 79 %; in Portugal – 66 %; in Israel – 52 %.

At the same time, the number of respondents who visit Moldova less frequently increases. 24 % of respondents from Israel visit Moldova "every 1-2 years"; 17 % – from the United Kingdom; 14 % – from Portugal; 11 % – from Germany; 9 % – from Italy. This indicator is 2 % in Russia.

17 % of respondents from Portugal visit Moldova "every 3-5 years"; 11 % – from Israel; 7 % – from Italy. This indicator is rated at 2-3 % in other countries (the United Kingdom, Germany, Russia).

13 % of respondents from Israel visit even less frequently the country of origin, 4 % – from Germany; 3 % – from Portugal; 2 % – from Italy.

The last three positions certify that these people mainly lose their physical space-time connection with Moldova. Their share in our sample is approaching almost 15 % or every seventh respondent. In this regard, this is every second in Israel (47 %); one in three in Portugal (33 %); one in five in the United Kingdom (21 %); every sixth respondent in Italy (17 %).

Table 59. Frequency of visits to Moldova during the time of stay in the country of destination

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Every three months	34.8%	11.9%	2.9%	17.3%	5.3%	0%	20.1%
Every six months	22.7%	20.3%	20.0%	40.0%	23.7%	34.5%	25.4%
Once a year	38.4%	50.8%	42.9%	25.3%	23.7%	44.8%	38.9%
Every 1-2 years	2.0%	8.5%	14.3%	10.7%	23.7%	17.2%	8.3%
Every 3-5 years	1.5%	6.8%	17.1%	2.7%	10.5%	3.4%	4.9%
Less frequently	0.5%	1.7%	2.9%	4.0%	13.2%	0%	2.4%
Total	198	118	35	75	38	29	493

Table 60. Main reasons for visiting Moldova

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Family	89.3%	87.9%	88.6%	85.3%	85.0%	100.0%	86.7%
Business reasons	7.1%	3.4%	2.9%	0%	0%	6.9%	3.3%
Health/ treatment	12.7%	10.3%	14.3%	10.7%	22.5%	13.8%	9.9%
Tourism/holidays	11.7%	20.7%	17.1%	22.7%	17.5%	6.9%	12.4%
Other	7.1%	6.0%	2.9%	12.0%	10.0%	3.4%	5.7%
Total	197	116	35	75	40	29	492

The main reasons for the visit to Moldova are, in the first instance, visiting relatives who are and live in Moldova. The absolute majority of respondents in our sample indicates this reason.

The situation is almost identical, according to the country profile. The exception is the Moldovan diaspora in the United Kingdom, which unanimously mentions this reason as the main one (100 %). This indicator is rated from 85 to 89 % for other countries.

The position 'tourism/holidays' ranks second in the popularity. However, it must be recognized that the quantitative difference between the first and second position is measured by a 7-fold distinction. Germany (23 %)

and Italy (21 %) are leading in the popularity of this position among the Moldovan migrants. Subsequently, Israel (18 %), Portugal (17 %) are lagging behind. Russia (12 %) and the United Kingdom (7 %) show lower indicators.

The third most popular is the 'health/treatment' position. It is rated at 10 % in the entire sample. Israel is the leader among the countries. Every fourth respondent (23 %) indicates this reason for the visit to Moldova. The remaining countries are placed with almost 2-fold lag, but as a dense group. Portugal and the United Kingdom – 14 % each; Russia – 13 %; Germany – 11 %; Italy – 10 %.

'Business reasons' does not play an important role for the Moldovan respondents. This indicator is rated at 3 % in general on the studied aggregate basis. However, it is a significant figure in the country profile for the migrants in Russia and the United Kingdom and is rated at 7 %. This value is 2 times smaller and is rated at 3 % for Italy and Portugal. This indicator in Germany and Israel is not fixed, it equals 0 %.

It is necessary to pay attention to a high share of 'other reasons'. This indicator is 6 % in the entire sample. It is measured even by a two-digit value in certain countries: Germany – 12%; Israel – 10 %. We should note that it is 7 % in Russia, in Italy – 6 %, in the United Kingdom and Portugal – 3 % each.

Besides physical, space-time contact with the homeland, Moldovan migrants widely use modern virtual (technological) methods of communication with the country of origin. Such a tool for communication as 'Skype' ranks first in the popularity. 88 % of the surveyed Moldovan respondents indicate its use when communicating with relatives, friends living in Moldova. The situation is as follows, according to the country profile: Russia – 92 %; the United Kingdom – 91 %. The remaining countries are located at some distance, but as a quite compact group: Germany – 86 %; Portugal – 84 %; Italy – 83 %; Israel – 80 %.

The mobile phone ranks second in the popularity. 2/3 of the surveyed Moldovan migrants (62 %) practically indicate its importance as the main communication tool. The Moldovan migrants in the United Kingdom are leading among the surveyed countries – 82 %. Subsequently, Portugal – 73 %; Italy – 64 %; Germany – 60 %; Russia – 58 %; Israel – 56 %.

Social networks rank third in the popularity. 40 % of respondents indicate this almost across in the entire sample. Germany – 57 % and Italy – 53 % are leaders in this indicator. Then Portugal – 38 %; Israel – 31 %; Russia – 30 % follow. The United Kingdom rounds out with the indicator – 24 %.

We should note that e-mail and ordinary mail are not very popular. Their indicators are equal, accordingly, 4 % and 1 %. However, it is necessary to pay attention to the fact that e-mail is quite popular for the Moldovan migrants in the United Kingdom. Every seventh respondent in that country (15 %) indicates this.

Table 61. Main tools of communication between migrants and the homeland

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Phone	57.5%	64.0%	73.0%	60.2%	55.6%	81.8%	331
E-mail	3.9%	3.2%	5.4%	3.4%	2.2%	15.2%	23
Mail	1.0%	0.8%	2.7%	0%	0%	3.0%	5
Social networks	29.5%	52.8%	37.8%	56.8%	31.1%	24.2%	213
Skype	92.3%	83.2%	83.8%	86.4%	80.0%	90.9%	468
I do not communicate	0%	1.6%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2
Total	207	125	37	88	45	33	535

Table 62. Frequency of communication with relatives and friends in Moldova

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Every day	29.5%	38.9%	18.4%	35.2%	57.8%	12.1%	33.1%
Several times a week	49.8%	44.4%	47.4%	40.9%	28.9%	51.5%	45.3%
Once a week	13.0%	7.1%	5.3%	12.5%	6.7%	9.1%	10.2%
Several times a month	3.9%	4.0%	13.2%	9.1%	0%	24.2%	6.3%
Once a month	1.9%	3.2%	13.2%	0%	6.7%	0%	3.0%
Less frequently than once a month	1.4%	2.4%	2.6%	2.3%	0%	3.0%	1.9%
No answer	0.5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0.2%
Total	207	126	38	88	45	33	537

The frequency of communication of migrants with relatives and friends in the country of origin is also one of the indicators of the strength and vitality of a migrant's connection with the homeland. The more a migrant communicates with his homeland, the more likely he will return to his homeland or, remaining in the country of destination, will maintain connection with the country of origin in various forms.

Our survey showed that the bulk of the Moldovan migrants maintains connection with their relatives and friends in Moldova. The frequency of communication is quite high in this regard. In general, according to the sample, nearly every second migrant (45 %) communicates with relatives / friends several times a week. Every second migrant in the United Kingdom (52 %); in Russia (50 %); in Portugal (47 %) indicates this. Indicators are somewhat lower for Italy (44 %) and Germany (41 %). The Moldovan migrants in Israel (29 %) show the indicator at 1/3 level.

However, an even greater frequency of communication is recorded in Israel. 58 % of respondents in that country communicate daily with the homeland (indicator for the general sample is only 33 %). We should note also respondents in Italy – 39 %, in Germany – 35 %, in Russia – 30 %. At the same time, these indicators in Portugal and in the United Kingdom are substantially less and make, accordingly, 18 % and 12 %.

These two positions amount to 78 % in general. At the same time, about 25 % of respondents indicate a less frequent communication. In this regard, 10 % of the questioned respondents mention that they communicate with relatives staying at home once a week. It is most often done in Russia and in Germany – 13 % each. The United Kingdom shows the indicator below the average for the general sample (9 %), Italy and Israel – 7 % each, Portugal – 5 %.

6 % of the Moldovan respondents in the entire sample indicate communication 'several times a month'. In this regard, the Moldovan migrants in the United Kingdom show the indicator above the average in the sample – 24 % (every fourth), in Portugal (13 %) and Germany – 9 %.

3 % of respondents indicate communication "once a month" in the entire sample. At the same time, the Moldovan migrants in Portugal (13 %) and in Israel (7 %) show the indicator above the average in the sample.

2 % of respondents indicate in the entire sample communication "less frequently than once a month". This indicator is typical for all the studied countries.

Further, interest in the situation at home, in Moldova, monitoring this situation is also one of the forms of connection with the homeland. A person who does not care about the country of origin is unlikely to be interested in what is happening in that country. If there is interest, events are followed, it means that not everything is rejected, not everything is burned out in the soul.

Table 63. Monitoring political, economic, social situation in Moldova

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Yes	81.2%	81.7%	73.7%	77.5%	71.1%	72.7%	78.8%
No	18.8%	18.3%	26.3%	22.5%	28.9%	27.3%	21.2%

Our survey shows that the majority of the Moldovan migrants monitor the political, economic, social situation in Moldova. This is indicated by 79 % of all respondents. The Moldovan respondents in Italy (82 %) and in Russia (81 %) show the indicator above the average in the sample. These indicators are lower in the remaining countries – Germany (78 %), Portugal (74 %), the United Kingdom (73 %), Israel (71 %). Not every fifth respondent (21 %) is interested in the situation in Moldova.

Respondents use various means to monitor the situation in the Republic of Moldova. The most common means is the Internet. 89 % of the surveyed

persons indicate this in general. This applies to all the studied countries. The highest indicator is shown by migrants in the United Kingdom (96 %), Italy (92 %). Indicators are similar in Germany (89 %) and Russia (87 %). Israel and Portugal close the table. Their indicators are equal, 83 % and 81 %, accordingly.

Such means of monitoring events at home as watching TV news (25 %), meetings and news exchanges with relatives/friends (22 %), meetings and discussions with compatriots (17 %) are less popular.

The situation, according to the country profile of the surveyed countries is described below. Television acts as the second main tools for monitoring the situation in the Republic of Moldova for the Moldovans in the United Kingdom. This is indicated by 71 % of the surveyed persons. In other countries, television cannot compete as other tools with the Internet. 36 % of respondents indicate television in Israel, 32 % in Portugal. Lower indicators are shown by Russia – 21 %, Germany – 20 %, Italy – 17 %.

All migrants note meetings with family / friends as a tool for monitoring the situation at home. However, the popularity of this method is not always the same. The highest indicators in this regard are in the The United Kingdom and Portugal (29 % each), in Italy (28 %). The indicators are lower in Germany (23 %) and Russia (19 %). Israel (8 %) rounds out.

Meetings with compatriots: the situation is symmetrical in many respects to meetings with relatives/friends. The highest indicators in this regard are in the United Kingdom and Portugal (29 % each). The indicators are lower in Germany (20 %), Russia (17 %) and in Italy (16 %). Israel (3 %) rounds out.

The reason for such a low indicators could be explained, in our opinion, by the fact that a migrant's job does not leave often time for live communication with relatives, friends, compatriots, especially if they do not live together, in the neighborhood. In this regard, the Internet and television are less expensive in terms of use of time, physical energy as a tool for obtaining information about the country of origin. Furthermore, these means can be appealed much more frequently. These tools are more constant as a source of information.

Table 64. Main tools for monitoring the situation in Moldova

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Internet	87.2%	92.4%	80.6%	89.2%	83.3%	95.8%	88.5%
TV	20.9%	17.1%	32.3%	20.3%	36.1%	70.8%	24.7%
Meetings with family / friends	19.2%	27.6%	29.0%	23.0%	8.3%	29.2%	22.2%
Meetings with compatriots	17.4%	16.2%	29.0%	20.3%	2.8%	29.2%	17.9%
Total	172	105	31	74	36	24	442

Money transfers also maintain the connection with the homeland for migrants that people send to relatives and close ones back home. We should note that the volume of remittances to Moldova is reducing somehow in recent years.

This is explained, from one point of view, by the crisis phenomena in the countries of destination of the Moldovan migrants, which affects both people's employment and amounts of salaries. From another point of view, this is also the result of the devaluation of the Russian ruble, which has significantly reduced its weight in relation to the US dollar and the Euro in recent years.

Thus, according to the data of the National Bank of Moldova, the volume of remittances to Moldova has decreased from 1,712.37 billion US dollars (2014) to 1,160.56 billion US dollars in 2016. The volume of remittances amounted to 1,227.37 billion US dollars in 2015. If we consider this amount in the context of the share of transfers as to the types of currency, it is seen that the share of the Russian ruble is clearly decreasing and the share of both the Euro and the Moldovan leu is increasing.

Table 65. Share of remittances to the Republic of Moldova according to the type of currency (2014-2016)³⁹

Type of currency	2014	2015	2016
USD	25.4	29.5	28.3
EUR	33.5	41.7	46.1
RUB	32.4	21.2	12.2
MDL	8.7	7.6	13.4

At the same time, integration in the country of destination leads also to other changes. With the increase in the length of stay in the country of destination, there is a transformation in the perception of the orientation from temporary to permanent migration, both the structure and the amount of cash expenditures for housing, education, entertainment, etc., changes. The migrant spends more money for those spheres of life, which do not have any significant meaning for him under conditions of his orientation for a temporary and recurrent nature of migration.

Furthermore, the process of reintegration of migrant families, when not only wives/husbands, but also children and parents of migrants move for a permanent residence to the host country of migrants begins to intensify in recent years. There is a situation when the migrant has in the host country more relatives than at home, in the country of origin. Accordingly, the frequency and volumes of remittances sent home are also changing.

³⁹ <http://www.bnm.md/bdi/pages/reports/dbp/DBP14.xhtml>

Table 66. Frequency of remittances to Moldova

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Yes, often	31.1%	27.8%	18.4%	14.6%	31.1%	21.2%	26.1%
Yes, from time to time	49.5%	45.2%	60.5%	43.8%	53.3%	45.5%	48.4%
No	19.4%	27.0%	21.1%	41.6%	15.6%	33.3%	25.5%
Total	206	126	38	89	45	33	537

As our research shows, a quarter (26 %) of the surveyed migrants does not send money to their homeland at all. The picture is as follows, according to the country profile: Germany (42 %); the United Kingdom (33 %); Italy (27 %); Portugal (21 %); Russia (19 %); Israel (16 %). It appears that the reasons for this are different. In the first instance, we should note the factor of the students who live most often off a scholarship and financial support from the parents. Even if students work, their labor activity is limited to a certain number of hours per day (week), which does not allow them to have sufficient income and, moreover, to send money to their homeland. Secondly, labor migrants, who are at the stage of primary adaptation and integration, send money home to a lesser extent (and less often, and less). And, thirdly, those who have already transported their children and parents from Moldova. Those who already have no one to send money transfers to. The number of such people is not great yet, but it is already noticeable. And the number of these people will grow.

About half of all respondents (48 %) send money “from time to time”. The Moldovan respondents in Portugal (61 %), in Israel (53 %), in Russia (50 %), in the United Kingdom (46 %), in Italy (45 %) and Germany (44 %) do that most often.

Every fourth respondent (26 %) sends money homeward “often”. The picture is as follows in the country profile: Russia and Israel – 31 % each (that is one in three respondents); Italy – 28 %; the United Kingdom – 21 %; Portugal – 18 %; Germany – 15 % (every seventh).

Table 67. Amount of remittances to Moldova

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Less than 100 Euros	8.6%	9.9%	10.3%	3.8%	7.9%	0%	7.8%
100-500 Euros	44.8%	22.0%	44.8%	30.8%	13.2%	50.0%	34.9%
501-1000 Euros	11.0%	9.9%	17.2%	17.3%	15.8%	31.8%	13.7%
More than 1000 Euros	33.7%	54.9%	27.6%	48.1%	63.2%	18.2%	42.0%
Total	163	91	29	52	38	22	395

Our survey showed that the bulk of respondents (42 %) send amounts exceeding 1000 Euros throughout a year. The picture is as follows, according to the country profile: Israel – 63 %; Italy – 55 %; Germany – 48 %; Russia – 34 %; Portugal – 38 %; the United Kingdom – 18 %.

The amount of 501 to 1000 Euros throughout a year is sent by 14 % of the surveyed migrants. The picture is as follows, according to the country profile: the United Kingdom – 32 %; Portugal and Germany – 17 % each; Israel – 16 %; Russia – 11 %; Italy – 10 %.

Every third respondent (35 %) sends homeward amounts from 100 to 500 Euros throughout a year. The picture is as follows, according to the country profile: the United Kingdom – 50 %; Portugal and Russia – 45 % each; Germany – 31 %; Italy – 22 %; Israel – 13 %.

Amounts less than 100 Euros per year are sent by 8 % of people in the entire sample. The biggest number of people do it in Portugal and Italy – 10 % each; in Russia – 9 %; in Israel – 8 %; in Germany – 4 %. Such persons were not identified in the United Kingdom – 0 %.

The Moldovan migrants use different methods when sending money home.

Table 68. Main channels of transferring money home; frequency of observations

	NN	%	% observations
Bank transfer	207	40.4%	53.4%
Mail transfer	21	4.1%	5.4%
Fast electronic transfer (Western Union, etc.)	107	20.9%	27.6%
Through friends / relatives	47	9.2%	12.1%
I bring myself	80	15.6%	20.6%
Through the bus driver	48	9.4%	12.4%
Other	3	0.6%	0.8%
Total	513	100.0%	132.2%

As our research attests, the most popular channel to send money home, to the homeland is a bank transfer. 40 % of respondents use it. Fast electronic transfer (21 %) is on the second place. Furthermore, people often use ways of living, physical transfer of money: transfer through friends/relatives who travel to homeland (21 %); people themselves bring when traveling to

Moldova or pass through the bus/minibus driver making regular trips between the country of destination of the migrant and its homeland (12 % each).

Table 69. Main channels of transferring money to Moldova

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK
Bank transfer	59.9%	53.3%	36.7%	52.0%	62.9%	14.3%
Mail transfer	3.1%	3.3%	23.3%	6.0%	8.6%	0%
Fast electronic transfer (Western Union etc.)	23.5%	15.6%	23.3%	34.0%	37.1%	85.7%
Through friends / relatives	10.5%	17.8%	6.7%	22.0%	2.9%	0%
I bring myself	27.8%	12.2%	16.7%	26.0%	2.9%	23.8%
Through the bus driver	13.0%	18.9%	13.3%	8.0%	0%	9.5%
Other	1.9%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Total	162	90	30	50	35	21

The picture is as follows, according to the profile of the surveyed countries. The Moldovan migrants in Israel (63 %), Russia (60 %), Italy (53 %) and Germany (52 %) prefer bank transfer. In Portugal (37 %) and the United Kingdom (14 %) to a lesser extent. We believe that such a mass use of this method is due to the fact that the ATMs have not become widespread, especially in rural areas of Moldova.

The migrants from Portugal (23 %), in Israel – 9 %, most often use mail transfer when sending money. Migrants from other countries do not use this method eventually.

Fast electronic transfer is preferred in the United Kingdom (86 %). It is also massively used in Israel (37 %) and Germany (34 %). In Russia – 24 %, in Portugal – 23 %, in Italy – 16 %. Such wide and mass distribution of this method is due to a successful campaign to promote electronic money transfers and the spread of ATMs in the Republic of Moldova, taking into account the above phenomenon in rural areas.

The money transfer by physical means, through the migrant's own participation or through friends, relatives and drivers of vehicles moving between the country of destination and the country of origin is quite typical for the surveyed countries. The exception is Israel, which is due to the lack of road or rail service between this country and the Republic of Moldova.

**Table 70. Main purposes of spending money through migrants;
frequency of observations**

	NN	%	% observations
Repair/construction of the house	249	23.5%	65.4%
Investments in land or agricultural equipment	36	3.4%	39.6%
Food	250	23.6%	65.3%
Education	174	16.4%	45.4%
Health	220	20.8%	57.4%
Consumer goods	104	9.8%	27.2%
Production	7	0.7%	1.8%
Other	18	1.7%	4.7%
Total	1058	100.0%	276.2%

Our survey showed that money received from migrants is spent mainly for repair/construction of the house (24 %), food (24 %), health (21 %), education of children (17 %), and purchase of consumer goods (10 %). Very small amounts of migrant transfers are spent for production (1 %) and investments in land or agricultural equipment (3 %).

The picture is as follows, according to the country profile: the Moldovan migrants in Italy spend the most money for repair/construction of the house in Moldova – 77 %; in Israel and Russia – 64 % each; in Germany – 63 %; in the United Kingdom – 55 %; in Portugal – 46 %.

The Moldovan migrants spend the most money for food in the United Kingdom – 82 %; in Portugal – 69 %; in Russia – 68 %; in Germany – 63 %; in Israel – 61 %; in Italy – 58 %.

The Moldovan migrants in the United Kingdom spend the most money for health in Moldova – 73 %; in Portugal – 65 %; in Israel – 56 %; in Russia and the United Kingdom – 55 %. The Moldovan migrants in the United Kingdom spend the most money for health in Moldova, in Italy – 52 %.

The Moldovan migrants in Russia spend the most money for education of children in Moldova – 59 %, in Israel – 50 %, in Germany – 43 %, in Italy – 37 %, in Portugal – 27 %, in the United Kingdom – 0 %.

The Moldovan migrants in Portugal and the United Kingdom spend the most money for purchasing consumer goods in Moldova – 46 % each; In Italy and Germany – 28 % each; in Russia – 23 %; in Israel – 19 %.

The Moldovan migrants in Italy and Portugal spend more money for investments in land or agricultural equipment in Moldova – 12 % each; in Germany – 10%; in the United Kingdom – 9%; in Israel and in Russia – 8 % each.

The Moldovan migrants in Israel spend the most money for creation and development of production in Moldova – 8 %. The Moldovan migrants in Portugal are in the second place – 4 %. The remaining countries position themselves in the range from 0 to 1%.

Table 71. The main purposes of spending money transferred by migrants

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK
Repair / construction of the house	63.7%	76.9	46.2%	62.7%	63.9%	54.5%
Investments in land or agricultural equipment	7.6%	12.1%	11.5%	9.8%	8.3%	9.1%
Food	68.2%	58.2%	69.2%	62.7%	61.1%	81.8%
Education	59.2%	37.4%	26.9%	43.1%	50.0%	0%
Health	55.4%	51.6%	65.4%	72.5%	55.6%	54.5%
Consumer goods	22.9%	27.5%	46.2%	27.5%	19.4%	45.5%
Production	1.3%	1.1%	3.8%	0%	8.3%	0%
Other	2.5%	3.3%	3.8%	3.9%	8.3%	22.7%
Total	157	91	26	51	36	22

Our survey showed that the Moldovan migrants in the surveyed countries most often send money to their families. The absolute majority of migrants do that – 97 %. In Russia and Israel – 100 % each; in Portugal, Germany and the United Kingdom – 96 % each. The share of the family as the main recipient of money transfers of migrants in Italy is a slightly lower – 90 %. Friends are among the other recipients of money. However, their share is small.

Table 72. Main recipients of migrants' remittances to Moldova

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
To family	100.0%	90.2%	96.3%	96.2%	100.0%	95.7%	96.7%
To friends	0	1	0	1	0	0	2
Other	0	7	1	0	0	1	9
Error	0	1	0	1	0	0	2
Total	165	92	27	52	38	23	397

Thus, it can be stated that the bulk of the Moldovan labor migrants maintain connections/contacts, communication with the homeland. And this communication is carried out in various forms, with varying intensity. All this testifies that they are not indifferent to either the country or people, first of all, relatives living in the Republic of Moldova.

The presence of investments in the country of origin is also the basis for maintaining connections/contacts with the homeland. Furthermore, the presence of business at home stimulates the return process.

Our inquiry showed that, at the average, only 10 % of the surveyed migrants generally in the sample frame have a business at home, in the Republic of Moldova. The highest share of investors is among the Moldovan diaspora in Portugal and the United Kingdom – 18 % in each country. In Israel and Italy – 13 % each, in Germany – 8 %, in Russia – 7 %. At the same time, the absolute majority of the Moldovan migrants in the surveyed countries do not have investments in Moldova.

Table 73. Investments in the Republic of Moldova

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Yes	6.8%	12.7%	18.4%	8.0%	13.3%	18.2%	10.4%
No	93.2%	87.3%	81.6%	92.0%	86.7%	81.8%	89.6%

Table 74. Type of investments of Moldovan migrants in the country of origin

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Production	13.3%	8.3%	0%	12.5%	20.0%	0%	8.6%
Financial services	20.0%	16.7%	57.1%	25.0%	20.0%	0%	20.7%
Agriculture	66.7%	50.0%	14.3%	37.5%	40.0%	66.7%	44.8%
Transport	6.7%	8.3%	0%	12.5%	20.0%	0%	6.9%
Service	6.7%	16.7%	57.1%	25.0%	0%	33.3%	19.0%

As our research attests, the main investments of the Moldovan migrants in the surveyed countries are concentrated in agriculture. It is a land plot most often. Their share is more than 40 % (45 %). At the same time, the picture is as follows, according to the country profile: in Russia and the United Kingdom – 67 % each; in Italy – 50 %; in Israel – 40 %; in Germany – 38 %; in Portugal – 14 %.

Financial services rank second in the popularity. The share of these investments is rated at 21 % in the entire sample. The picture is as follows,

according to the country profile: Portugal - 57 %; Germany - 25 %; Russia and Israel – 20 % each; Italy – 17 %. The United Kingdom – 0 %.

The service sector ranks third. The share of these investments is rated at 19 % in the entire sample. The picture is as follows, according to the country profile: Portugal – 57 %; the United Kingdom – 33 %; Germany – 25 %; Italy – 17 %; Russia – 7 %; Israel – 0 %.

The sphere of production ranks fourth. The share of these investments is rated at 9 % in the entire sample. The picture is as follows, according to the country profile: Israel – 20 %; Russia and Germany – 13 % each; Italy – 8 %; Portugal and the United Kingdom – 0 %.

The transport ranks fifth. The share of these investments is rated at 7 % in the entire sample. The picture is as follows, according to the country profile: Israel – 20 %; Germany – 13 %; Italy – 8 %; Russia – 7 %. Portugal and the United Kingdom – 0 %.

Table 75. Desire to invest money (if any) in business in Moldova

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Yes	29.1%	36.8%	37.8%	45.3%	51.1%	57.6%	37.8%
No	70.9%	63.2%	62.2%	54.7%	48.9%	39.4%	62.0%
Error	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	3.0%	0.2%

More than half of the surveyed Moldovan migrants, more exactly 3/5 of respondents (62 %), do not express a desire to invest their money (if any) in the Republic of Moldova. Only 38 % of the total sample multitude expresses such desire. The picture is as follows, according to the country profile: in the United Kingdom – 58 %; in Israel – 51 %; in Germany – 45 %; in Portugal – 38 %; in Italy – 37 %; in Russia – 29 %.

A German expert reveals the reasons for that attitude of the Moldovan migrants to the setting up of business at home, in Moldova: *“In my opinion, the service sector in Moldova is very developed and it is relatively cheap. There are many cafes, where you can eat delicious and relatively inexpensive food, especially from the point of view of people living abroad. It can be assumed that the interests of the Moldovan migrants in setting up their business at home will be concentrated in the sphere of services in particular. Certainly, conditions should be created in Moldova that would help attract investments. They are economic and political stability, decrease in corruption, and lack of bureaucracy when setting up a business. The 'one window' principle operates, which greatly facilitates the registration of the enterprise, in many countries. Furthermore, nepotism and clanship, which, I would say, form the basis of the Moldovan society, are strange to foreign businessmen. This system must also be changed.*

As I already said, in the first instance, the service sector. Perhaps, processing enterprises of the food industry. Moldova has certain advantages: favorable geographic location, fertile soils, access to the European and post-Soviet markets, cheap labor. If assessing the business climate in Moldova in one word, then it is unattractive. I would not invest money here. The main thing is law and order. Laws should not only be adopted, but also implemented. And, certainly, the reduction of corruption in Moldova. Clear and timely payment of taxes without trying to hide earnings. But it is necessary to change the mentality of citizens for this purpose. You can give any advice, but nothing will change at the current level of corruption" (3.09).

During the survey, we tried to find out people's opinion on the question "Why are they ready to invest their money in business in Moldova?" The opinions of people were as follows: business acts as a "source of income, earnings, profit. This is my own business, in which I am the owner, the boss" – 11.3%. Business gives "the opportunity to live normally at home with family, to ensure chair days, income and future" – 10.9 %. The third position that is widely spread – "business is important for the development of the country. Developing the country is patriotic" – 7.3 %.

At the same time, we were curious to know why people do not want to invest their money in the Republic of Moldova. The most popular answer explaining why people do not want to invest their money in business development in Moldova was "distrust in power, corruption" – 28.1 %. The second position shows – 'instability of the situation, great risks, there are no guarantees' – 22.4 %. The third and fourth positions show – "unprofitable, you cannot earn" and "there is no development, no prospects, uncertainty about the future, there is nothing to invest in" – 8.1 % of the surveyed people maintained each of these positions. The fifth position shows – "I'm not a businessman. I do not know how to do it, and, therefore, I do not want to run a business" – 5.3 %.

An expert from the United Kingdom believes that the state needs to increase people's trust in its actions, to seek and to use mechanisms to stimulate investments and to involve the diaspora in this process. *"We motivate people to invest in the Republic of Moldova. But we see that they do not want to do this. We suppose that it is necessary to rely more on the diaspora in this regard, including, in the promotion of Moldovan goods in the United Kingdom. It is necessary to stimulate entrepreneurial initiatives at the local level" (6.01).*

The Moldovan migrants mention among the most attractive (for them) sectors for possible investment in Moldova agriculture – 29 %, production – 25 %, service – 21 %, transport – 14 %, tourism – 8 %, financial services – 3 %.

Answers of respondents to the question about the desire to invest money in the Moldovan development projects are interesting. The majority of

respondents in the entire sample (68 %) do not express a desire to invest in development projects in Moldova. Only 32 % (one third of migrants) support this idea. We should note that the desire to invest in the Moldovan development projects is less expressed than the desire to set up a business in Moldova.

The picture is as follows, according to the country profile: in the United Kingdom – 58 %, in Portugal – 42 %, in Italy and Israel – 36 % each, in Germany – 27 %, in Russia – 24 % or only every fourth respondent.

Table 76. Desire to invest money in Moldovan development projects

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Yes	24.4%	36.0%	42.1%	27.3%	35.6%	57.6%	31.8%
No	75.1%	62.4%	57.9%	72.7%	64.4%	42.4%	67.6%
Total	205	125	38	88	45	33	534

At the same time, people would like to invest in social projects (30 %); infrastructure projects (27 %); projects related to the development of institutions (20 %); in the field of human rights (11 %); church/religious institutions (9%); in the field of politics (3 %).

Migrants believe that many things depend very much, on what their relations with Moldova will be, on their desire to return or not to return, whether to invest into the economy of the Republic of Moldova or not, depend on the Moldovan authorities, on Moldovan policies directed to changing the Moldovan present. They believe that the keys to resolving the issue lie to a large extent in Moldova itself, in its movement to the civilized family of free and prosperous countries and peoples. If people do not see it, they will not return, they will not invest their money in Moldova, its development.

11. MOTIVATION AND PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

An important issue of our study was the analysis of the attitude of people, Moldovan migrants abroad to their future and the place of the Republic of Moldova in this future.

So, the issue of the future, where the Moldovan migrants see it, whether they will return home, after spending some time, years in another country.

3/5 of the surveyed Moldovan migrants answered that they want to return home. The picture is as follows, according to the country profile: the Moldovan migrants are most optimistic for return in Israel – 76 %, in the United Kingdom – 64 %; in Italy – 62 %; in Russia – 60 %. Less than half of migrants want to return to their homeland in Germany and Portugal: in Germany – 49 %; in Portugal – 47 %.

Table 77. Migrants' desire to return to Moldova

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Yes	59.9%	62.4%	47.4%	48.9%	75.6%	63.6%	59.3%
No	40.1%	36.0%	50.0%	51.1%	24.4%	36.4%	40.1%
No answer	0%	1.6%	2.6%	0%	0%	0%	0.6%
Total	206	123	37	88	44	33	536

The situation with positive answers to the open question “Why would you return to Moldova?” looks somewhat different. Only 39 % of the Moldovan migrants in general sample multitude gave answers. The highest indicator is in Portugal – 50 %, Germany – 47%, in Russia – 39 %, in Italy – 35 %, in the United Kingdom and Israel – 27 % each.

The most common answer outscored among migrants in all the studied countries is related to family reasons (to be close to family, children, etc.). 43.4 % of the surveyed persons indicated this. The second and third positions were shared by patriotic answers – “here is my home, it is better at home” and “this is my homeland, my country, my future is here” (12.2 % each). Socio-psychological reasons (“friends are here”, “peace of mind”, “speaking your own language”, etc.) rank fourth – 4.5 %. Other variants of answers were not so popular.

People also pointed out what could prevent them from returning home. First of all, this is the situation in the Republic of Moldova itself. People define the reason related to the difficult political and economic situation in Moldova, political instability and corruption, inefficiency of governing the country as the first reason, according to importance. 25.5 % respondents mentioned that reason. Socio-economic reasons related to unemployment, low salaries and

lack of professional prospects are in the second position – 22.3 %. Socio-economic reasons related to life in the host country and humanitarian reasons related to the movement of family, relatives, friends to the host country, study and prospects of future for children, etc., took the third and fourth positions, according to the popularity – each group of reasons scored 16.2 %.

The question “What changes in personal/family life would contribute to your return to Moldova?” was answered as follows: the reasons related to the family both positive (marriage, the desire to be with family) and negative (divorce, illness, death, etc.) could influence the return to their homeland – 42.9 %. Socio-economic reasons related to the growth of incomes, salaries in Moldova, their higher level than abroad, in the host country (11.3 %) rank second in the popularity.

At the same time, people associate also their return to Moldova with changes in Moldova itself. In the first instance, these are changes in the salary sector (its increase) – 43.3 %. Secondly, these are changes in the social sphere (a decent life and its high level, prosperity of the country, stability and security of the people) – 38.1 %. Changes in the political sphere (implementation of radical reforms in various spheres of public life, fight against corruption, changes in politics, political system, and rise to power of dignified and competent leaders) rank third in the popularity – 25.8 %.

At the same time, we asked a direct (open) question why people do not want to return to their homeland. In the first instance, this is the most popular answer; people do not want to return due to socio-economic reasons in the country of origin. In this regard, answering this question, people compare the situation in the Republic of Moldova and the situation in the host countries. In Moldova these are low salaries, pensions and expensive utility services, cheap jobs that do not provide existence (“poor working people”), while they have both salaries and stability in the country of destination. The sociopolitical reasons related to corruption, political instability, uncertainty in the future also are added thereto. 61 % of respondents pay attention to that.

Reasons related to life, prospects in the host country, confidence in the future, stability rank second. This is indicated by 13.4 % of the surveyed persons. Family reasons, among which education and future of children are the most important, rank third (8.9 %). Other reasons indicated by the migrants did not score a high percentage.

Comparing the results of our survey (2016) with the results of the 2012 survey, we should note that a very short period of time has passed and it is difficult to expect any special changes. That showed also, as we noted above, a comparative analysis of basic demographic indicators. In order for any new trends to appear, a significant impact of external or internal factors on the life and behavior of the Moldovan communities abroad is necessary.

The factor that had an impact on the Moldovan migrants was the “theft

of a billion" (2014). This event negatively affected the attitude of labor migrants to the authorities of the country, expressed in the loss of confidence, growth of negative assessments of the Moldovan reality and behavior of the authorities. This event also reflected the increase in the number of persons who decided not to return to Moldova at all. While there were 7 to 19 % (in Italy, Portugal and the United Kingdom) in the 2012 survey⁴⁰, our studies showed that the number of such migrants has reached 50%.

The data we obtained are correlated with the results of other sociological studies carried out after 2014. The results of the sociological survey "Barometer of the Diaspora" show that more than half of the Moldovan citizens employed abroad do not want and do not think to return home. According to D. Petruzzi (Institute for Marketing and Sociological Surveys), most of our compatriots living outside the country visit their relatives several times a year and communicate daily with family members via the Internet. *"Four out of ten respondents receive less than one thousand Euros per month for their work, others earn from one to two thousand Euros per month, and 15 % of respondents indicated that their salary exceeds two thousand Euros. About 50 % of the respondents communicate daily with those who remained home, 36 % confided that they are interested in what happens at home once a week. Three out of four Moldovan migrants come home several times a year, 57 % believe that they do not need to return home and only 17 % want to live in the Republic of Moldova"*⁴¹.

At the same time, the number of undecided people (in 2012, 52.5 % in Italy, 70.2 % in Portugal, 47 % in the United Kingdom) decreased dramatically. They passed, as our study shows, into the category of 'soft' defectors (35 %), who, although they declare their desire to remain in the host country, but as to motivation, advancement of conditions and expectations, these people can change their opinion under certain conditions and even return.

Comparing the data of 2012 and 2016 as to the number of persons who clearly want to return, we also should note a decrease in figures in 2016. If in 2012 there were 30 % in Italy, 14.9 % in Portugal and 34 % in the United Kingdom⁴², this figure slightly exceeds 15 % today. In one word, the "theft of a

⁴⁰ Cheianu-Andrei D. Cartografierea diasporei moldovenesti în Italia, Portugalia, Franța și Regatul Unit al Marii Britanii. - Chisinau, OIM, 2013, c.39 (Cheianu-Andrei D. Mapping of Moldovan diaspora in Italy, Portugal, France and the United Kingdom of Great Britain. – Chisinau, IOM, 2013, p. 39)

⁴¹ More than 50% Moldovan migrants do not wish to return to the motherland. The reason for this – corruption, lack of well-paid job places, high prices., http://www.noi.md/ru/news_id/213252.

⁴² Cheianu-Andrei D. Cartografierea diasporei moldovenesti în Italia, Portugalia, Franța și Regatul Unit al Marii Britanii. - Chisinau, OIM, 2013, c.39 (Cheianu-Andrei D. Mapping of Moldovan diaspora in Italy, Portugal, France and the United Kingdom of Great Britain. – Chisinau, IOM, 2013, p. 39)

billion” also played its negatively sobering role even here. In general, this is a new trend, which was not previously attested. And that must be considered in the future.

So, three main approaches were revealed in the assessment of the future and return to Moldova. And, accordingly, three main groups.

The first group of the Moldovan migrants are convinced defectors. A significant number of migrants (young people primarily) clearly do not want and do not plan to return to their homeland. They have a job, real estate in the host country, their children were born (or were brought) and learn there. There are also such migrants who have already transported their parents to the new country. They aim to integrate into the new environment as fully as possible. None success of Moldova will change their positions and plans. But these people are not always inclined against Moldova; they can be and are activists of the associations of the Moldovan diaspora.

They clearly decided to stay in the host country, to become a real Italian (German, British...), who reject 'Moldovinism' or, vice versa, maintain it and pass it to their children in their behavior and activities. This is due to the fact that they have found abroad a guarantee of a better life and better destiny, a future for themselves and their children. *“I already said that we have been determined from the very beginning. We will not return to Moldova. We left for good. We hope for the best. There are more prospects and guarantees here. The only motive to stay here is that you have great opportunities for a good life. You should have the desire to achieve that”* (2.16).

However, these people do not exclude the possibility of their participation in the development of Moldova. *“For those who do not want to return to their homeland, positive actions of the Government will have an indirect effect; we will come to Moldova more frequently. It is possible that we will also invest in various projects and social initiatives. We should not exclude such an opportunity. Migrants of this category will come even more often if they feel that they can have guarantees and trust. There must be guarantees that if we do something for those at home, it will not be done in vain. Bureaucratic slings will not be utilized; there will be no demotivating factors for civil and social projects/initiatives”* (6.02).

The second group of migrants is comparable in number with the first and close to it by declarations. However, actually, it is not identified with the orientations of the first group. These people are still at a crossroads. Their decision is still in suspension. In fact, they have not definitively decided on the future yet. And therefore they postpone the return to a more distant future. The return is conditioned by both with own successes on the way of gaining material prosperity in the host country and by positive changes in the country. They are still waiting for a turn for the better.

They see positive, good things in life abroad. *“You adapt and get used there to a higher standard of living, and when you return home you do not like everything here. You compare. And it's not in our favor. And it's dirty and dark, and the roads are bad. And they stole a billion”* (2.14). They proceed from the societal advantage of the countries receiving the Moldovan migrants over the Republic of Moldova. German experts attest: *“I do not think that many will return home”* (3.08). *‘The bulk of the Moldovan migrants in Germany will strive to assimilate into German society. Some part will preserve their identity, language, traditions, along with acquired German traditions, language. This is a general trend. The return of the Moldovan migrants to their homeland will not be a massive and dominant trend. I want to say in this regard that the keys to this process lie in Moldova itself. If Moldova becomes an attractive, prosperous country, comparable/proportionate to Germany, other countries of the European Union, the EU-15 countries first, then something can be expected. If this does not happen, then this stream of returns will be very weak’* (3.04).

On the one hand, they want positive changes to come back, but, on the other hand, they do not really believe that this will happen. They do not believe in the quality of the Moldovan democracy, in the effectiveness of the existing political and socio-economic system, they see and are afraid of political and economic instability, corruption in various structures, the repetition of the “theft of a billion”. They surround their fear and non-return with various arguments, among which the main are: “Make life like in the EU and I will return!” and “I have a guaranteed and confident future of my children here. We must think about them!”. Some of them will return after all, because they have, among other things, a 'survival vest' for the future – dual citizenship (including one of the host countries) or a permanent residence permit.

First, their perception of the future in Moldova is also affected by the ineffectiveness of the Moldovan democracy in relation to what they see and which they face daily in the countries of the European Union. Certainly, there are own problems and difficulties in the EU, but, nevertheless, it is clearly easier, more satisfying and better there. And people see it.

Secondly, their personal negative experience of communication with the Moldovans, compatriots in Moldova has influenced and influences the position of people. And this experience does not work for the return. It can be something that someone told someone whom migrants trust or something the migrant himself was a passive witness to. *“No, I will not return to Moldova. I will tell you honestly that when I come to Moldova, I'm scared. Bad roads, dirt, this billion that was stolen. Corruption in power, which thinks only of itself, how to fatten their wallets and steal. The police officers that see an expensive car with German numbers and take immediately a special interest, just to feather somehow a foreigner's nest. But I'm not German. I live in Germany. I am from Moldova and I know all these twists and turns.*

I will give one example. When I got married, we came in the summer by car to see my relatives and her relatives in Tiraspol. We drove on the Poltava road and saw that there was a police officer on the side of the road who was talking loudly with some driver. Then he pull out the gun, directed it to the driver and put it to his forehead. I do not know what he was arguing and explaining. But my children, my wife and I were in shock. The boys were afraid that the policeman would shoot that driver. So, always, when I come to Moldova, it constantly stands before my eyes and I see this picture. I do not want anyone ever to do the same to me" (3.02).

That can be a personal negative experience of an active participant in an unpleasant and difficult situation in Moldova. People tried to bring Europe to Moldova, failed and are no longer consumed with desire to repeat it. *"I went to the Central Market of Chisinau. I will not say that I made a remark to the driver of the minibus, because he was talking while driving the minibus over the phone. He said on the phone to his interlocutor "Wait, there's one passenger who is making noise". In short, he expressed all that he thought about me and continued the conversation over the phone. I said again to him "I beg you, I really want to live for a time." After that, other passengers began also to sound off. He ended the conversation by phone and put me off ahead of time. All people were indignant and it all ended then. He was a master of all. "My way or the highway", in a word. This was one example.*

Another example. I went to the Central market with the desire to bring there a little Europe. With a smile. And absolutely not fake! I approached the seller who sold tomatoes. The tomatoes were beautiful. I told him that I wanted to buy two kilograms. He replied: "Welcome!" And I started to select. He looked at me and not very joyfully. I told him with the same smile. "I'll pay more, but let me take the tomatoes myself." He took my string bag, spilled tomatoes and said "Why do you smile like that?"

I was shocked. And I was immediately left without Europe. I only answered him: "My goodness!! I am so sorry that you did not have the opportunity to go to Europe at least for a while, to see something at least. Everything remained the same as ten years ago. Nothing changed! Because I, a teacher with 30 years of experience, had the honor to trade in the Central market" (2.15).

The third group of migrants, which unequivocally tend to return home, is considerably smaller in number than the previous ones. There are people of older ages, first of all, who could not adapt to the way of life in the host country among those who declare and will necessarily return. *"Persons aged 40-60 years see their future in Moldova. They want to return to the Republic of Moldova. They feel better at home" (6.01).*

Furthermore, these people did not succeed in integration, job, and implementation of their life plans abroad. They return to make themselves at

home, to marry, to create a family, to find new perspectives, including in business. In addition, this group includes a significant number of Moldovan migrants who have reached retirement age but do not have the necessary length of service and citizenship to receive a full pension of the host country. They can often rely only on a social pension, which will not afford living abroad, but which can afford living in the Republic of Moldova. They will return and return to Moldova, having a social pension and documents permitting them to reside in the country of destination.

Different people. Different life experiences. Different destinies. The options for their personal future are different. But they all find something that they do not like, that disturbs them; they do not want to put up with. And if this does not change, they will not return, they will remain where life goes differently, where one can feel like a human being.

Migrants believe that much of what their connections with Moldova will be their desire to return or not to return, whether to invest in the economy of the Republic of Moldova, depends on the Moldovan authorities, on the Moldovan policies aimed at changing the Moldovan present. They believe that the keys to resolving the issue lie broadly in Moldova itself, in its movement to the civilized family of free and prosperous countries and peoples. If people do not see it, they will not return, they will not invest their money in Moldova, its development.

Experts also pay attention to that. *"How realistic and possible is the return of the Moldovan migrants to their homeland?" I believe that we need research that is quite urgent, accurate. And taking into account the realities of today, and not those studies that we had for 10 years. And, on this basis, it will be possible to solve these problems.*

But, again, I repeat, political stability is needed, creation of new jobs. Remuneration of labor, certainly, is important. But I must say one more very unpleasant thing. I still believe that creating jobs does not solve the problem of return of the Moldovan migrants' home. The biggest problem is that we talk for a very long time and do nothing to ensure the educational process and the demand for technical professions, what was before. So we need to change the educational paradigm, but this is also related to educational issues and the factor that it is not ashamed to work. This needs to be explained, it is needed to show that a lot of money does not come from migration for no particular reason.

So, only creating jobs is not enough. It is deficient. Educational policies are needed here, salary policies are needed. And not universal ones, as we usually do – nothing to all – at least in certain areas. Thus, you need to define 2-3 priority areas for yourself. Then you can set any certain area. Let us suppose the construction of roads or design engineering. It is still made at a level of only conversations when general plans are made, but there is not really work with people' (0.02).

According to people, economic growth, political stability, security in rights are necessary for the successful future of Moldova. Everything begins from that.

Table 78. What changes in Moldova could contribute to your investments?

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Economic growth in Moldova	82.6%	81.5%	72.7%	85.0%	94.7%	93.5%	83.8%
Political security in the country	41.0%	25.2%	21.2%	38.8%	23.7%	83.9%	36.6%
Security in rights in Moldova	42.9%	23.5%	30.3%	30.0%	26.3%	83.9%	36.1%
	161	119	33	80	38	31	156.5%

To facilitate investments in Moldova, economic growth is needed. This position is supported by 54 % of respondents. At the same time, the importance of political stability and security in rights was positively assessed by 23 % of respondents. Given that people could choose more than one answer, the picture is as follows: the Moldovan migrants in the United Kingdom are most aware of the three changes, showing almost equal answers. In Russia, opinions were distributed in the proportion of 2:1:1. In other surveyed countries, the importance of economic growth (in comparison with other parameters) for investments is favored greater (3-4 times).

We should note that the bulk of questioned people do not expect assistance and support from the Moldovan authorities. Ensure the stability, growth and security of a person, its investments, and its future. And then we will find way around.

Table 79. Expectation of support from the Moldovan government

	RU	IT	PT	DE	IL	UK	Total
Yes	30.0%	56.3%	39.5%	48.9%	71.1%	63.3%	45.3%
No	69.6%	43.7%	60.5%	48.9%	28.9%	33.3%	53.9%
Total	207	126	38	88	45	30	534

It is important to emphasize that slightly more than half (54 %) of the Moldovan migrants do not expect support from the government of the Republic of Moldova. The picture is as follows, according to the country profile: the Moldovan migrants in Israel (71 %), in the United Kingdom (63 %), Italy (56 %), and Germany (49 %) expect support to the fullest extent. The

Moldovan respondents in Portugal (40 %) and in Russia (30 %) showed the indicators below the average ones in the sample multitude.

Migrants appreciated the most important, from their point of view, support measures that the Moldovan government could implement. Respondents could choose 3 answers, so the total amount of answers exceeds 100 %. Respondents ranked "information about jobs in first place – 24 %/65 %. That measure was supported by 2/3 of respondents. The remaining measures of state support were maintained less (up to 40 %). The least popular in this regard was 'information about the possibilities of returning to Moldova' (10 % / 28 %), which, in general, indicates indirectly the orientations of people.

They do not see the state support in the Soviet traditions of social dependency. Consulting and information support is more important for them.

Table 80. Which support is the most important to you?

	NN	%	% of observations
Information about work places in Moldova	317	23.5%	65.4%
Information about work places abroad	192	14.2%	39.6%
Information about legalization of stay abroad	160	11.9%	33.0%
Information about investment opportunities in Moldova	194	14.4%	40.0%
Information about possibilities of return to Moldova	137	10.1%	28.2%
Information about changes in the situation with social protection in Moldova	170	12.6%	35.1%
Support of connections between Moldova and compatriots abroad (cultural events, business trips, summer camps for children, Moldovan schools in that country)	180	13.3%	37.1%
Total	1350	100.0%	278.4%

In conclusion, we should note that the modern Moldovan communities and the diaspora abroad are divided with regard to the future, divided into several large groups. These groups are unequal in number. There are those among them who unequivocally decided not to return and to connect their future, the future of their families and children with the host country, with the place where home is today. Another group unequivocally stands for return there where home and homeland are. These groups have already made their choice. But there is also a third group, which is still in search, waiting. Waiting for changes. This group will return. The question at issue is what will be the share of the Moldovan citizens returned to their homeland, compared with those who remained in the country of immigration. And such people will be more, if the situation in Moldova is better.

12. POLICY OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA IN THE FIELD OF MIGRATION AND DIASPORA

Migration policy of the Republic of Moldova has been in the process of development since the early 1990s. It took this policy 25 years to pass a rather rich path – the way of approaching reality and reflection that is more adequate and response to the ever-changing situation, accumulating experience, and cooperation with international structures. Migration policy of the Republic of Moldova passed through several stages characterized by various tasks, objects and subjects of impact.

The first stage (1990-1994). The essence of the stage is “Migration and Security”. Migration is considered and regulated in the context of security, protection of the local population, the titular nation, and its national identity from uncontrolled mass immigration to the Republic of Moldova from the other regions of the Soviet / post-Soviet area. For this purpose, the Law on Migration was adopted (1990), which established a quota for immigration (0.05 % per year of the number of the population present in Moldova). In addition, the Constitution of the Republic of Moldova (1994) defines people's constitutional right to free exit and entry to Moldova (Art. 27). These principles were specified in the Law on Exit from the Republic of Moldova and Entry in the Republic of Moldova (1994) and the Law on Legal Status of Foreign Citizens and Stateless Persons in the Republic of Moldova (1994).

International cooperation in the field of migration and protection of the rights of migrants begins. Bilateral agreements in the sphere of labor migration with Russia, Ukraine (1993), and Belarus (1994) are signed; multilateral agreements on the visa-free regime within the CIS (1992), on pension benefits (1992), social protection in case of injuries (1994) and in the sphere of labor migration and social protection of labor migrants (1994) are signed.

The structure in charge of regulating migration flows is the Department of Migration of the Ministry of Labor, Social Protection, and Family.

The second stage (1995-2000). The essence of this stage is “Migration and Security”. However, its content, in comparison with the previous stage, is somewhat different. The state aims to protect not only the entire Moldovan population in the country, but Moldovan labor migrants who reside abroad legally.

At the same time, it should be noted that new emerging realities are reflected in this position. The Republic of Moldova begins to integrate into the global migration space. This applies both to the Moldovan specialized state structures and directly to Moldovan population, which moves not only to the east and continues to explore not only the post-Soviet migration space, but

also in other directions, mostly to the west, towards the European Union. However, the specificity of such integration was that Moldovan migrants and the Moldovan state moved in parallel courses, which, unfortunately, did not overlap completely. Migrants were in an illegal field in the overwhelming majority of cases.

In terms of the development of the legislative and regulatory framework developed during this stage, first of all, we should mention the Government Decree on Temporary Employment of Migrant Workers (1997), which approved the Regulations of Employment Abroad.

International cooperation continues to develop. Agreements on readmission with Poland and Lithuania (1997) are signed. We must also mention an attempt to establish cooperation in the sphere of migration and protection of Moldovan labor migrants with 24 states (1997), implemented through the intermediary of the structures of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Moldova. Unfortunately, this initiative was not continued.

The Department of Migration of the Ministry of Labor, Social Protection and Family remains the structure in charge of regulating migration flows, as before.

The third stage (2001-2006). The essence of the stage is "Migration and Security". But its content continues to change and expand. The state aims to protect not only legal, but also illegal Moldovan labor migrants.

There is an intensification of the activity of the state in all directions in the sphere of migration, which creates a positive image among the population. A database of the National Employment Agency for migrant workers wishing to travel abroad (more than 6 thousand persons) is created.

The process of cooperation with Moldovan associations abroad begins. Congresses of the Moldovan diaspora have begun to be held in Chisinau since 2004. This is the responsibility of the Bureau for Interethnic Relations in Moldova.

The Concept of Migration Policy (2002), the Laws on Migration (2002), on Prevention and Counteracting Human Trafficking (2005), etc. are adopted. Cooperation with international organizations is becoming permanent and fruitful. Bilateral agreements on cooperation in the sphere of labor migration with Italy (2003), Azerbaijan (2005), and multilateral agreements within the framework of the CIS (2005-2006) are signed. Agreements on organized employment with the Czech Republic, Kuwait, Italy, Israel, etc. are signed. Actions are taken to sign agreements at local and regional levels in the sphere of labor migration (primarily with Italy and Russia). The EU-Moldova Individual Action Plan was adopted in 2005. More than 20 international documents on the protection of rights of labor migrants and refugees are ratified, including Convention No. 181 of the International Labor Organization on Private

Employment Agencies; Convention No. 97 of the International Labor Organization on Migration for the Purpose of Employment; the European Convention on the Legal Status of Migrant Workers; the European Social Charter; the European Convention on Social Assistance; the Convention (1951) and the Additional Protocol (1967) on Refugees; the Cooperation Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Moldova and the International Organization for Migration with the International Labor Organization, etc.

The migration management of the Republic of Moldova is being consolidated. In 2001, instead of a department within the Ministry of Labor, Social Protection, and Family, the State Migration Service is created. In 2002, the status of the state migration structures increased and the Department of Migration of the Republic of Moldova is established. In 2005, further transformation of the Moldovan migration structure takes place: the National Migration Bureau is established.

The fourth stage (2006-2012). The essence of the stage is “Migration and Development”. For the first time in the Moldovan migration policy, the goal is not security but development and attraction of migration for sustainable development of the country.

This transition becomes possible in conditions when the previously declared goal was not achieved, because its implementation did not depend on Moldova or its actions only. Undoubtedly, this was affected by the approach to the EU standards and the policy of implementing the Global Approach to Migration.

We would like to mention the policy to support investments in local development (PARE 1+1 Program), opening bank accounts, return and reintegration of labor migrants and cooperation with the scientific diaspora. Such features of the migration policy as complexity and diversity of goals are revealed; the legislation acts as a policy tool, the range of instruments and means for regulating migration processes and introducing programs and projects is growing. Migration policy is regarded as an integral part of social policies subordinated to national priorities and prospects for sustainable development of the country.

The legal and regulatory framework for regulating migration continues to be developed. We would like to mention the Laws on Asylum in the Republic of Moldova (2008), on the Regime of Foreign Citizens (2010), on Integration of Foreigners (2011), on the State Border (2011), the National Strategy on Migration and Asylum (2011-2020), the National Strategy of Integrated Management of the State Border (2011-2013), various plans for the implementation of adopted instruments of legislation, etc.

International cooperation is consolidated. The bilateral agreement on labor migration with Italy (2011) and the bilateral agreements on social protection with Bulgaria (2008), Romania (2010), Luxembourg (2010), Austria (2011), Estonia (2011), the Czech Republic (2011), Belgium (2012), etc. were signed. Agreements on readmission with 14 EU countries and 5 non-EU countries were signed in 2009-2011. The EU-Moldova Action Plan on the Liberalization of the Visa Regime (2011) and others were adopted.

Under the influence of the European Union, which became the closest neighbor of the Republic of Moldova, development and implementation of specific programs, plans, projects, and real actions in the context of the EU initiatives takes place: application of the global approach in the eastern and southeastern neighborhoods with the EU, the Mobility and Circular Migration Partnership, the European Neighborhood Instrument, the Eastern Partnership, the Common Visa Center of the EU in the Republic of Moldova, the new Thematic Programme *Cooperation with Third Countries in the Areas of Migration and Asylum*, the EUBAM, readmission agreements, the small border traffic, the Black Sea Synergy, etc.

The main state structure in charge of regulating migration flows since the second half of 2006 is the Bureau for Migration and Asylum of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. In addition, we would like to mention the Ministry of Labor, Social Protection, and Family of the Republic of Moldova, which at that time had a mandate regarding the diaspora⁴³. There is a search for forms and methods of interaction and cooperation with the diaspora. In this regard, we note the establishment of the Diaspora Coordinating Council, which was the first representative authority of the diaspora and was established under the aegis of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Moldova.

The fifth stage (from 2013 to the present day). The essence of the stage is "Migration and Development". The goal is supporting the diaspora, attracting it for sustainable development of the country, and creating a positive image of Moldova abroad. Attention to the diaspora has been manifested before. However, it has become the essential object of the migration policy of the Moldovan state since 2013. As a separate direction, a diaspora policy is articulated. This is reflected in the way Moldovan communities abroad begin to integrate intensively in the countries of reception, transforming into diaspora. The diaspora begins to become an independent actor in the migration policy, demand for more attention to itself, and institutionalize its role in the life of the country.

⁴³ Vremiş M., Craievschi-Toartă V., Burdelnîi E., Herm A., Poulain M. Profilul Migrational Extins al Republicii Moldova. – Chişinău, OIM, 2013, c.204-208 (Vremiş M., Craievschi-Toartă V., Burdelnîi E., Herm A., Poulain M. Extended Migration Profile of the Republic of Moldova. – Chişinău, IOM, 2013, pp. 204-208)

Among the most important legislative acts of this stage, first of all, we would like to refer to the National Strategy *Diaspora-2025*⁴⁴ and the Action Plan for its implementation, which serve as the basic and key documents of the policy of the Republic of Moldova in the field of migration, development, and the diaspora.

The work continues, and successful experience in all areas of migration policy is preserved and continues to accumulate. Undoubted success of not only migration policy, but also the Moldovan state policy as a whole is demonstrated by the fact that the Republic of Moldova was granted a visa-free regime with the European Union (end of April 2014). In addition, we would like to note (in the context of our study in the 6 countries) the signing of an agreement on labor migration with Italy (2012) and an agreement on labor migration with Israel (2013). Based on this agreement, more than 3 000 Moldovan migrant workers are employed in the construction industry in Israel.

The main institution of the Republic of Moldova in charge of implementing the diaspora policy is the Bureau for Diaspora Relations – a structure within the Chancellery of the Government created as a follow up of demands of the diaspora in late 2012. It reports directly to the Prime Minister and coordinates the Government's activities in the field of the diaspora, migration and development. Besides, the Bureau for Migration and Asylum functions within the Ministry of Internal Affairs; it is more focused on working with foreign citizens, refugees and asylum seekers, and their integration into Moldovan society.

The Ministry of Labor, Social Protection and Family, including through its departments, namely the Migration Policy Department, is responsible for developing policies for employment and legal and social protection of migrants, developing mechanisms for regulating labor migration processes, including negotiating and signing bilateral agreements in the field of labor migration and protection of labor migrants. The National Employment Agency established in 2003 as a subdivision of the Ministry of Labor, Social Protection, and Family, focuses on developing state employment policy principles, introducing labor migration policies, monitoring private employment agencies and has serious authorities to regulate labor migration (issuance, prolongation and cancellation of work permits for foreign citizens and stateless persons, developing employment mechanisms for Moldovan citizens abroad, coordinating activities of private agencies for labor force employment, integration of Moldovan citizens who have returned home from abroad into the local labor market).

⁴⁴ Hotărîrea de guvern Strategia națională „Diaspora-2025”, nr.200 din 26.02.2016. // Monitorul Oficial din 4.03.2016, nr.49-54, art.230, http://brd.gov.md/sites/default/files/sn_diaspora_2025_web.pdf (Government's Decision National Strategy „Diaspora-2025”, nr.200 dated on 26.02.2016. // Official Gazette dated 4.03.2016, nr.49-54, art.230, http://brd.gov.md/sites/default/files/sn_diaspora_2025_web.pdf)

Creating a specialized structure that implements the policy of the diaspora has had a beneficial effect on consolidation of the Moldovan diaspora. The Bureau for Diaspora Relations has developed and implements 9 programs: Diaspora Engagement Hub, *DOR* (Diaspora, Origins, Return), Diaspora Business Forum, Diaspora Congresses, Diaspora Days, Government internships, Grupurile de Excelență (groups of outstanding personalities), Cultural programs of the diaspora, and Dor de Moldova (Missing Moldova).

Due to the fact that representatives of the diaspora gather in Moldova in August (the time of vacations), it was decided to consolidate the work with the diaspora at that time. For this purpose, it was decided to hold the yearly Diaspora Days in August, including the Diaspora Congresses held every two years, starting from 2004. The main objective of the congress is keeping a permanent and direct dialogue between the diaspora representatives and the central Moldovan authorities and the government.

Table 81. Congresses of Moldovan Diaspora (2004-2016)

Year	Number of countries	Number of participants
2004	12	120
2006	22	170
2008	20	200
2010	31	250
2012	22	100
2014	28	145
2016	27	179

Among other large-scale events related to the Diaspora and Moldovan business abroad, we would like to mention the Diaspora Investment Forums, which have been held since 2014. In 2014, An investment forum was held in Italy in 2014; in Spain and Portugal in 2016. In the Republic of Moldova, the Business Forum has been held since 2014, which is inextricably linked with the Investment Forums. Its goal is establishing links with the Moldovan business abroad, involving it in the development of the country and identifying the main areas of cooperation, opportunities, and problems related to the investment climate and investments in Moldova. The forum is held every 2 years. 170 persons from 27 countries took part in the Business Forum 2016.

Since 2013, *DOR* Program is being implemented annually for children from the diaspora, their acquaintance with the homeland of their parents, establishing contacts with children from the Republic of Moldova, and

studying the language, culture, and traditions of the Moldovan people. Five summer camps have already been organized within the framework of the program. In 2017, 100 children from 14 countries (80 from abroad and 20 from the Republic of Moldova) took part in the program. Children were selected on a competitive basis (197 applications were received).

The diaspora representatives were offered 65 grants in 6 thematic areas in the framework of the *Diaspora Engagement Hub* Government Grant Program implemented jointly with the International Organization for Migration and funded by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation.

Within the *Diaspora Engagement Hub* Program, 10 Diaspora Educational Centers were opened in 7 countries (Belgium, Ireland, Italy, Kazakhstan, Canada, Portugal and France). In May 2017, a new government program, *Grupurile de Excelență a Diasporei (Groups of Outstanding Personalities from Diaspora)*, which would cooperate with the government officials to develop a strategy and policies for the country's development has been started. In July 2017, *Dor de Moldova (Missing Moldova)* Program was launched. It is aimed at mobilizing the diaspora in order to start and promote the tourist potential of the Republic of Moldova.

Much attention is paid to transparency / accountability of the activities of the Bureau for Relations with the Diaspora, informing and providing information support for diaspora and Moldovan citizens abroad. 3 issues of *Moldova oriunde (Moldova Anywhere)* Magazine, 44 issues of the weekly newsletter of the Bureau for Diaspora Relations, and 500 *Albinuta (Little Bee)* primers were published and uploaded in the Internet. The diaspora representatives were informed during the elections campaign, etc.

In addition, we would like to mention other programs, such as *MiDL*, due to which the representatives of the Moldovan diaspora contributed to the social development of 26 localities in Moldova where they were born. This list of positive examples can be continued.

New approaches and priorities of the Moldovan policy in the field of migration and Diaspora

Experts highly appreciate the development and improvement of the migration policy of the Republic of Moldova. First of all, we would like to mention the cooperation between the migration structures of the receiving countries. *"Bilateral cooperation is very important. But the work that takes place within the framework of various forums or dialogue platforms is equally important. It refers to the Eastern Partnership, the Prague Process, the Budapest Process, the Söderköping Process, and the GUAM. This gives us the opportunity to share information and makes it possible in some way to synchronize our legislation with the legislation of the host countries of Moldovan migrants". (0.02).*

Readmission agreements have been signed with the majority of the EU countries. It helped strengthening confidence between Moldova and the EU on the regulation of illegal migration processes. In addition, it simplified the procedure of signing labor migration agreements and agreements on migrant workers' social support. More than 20 agreements have already been initiated and 12 agreements have been signed. These agreements allow regulating the issues of social protection of migrants.

Nowadays, there is a need to sign treaties with the EU countries to provide legal assistance within the framework of criminal or civil law (inheritance and citizenship issues, children's rights, adoption, issues related to Moldovan citizens in cases of criminal prosecution, imprisonment, etc.).

Secondly, cooperation between specialized migration structures within the country, i.e. in the Republic of Moldova, should be discussed. Let us mention that the transition to diaspora policies was conditioned by the influence of the international factor. This is due to changes in the global approach to migration – the transition from a quantitative “migration policy” to a qualitative “diaspora policy” approach. In addition, there was a national context related to the formation and development of the Moldovan diaspora, the need for appropriate policies. The impact of these factors has had an impact on the institutional reform, the need to differentiate the functions between specialized state institutions implementing migration and diaspora policies.

As we know, the interaction with natives and citizens of the Republic of Moldova were initially in the competence of the Bureau for Interethnic Relations, which promoted its own approach, its own vision for managing these phenomena and processes in the field of migration. The Bureau started working with the Moldovan diaspora since the early 2000s, when the President of the Republic of Moldova P. Lucinschi signed the Decree on the Moldovan Diaspora Abroad⁴⁵. The Congresses of the Moldovan Diaspora began to be held, information on the Moldovan diaspora associations was being collected and systematized, information and financial support was made available (acquisition of national costumes for creative teams of the Moldovan diaspora, preparing various information materials, etc.). After the Bureau for Relations with the Diaspora was established, these functions were transferred to the new state structures in charge of working with the diaspora.

“The Bureau for Interethnic Relations deals with persons of ethnic or foreign origin who have decided to emigrate and live in the Republic of

⁴⁵ Decree of the President of the Republic of Moldova No 1638-II of August 30, 2000, on Supporting Persons Originating from the Republic of Moldova Residing Abroad and Cooperating with Them, Government Decision No 1322 of December 29, 2000, on Measures for Supporting Persons Originating from the Republic of Moldova Residing Abroad // Official Gazette, January 11, 2001, No 001.

Moldova and have become ethnic communities, i.e. communities of foreigners. They would like to practice certain activities and integrate into Moldovan society. Accordingly, the Bureau for Interethnic Relations is the most appropriate structure that can provide this process. In fact, it has to ensure it in accordance with its institutional institutions". (0.01).

Another structure – the Bureau for Migration and Asylum within the Ministry of Internal Affairs – provides a legal basis and accommodation for foreign citizens who have arrived in the Republic of Moldova as the country of destination, and, accordingly, ensures compliance with the legislation regarding the stay of foreign citizens.

The third structure focuses its activities on promoting and maintaining connections with Moldovan citizens who have gone abroad or natives of the Republic of Moldova. It should be mentioned that we mean the civil criteria for a native of Moldova or a citizen of the Republic of Moldova, not the ethnic one. The Bureau for Diaspora Relations is such an authority in Moldova: it is a specialized structure created within the State Chancellery of the Government of the Republic of Moldova. During a rather short period of time, the Bureau for Diaspora Relations has accumulated considerable experience in supporting diaspora organizations.

The "new approach" applied to the diaspora policy is enshrined in the documents developed by the Bureau for Diaspora Relations: "National Strategy Diaspora 2025" (adopted on February 26, 2016), and the Action Plan for 2016-2018. As a part of this approach, *Diaspora Engagement Hub*, a large program funded by the Swiss Agency for Cooperation and Development and implemented by the IOM and the Bureau for Diaspora Relations, has been launched and is being implemented.

Experts identify several aspects in the implementation of the new approach. First of all, *"the Bureau for Diaspora Relations distinguishes between the quantitative approach that used to be applied to migration policy and the current one, and focuses its activity on a qualitative approach" (0.01).* The essence of this approach is that the diaspora is not regarded as a subject that needs to be supported. The diaspora is not seen as a beneficiary of state policies. The diaspora is considered to be a mature, developed entity. It should be regarded as a partner in development policies. This is the first aspect to be mentioned.

The second issue is that the diaspora, more exactly, the representatives of the diaspora are motivated to mobilize and become active. This is not an overcomplicated task for the diaspora, since the life of the communities abroad is based on volunteering, voluntary participation and social activity. Hence, the new approach puts an emphasis on mobilizing this civil attitude of the diaspora. They are invited to take part in socially significant activities.

The third issue to be mentioned is the development and realization of

human potential, which is reflected in the strategic objectives of “National Strategy Diaspora 2025”.

According to the authors of the National Strategy, this is the core difference of the new approach from the previous one. Undoubtedly, implementing this approach is still a rather problematic task, which is caused by the fact that the application of the new approach has just started, and the evidence testifying the efficiency of its application is still insufficiently accumulated.

The Bureau for Diaspora Relations seeks to actively cooperate with other state structures that have an outlet, work with migrants, Moldovan communities and the diaspora abroad, in particular primarily with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the country. *“The relationship between our consul, the embassy, and our citizens abroad is the closest. Therefore, the sphere of the diaspora is within the consul's competence. Before the Bureau for Diaspora Relations was founded, we really had a very wide range of competences due to the fact that we are precisely those structures that are represented abroad and where we could gather citizens. For this reason, we were the ones who supervised everything that happened to citizens, our communities, and our diasporas abroad. Now when the Bureau for Diaspora Relations exists, it has assumed a significant part of our previous functions. This is understandable, because they implement policies in this area.*

We strive to help the Bureau for Diaspora Relations by providing connections and contacts we have. Leaders of active diaspora associations often come to us and participate in various events. Accordingly, when there are certain requests, certain projects that need to be promoted among the diaspora, our embassies provide local communication with both citizens and leaders of diaspora associations. We agreed on cooperation with the Bureau for Diaspora Relations, when they address our missions (embassies, consulates) abroad directly” (0.03).

While we admit the undoubted benefits of creating a special structure dealing with diaspora-related issues, it should be noted that disputes over the legality and consistency of the concentration of the Moldovan diasporal policy in the hands of the State Chancellery do not cease. Experts focus on the problems and inconsistencies in the work and interaction of Moldovan specialized structures in the field of migration regulation. Most often, the reasons for this lie in legislative and institutional gaps⁴⁶. However, there are other problems caused by both growth and accumulation of operational experience and a certain parallelism in the work that affects its efficiency.

⁴⁶ Cheieanu-Andrei D., Barilov A. Analiza lacunelor în domeniul migrației/ Republica Moldova. 2015. – Chișinău, OIM, 2015 (Cheieanu-Andrei D., Barilov A. Analyses of gaps in the field of migration/ Republic of Moldova. 2015. – Chisinau, IOM, 2015)

“Formally, all of us work within the country and work very well, relying on the dialogue platform created by the IOM. However (this is my personal point of view), we do have a certain parallelism in our work. This is a very discouraging thing, because the country is small. We create additional, parallel bureaucratic structures or principles of work; it affects problem-solving in a rather negative way. I would like to avoid parallelism in our work. We must show the structures in a honest and frank way where we would like to introduce something new. But we need to consider this experience in the context of all the elements. It is not right to choose certain elements in the structures, because it finally generates either conflict situations in the Republic of Moldova from the point of view of the powers of the structures, or creates imperfect policies. This is much worse, because we go round in circles instead of struggling” (0.02).

The expert sees parallelism in the work on the basis of cases of mixed families who have returned from abroad. *“Our politicians say that reintegration of Moldovans should take place according to a separate plan, and integration of foreigners should take place according to another plan. But we are speaking about the same family. I have to consider the skills of our Moldovan woman, I need to introduce her to our technology, and help her refresh many skills: she did not know many things and has forgotten many other details. As to him, he needs to have his diploma confirming his education homologated. I have to divide them artificially into 2 categories of persons. For the Labor and Employment Agency, these are two categories of people they work with”.* There are not so many families like this one. But this is not a unique case, either.

Another issue is that of efficiency of coordination of the work of the diaspora by the Bureau for Diaspora Relations. According to the expert, *“parallelism in our work can be traced. If it's unavoidable from the point of view of the institutional approach, avoiding it would be important at least from the point of view of coordinated policies” (0.02).*

We should also mention other problems that have emerged during the implementation of the new approach to the diaspora. The processes that began after the parliamentary elections (2014) showed that a part of the Moldovan diaspora, which had experienced the collapse of romantic expectations from the new Moldovan authorities, seeks to distance itself from government structures. This was also demonstrated by the Diaspora Days (August 2017). People note the politicization of state structures, especially in the context of the emerging and deepening political confrontation between the key branches of power. Moreover, they find it rather discouraging. They

⁴⁷ <http://ru.rfi.fr/evropa/20170821-dni-diaspory-kak-v-kishineve-prinyali-zarubezhnykh-sootechestvennikov>

would not like to be involved in political squabbles, especially during election campaigns and elections⁴⁷.

The Bureau for Diaspora Relations is a state structure located in Moldova. In fact, it does its works well and strives to fulfill its duties conscientiously. However, the diaspora is abroad. The diaspora meetings with the representatives of the Bureau take place either during the congresses of the diaspora or during short-term visits of the management and the representatives of the Bureau to the countries of destination. Naturally, the issue of trustworthy and constant communication between the Moldovan diaspora and the structure in charge of working with the diaspora remains something to be desired, but unattained yet. Apparently, "Muhammad must go to the Mountain" to bring the structures engaged in working with the diaspora closer to the diaspora both territorially and in terms of content. Communicating with diaspora not only during the events of the Diaspora Days held for two days (and the Congress), they have to find out what concerns the representatives of diaspora themselves, not the official responsible for this or that sector of work with diaspora. They have to talk to the diaspora in a language it understands, which will improve the quality and effectiveness of communication. We have already discussed the ethno-cultural identity component, which was initially promoted by associations of diaspora, which are currently beginning to reorient themselves to other aspects of activity.

Nobody says that it is necessary to urgently draw some "organizational conclusions" and create a new structure such as the "Moldovan Cultural Institute" or something similar to it in order to replace the Bureau for Diaspora Relations. Moreover, we understand that supporting such a structure abroad, especially in several countries, requires serious financial costs, which Moldova simply cannot allow today.

Let us go further. We complain about the low social activity of representatives of the diaspora. However, the question arises: what can the Moldovan state do in this respect? Moldovan communities abroad often stay in touch with the Moldovan embassy or consulate in the host country. These are the structures of the Moldovan Ministry of Foreign Affairs (primarily the consulate), which daily contact with the representatives of the Moldovan communities who seek for help, advice, etc. They could and should have been the real mechanism of a mutually beneficial and interested dialogue between Moldova and its diaspora, the communities in foreign countries. In fact, these structures do not really take part in the process of working with the diaspora. Actually, the Moldovan authorities would like to overcome this discrepancy and strengthen the work of consulates with the diaspora. The consulates, both as structures that received the instructions and the consuls as citizens concerned about their homeland and our fellow citizens abroad, are striving to

be useful to the diaspora associations. But the problem persists. In fact, it needs to be solved in an optimal way.

Experts believe that new approaches are needed to the migration policy today due to changes in the migration situation both in Moldova itself and the countries hosting Moldovan migrants, primarily Russia and Italy, as the main consumers of the Moldovan labor force. *“The intensity of migration processes has been preserved, but the final migration itself has changed, it has taken some other shapes. Keeping this in mind, perhaps, one should change the approaches to the design of migration policies. Our approaches formulated in 2005-2006 and focused on return migration, unfortunately, have already lost their relevance due to circular migration. I believe it is necessary to have some mechanisms for attracting migrants. Yet we must clearly see that this will not specifically apply to the mass (this will not be massive), but to some specific people”.* (0.02).

Admitting the need for changes and new approaches to be applied to the migration policies, the importance of preserving and consolidating opportunities for attracting and returning migrants should be recognized. It should be kept in mind that a significant part of migrants will not return. We should consider the opportunities for their involvement in the development of the country in the context of new phenomena in migration under the conditions of modern globalization, *“the transformation of final migration into human mobility”* (6.05).

Social and reintegration risks, which emerge upon returning of a part of migrants who failed to integrate into the destination countries have to be considered and taken into account. It should be kept in mind that these people, unfortunately, have not accumulated any definite social bonuses during their absence. Hence, the state will have to pay these social bonuses (social pensions, allowances, or maintenance in nursing homes). These risks must be calculated now, starting with the problems of aging of the population of the Republic of Moldova.

We would like to mention that the priority problem includes three basic levels.

- The level of the state migration policy of the Republic of Moldova;
- The level of state policy in the sphere of the diaspora;
- The level of migrants who formulate their understanding of these priorities.

The basic priorities of the Republic of Moldova should include the following:

1. Reducing flows, reducing outflow of people abroad. This is very important from the demographic, social, and economic points of view;
2. Legal and social protection of migrants in the countries of destination. To do this, it is necessary to create conditions and prerequisites

for providing legal assistance to migrants as they solve their private issues. It is necessary to develop and implement a legal aid mechanism for foreigners from this country in our country and for our citizens in the country of destination on a parity basis;

3. Considering the possibility and creating prerequisites for implementing the mechanism of return migration for those who are now starting to leave, especially students, research workers and highly skilled personnel. We must find the mechanisms to stimulate the return of these people.

To reduce emigration, economic growth, political stability, and legal protection of the country and individuals, citizens, businessmen, and employees are necessary.

From the economic point of view, Moldova cannot currently provide sustainable socio-economic development and growth. However, it should be taken into account that economic situation is not the only aspect which is important. Growing emigration is due to political instability and vague prospects. If Moldova provides political stability and the unchanged course towards modernization of the country, this will stop emigration. When issues of political stability and modernization are solved, skilled specialists (engineers, programmers) may stay in the country. They are in demand and their salaries are decent. It is necessary to develop knowledge-intensive industries.

Economic growth is necessary. Stimulating investment in the country's economy is one of the few real tools. It requires positive discrimination for investment policies related to labor migrants. It is necessary to continue implementing PARE 1 + 1 Program. Moreover, it should be developed and expanded, as the Italian experts suggest, using PARE 1+1 as a model.

Different forms are needed to make the migrant interested in investing. There are two possible basic directions:

a) The state offers several sectors in which it intends and begins to attract migrants' money (for example, processing industry, especially fruit and vegetable processing industry, refrigerators for exporting products, etc.). *"But these should be the spheres clearly defined by the state – the ones where the state sees as its priorities – or the areas where migrants themselves would like to invest their money. They do not have to be stimulated in any specific order or in accordance with a certain algorithm. Yet, on the other hand, this process has to be monitored to avoid the situation when everyone could choose the same area of interest. In this case, it will become both unprofitable and undesirable from the point of view of the state" (0.02).*

According to an expert from the UK, we should not focus on agriculture and its products. He believes that *"based on the country's position and territory, we must invest in the intellectual potential of the country. We need to*

develop new technologies, the sphere of information technology. Unfortunately, recent events in the financial sector have undermined everyone's activities in this area (a hint of "the stolen billion" – VM). This is an argument in favor of the fact that we can provide services at the international level. These two branches could raise the country and take the financial and the IT sectors out of the dead end" (6.06).

b) The state provides certain preferential conditions for founding an enterprise, exemption from payment of taxes, exemption from payment of any fees, etc. Migrants, especially those who have their businesses abroad or plan to start a business in Moldova, are likely to pay attention to this. *"From the tax point of view, Moldova is not favorable for starting a business. Specific measures are needed to provide tax benefits for a certain period for the capital, the investments that come from the diaspora. For example, 0 % taxation for a 5-year term could be mentioned. Local authorities must provide free rent for a fairly long period of time. The investor, having clear legal guarantees, can decide on opening a certain business, delivering equipment, developing infrastructure, creating jobs, and offering other social services. People have jobs, pay taxes, and earn their salaries, which stimulates their increasing purchasing power. Therefore, monetary circulation is stimulated. The state has invested nothing, but has benefited from long-term investments". (6.06).*

The National Strategy "Diaspora 2025" formulated the essential priorities of the Moldovan policy related to the diaspora.

1) Working out and extending strategic and organizational basis in the field of diaspora, migration and development;

2) Ensuring the rights of the diaspora and building confidence;

3) Mobilizing, taking advantage of and recognizing the human potential of the diaspora;

4) Directly and indirectly involving the diaspora in the sustainable economic development of the Republic of Moldova⁴⁸.

At the same time, experts believe that, *"in the new approach, the return of migrants does not mean their physical return. This is desirable, but it is not a prerequisite. Migrants can make their contribution at a distance. This is citizens' right: if they do not find themselves professionally in the labor market of the Republic of Moldova, they can leave and achieve better results abroad. We intend to help them keeping in touch with the country of origin and transfer their knowledge and competence for the development of the Republic of Moldova. We aim to cultivate, promote, and expand their influence" (0.01).*

However, considering the remarks made by migrants such as "we will return when proper conditions are created", the Bureau for Diaspora Relations

⁴⁸ Government Decision, Diaspora 2025 National Strategy, No 200 of February 26, 2016. // Official Gazette, March 4, 2016, No 49-54, Art.

suggests participating together in creating conditions for return, appeals to the diaspora, Moldovan migrants, those who are active and want to promote changes in Moldova in order to create healthy conditions both for those who are in the country and those who are abroad, but intend to do something useful and necessary to stimulate the development of the Republic of Moldova, stimulate the investment of migrants' capital and money transfers in the business environment in the country.

A very great mistrust both in interpersonal relations and in relations between institutions, between civil society and administrative institutions exists today. The element of lack of trust is very strong; therefore, this approach demonstrated by the Bureau for Diaspora Relations is not being implemented yet.

Experts list the following fundamental problems the Republic of Moldova faces while implementing the migration policy in the diaspora area.

First of all, this is information and communication. Many interviewed migrants do not know where the Moldovan embassy is located in the country and what it is involved in; they did not see or meet Moldovan diplomats. I do not think we should regard this as a tragedy or draw "organizational conclusions" out of it. It is known that the staff of Moldovan diplomatic structures abroad is very small, while migrants are dispersed throughout the country; they do not keep in touch with the diplomats, the consular department does not register them, either. In addition, most migrants do not attempt to establish contacts with their homeland or its specialized structures.

Currently, there is a great lack of trust in both interpersonal relations and relations between institutions, between civil societies and administrative institutes. The element of distrust is obvious; therefore, this approach is not quite perfectly implemented by the Bureau for Relations with the Diaspora yet.

Experts list the following fundamental problems faced by the Republic of Moldova while implementing its migration policy in the field of the diaspora.

First of all, these are information and communication. Many migrants who have taken part in the survey do not know where the Moldovan embassy is located in their countries or what it is in charge of; they have not seen or met Moldovan diplomats. I do not think we should regard this as a tragedy or draw any "organizational conclusions" from this fact. It is known that the staff of Moldovan diplomatic structures abroad is very small, whereas migrants are dispersed throughout the country; they do not keep in touch with consular institutions and are not registered there. Moreover, most migrants do not attempt to establish relations with their homeland or its specialized structures.

The second important problem is financing the activities of embassies and consulates, supporting the diaspora while organizing various activities for both consolidation and functioning of the diaspora and for promoting the image of the Republic of Moldova.

"I think Moldova has difficulties with funding, because it is in a complicated economic situation. I guess that the most effective thing that could be done today is supporting hotlines for Moldovan migrants. We need to have a free hotline; it will be easier for people to solve their problems. In my opinion, this is the least expensive way of helping. This is exactly what is needed in difficult life situations, when legal assistance is required. Besides, I suppose it is better to interact, for example, through social networks. This is not too costly, either" (1.03).

The Israeli expert draws attention to the following. *"The most important assistance, it appears, should consist in identifying the current problems immigrants from Moldova or labor migrants from the Republic of Moldova are faced with, and trying to help them. We could help non-governmental organizations, especially human rights organizations, so that they could assist their compatriots and temporary labor migrants in fulfilling their potential here on the spot more efficiently. Such work must be done systematically" (5.02).*

In this context, it is important to expand the presence of Moldovan diplomatic / consular structures in the territory, both through away sessions and opening consulates in other regions, for example, in St. Petersburg, Russia. *"I have already mentioned the problem of financing. I said that it would be nice to have a consulate or at least an honorary consulate of the Republic of Moldova in St. Petersburg. At the same time, the consulate should function on the basis of state funding. In St. Petersburg, there are up to 100 thousand Moldovan citizens. The role of St. Petersburg as the northern capital of Russia is very important for Moldova. I do not think that the consulate, if it is open in St. Petersburg, will be a nonentity or will not benefit Moldova, its citizens" (1.06).*

Among other problems, experts identify the issue of second-generation migrants and migrant children. The problem of talented children in Moldovan communities abroad also needs attention. Special approaches, incentives and assistance are necessary here. *"The government should do something attractive for the diaspora, because we have very good children here, who are absolutely outstanding. There is a girl, who has already written a novel at the age of 19. There are children who came from Italy to the US and won an invention contest there" (2.02).*

Experts believe that while working with the diaspora, it is necessary to actively use those forms that have passed the test of time and received support and approval from the Moldovan communities. It is necessary to spread

positive experience, advanced achievements in the activities of the diaspora, diaspora organizations and Moldovan businessmen who invest in development, modernization and social renewal of their small homeland, thus developing their great homeland – the Republic of Moldova. We also mean the MiDL Project, when migrants provided financial assistance to the development of 25 their localities in Moldova.

The Moldovan expert from the United Kingdom who offers several priorities for the Moldovan state structures emphasizes the same thing. *“We promote and motivate people to invest in the Republic of Moldova. However, we see that people are reluctant to do this. It would be good to involve the diaspora in order to stimulate exports from the Republic of Moldova. Through the diaspora, we could promote Moldovan exports. It is necessary to stimulate entrepreneurial initiatives at the local level. In the Republic of Moldova, they do not realize yet that the diaspora is a resource for promoting exports. Financial support for these endeavors would be beneficial. It would be useful to use the relations and expertise of the Moldovan community in the UK in a more efficient way. Until Moldova becomes predictable, the communities will not respond to the initiatives to invest in Moldova. It is necessary to open a diplomatic mission in Ireland. Opening an embassy in Ireland would facilitate the accumulation of their experience in engaging the diaspora for the development of the country of origin. We could learn from the Irish experience in the areas of diasporas, migration and development”* (6.01).

Other priorities experts and migrants pay attention to are training and transparency of actions. *“Transparency. I think we must learn from Italy. Their structures organize a lot trainings, teach what should be done and in what manner it should be done. First of all, this is necessary for intercultural mediators: it would help immigrants to be better integrated here. Courses for migrants are organized. Moldovans are somewhat afraid of such centers. When they hear about these training centers, they regard them as something official. Intercultural mediators are exactly what Moldova needs, I guess. I am glad that there are more and more associations that practice intercultural dialogue in the Republic of Moldova. Even centers are created; however, I'm not sure if they are efficient”* (2.06).

In conclusion, we would like to note that diaspora consolidation is a bilateral process, and its implementation depends on both the diasporas and their organizations, and the government of the country of origin, the homeland of the diaspora. Efforts must be mutual. Only then, the diaspora will become stronger and start acting in a more efficient way. Of course, in this process quite a lot of things depend on its ability to attract its communities abroad, persistence of its actions, and professionalism of the state of origin. Following the establishment of the Bureau for Diaspora Relations, the work

with the Moldovan diaspora was intensified and had a serious impetus. Many Moldovan migrants and associations of the diaspora knew the structure. Besides, certain restrictions have been revealed due to political and electoral reasons, socio-economic and political context, the situation in the Republic of Moldova, and people's growing distrust towards Moldovan authorities, which is primarily caused by corruption and the infamous one billion dollar theft from the three Moldovan banks.

13. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Moldovan diaspora was mapped in February 2016 - February 2017 in the Republic of Moldova and 6 foreign countries: Germany, the United Kingdom, Italy, Israel, Portugal, and Russia, which are of particular interest in terms of the formation and functioning of the Moldovan diaspora. During our field studies, we used various quantitative and qualitative methods of collecting and analyzing the primary material. In the course of quantitative research, 538 Moldovan migrants were interviewed/ surveyed, 12 focus groups were held and 50 experts were interviewed in the Republic of Moldova and abroad. Individual in-depth interviews were conducted with the employees of Moldovan diplomatic/consular structures, Moldovan state specialized structures in the sphere of migration management, independent experts from civil society, the academic community, the church, the leaders of Moldovan diaspora associations, and representatives of Moldovan business abroad. Moldovan migrants born in Moldova on both banks of the Dniester were interviewed and surveyed in the course of the study.

As a result of the study, the following conclusions were drawn:

1. Incentives for migration. Economic factors continue to affect the migration of Moldovan citizens abroad. Labor migration is the basic form of Moldovan international migration.

The following trends have been observed and consolidated in recent years: educational migration is growing; the importance of family reunification increases; children and parents of migrants are increasingly and massively reunited with their able-bodied family members in the countries of destination. Migration is not only the instrument of survival, but also that of development: people with high financial standards of living leave the country in order to implement their professional and career plans. In the context of the obtained visa-free regime with the European Union, the value and the amount of circular working migration (legal entrance and illegal job placement lasting for a period of time of less than 3 months) for the purpose of earnings increase and, simultaneously, substituting and retaining workplaces of Moldovan migrants who live and work in the countries of the European Union and leave the Republic of Moldova for vacation or treatment take place.

2. Moldovan communities abroad. Moldovan communities abroad differ in number of their members. The most numerous communities are in Russia, Italy and Israel. However, they differ by their origin: they arose mainly as a result of labor migration in Russia and Italy, whereas in Israel, they are a result of ethnic repatriation to the historical homeland, departure for permanent residence. Moldovan communities in Germany, the United

Kingdom, and Portugal are less numerous. In fact, these communities are more numerous, since in the European Union, many Moldovans present themselves as citizens of Romania, Bulgaria and other EU countries. In addition, the number of Moldovans who have obtained the citizenship of the host countries is growing.

The tendencies of the recent years convincingly attest that the number of Moldovan associations depends on and is under the influence of migratory and integration policies implemented by the host states (examples include the changes in the migration policy of the Russian Federation and the migration crisis in the countries of the European Union). The numerical strength of Moldovan communities in Russia, Italy, Portugal, and Israel has stabilized. The renewal of associations, substitution of former members by new people without any substantial modifications in the number of migrants take place. The Moldovan community in Germany demonstrates a clear tendency towards growing. The community in the UK previously demonstrated similar tendency. However, this process is somewhat suspended in the context of Brexit today. Part of Moldovan (and not only) migrants leave. Simultaneously, most people, both those who have Moldovan passports and those who possess passports of the countries of the European Union, feel uncertain as they wait for further development of the relations between the United Kingdom and the European Union.

Migration and migratory mobility of Moldovan migrants within the framework of the European Union occur, and the countries of destination change. Although this movement used to be caused by the impact of non-economic instruments (deportation and prohibition to enter certain states), today, economic and socio-professional factors and migration mobility of citizens of the European Union are dominant.

3. Socio-demographic profile of Moldovan migrants. The absolute majority of migrants are persons of working age. About 70 % are persons under 40 years old; young persons under the age of 30 are about 40 %. This trend retains its significance. Another trend indicates an increase in the number of older people.

Moldovan migrants are educated people. The absolute majority have graduated from a lyceum (school) and have a professional or university education (1/3). Migrants are often engaged in unskilled labor or work which requires lower qualifications and education than those they received. Therefore, the trend persists. The absolute majority of migrants works. Women are employed in domestic services, take care of children, sick and elderly people, and are engaged in hotel services. Men are most often engaged in construction and transportation spheres, less often they work in industry and agriculture. However, there is a noticeable trend of the growing number of

persons employed in healthcare, banking and finance, communications and information technology, or education and culture. The number of students attending universities in the receiving countries increases. After their graduation from the university, many people find work in the country of destination.

Women are dynamic actors in migration processes. For instance, 81.1 % of Moldovan labor migrants are women in Italy. In Russia and Germany, men prevail. In Portugal, Israel, and the United Kingdom, there is a trend of equalization of gender proportion in Moldovan communities abroad. If not for the financial, economic, and migration crisis faced by the European Union in recent years, this trend would have become more obvious in other countries.

The tendency of entering the country of destination and staying in it on the basis of a Moldovan or a Romanian passport in the countries of the European Union, or a Russian passport in the Russian Federation persists. It takes place considerably more seldom on the basis of a Bulgarian passport or passports of the other EU countries. The tendency of obtaining the citizenship of host countries by Moldovan migrants is noted. The number of persons with the Portuguese, Italian, British and German citizenship grows.

4. Integration into the countries of destination. The absolute majority of Moldovan migrants successfully integrates in the countries of destination. People admit that in the beginning, when they did not know the language, socio-economic realities, or customs and culture of the host country, they were facing problems of adaptation and integration into the new society. Moldovan migrants are well motivated to integrate and find a job in the host country. In the process of integration, their relatives, friends, compatriots and social networks assist them. In addition, the integration process is facilitated by the common Christian values, the fact that they belong to the same linguistic group or know the language of the host country, tolerance and benevolence of the local population, and integration policies implemented by the countries of destination, in particular those of the European Union. Although the legalization of migrants in the country of destination used to be the basic problem in the process of integration, in recent years, the new tendency has been observed – the acknowledgement of diplomas and qualifications. Ordinary people and experts focus their attention on the new trend: an increase in migrant phobia and the absence of tolerance towards migrants in the host countries (influence of the migratory crisis and terrorist attacks in the European Union).

5. Moldovan business abroad. Moldovan migrants begin to realize that if they want to survive, they have to work, and if they want to develop, they have to start their own business. The sources of the capital are labor and

savings of labor migrants. The analysis shows that the Moldovan business abroad develops and gains experience, best practices and success stories. Each country has its own experience of business development. In most cases, this is a business in the spheres of construction, transportation, household, and other types of services. There is a tendency towards expanding the scope of application of the capital. Small and micro-business prevails. However, larger companies working in various sectors of the economy of the receiving countries are already starting to emerge. The role of the Moldovan business in strengthening the associative sector of the diaspora and steady development of the Republic of Moldova is still perceived very insignificantly.

The opinion poll and focus groups demonstrate that basically migrants do not strive to start their own business and are not interested in it or in investing in the economy of the Republic of Moldova. The reasons for this are their ignorance of the investment climate in their native country, the lack of the experience and knowledge of managing a business, and their fear of “going broke”, the negative experience of their relatives and acquaintances, fear of corruption, and political, social, and economic instability in the Moldovan state.

6. Associations of the diaspora. Moldovan associations are the institutions of the diaspora, because the conscious collective tendency towards unification and integration of Moldovan communities, preserving their ethnic and cultural identity, and cooperation of migrants with the Republic of Moldova as their homeland are manifested and demonstrated. Diaspora associations strengthen and institutionalize the diaspora, serving as an instrument for transforming the communities into the diaspora. Development of the associative sector of the diaspora differs from one country to another. The greatest number of diaspora associations is located in Italy, whereas the associations in Portugal are the most consolidated, organized, and known among the migrants. The diaspora institutes are least developed in Germany. Regardless of the host countries, the associations of the Moldovan diaspora are characterized by the tendency to preserve and promote national cultural values, consolidate the diaspora, and work on a voluntary basis. On the other hand, the drawbacks of the Moldovan associations are obvious: these are the lack of finance, often the lack of dialogue or communication between the associations, inexperience of their leaders and competition among them, the low level of solidarity, segmentation according to geopolitical and political criteria, etc.

A new trend appears - expanding and modifying the objectives of activity, the transformation of the associations of the diaspora from the Moldovan structures in host countries to civil society structures in the countries of destination. This will lead to the situation when consolidation of

the Moldovan diaspora, promotion of its culture, traditions, and language will become not merely the task of the associations, but that of the other structures of the country of origin (embassies or specialized structures in the sphere of culture in accordance with the internationally accepted practices in this sphere).

7. Communication and diversity of connections with the homeland.

Contacts with the native land, relatives, and friends remain an important aspect of life and behavior of a migrant. The main tools of communication in terms of mass usage and frequency of use are the same as before: Skype, the Internet, mobile phone and social networks (*Vkontakte*, *Facebook*, *Odnoklassniki*, etc.).

According to the poll, people are quite actively interested in the events and life in their homeland. For this purpose, various sources of information are used, both official (television, electronic press), and informal ones, such as the secondary communication system (communication with relatives, acquaintances and colleagues).

Most migrants are eager to visit their homeland, the Republic of Moldova, during their vacation, religious holidays (Christmas and Easter) or for treatment. A large portion of migrants transfers money home, to their relatives. The tendency registered before remains in force.

Nevertheless, migrants are rather reserved in terms of investing in business in Moldova. The reasons for this are the discrepancy between the legislative and the regulatory framework and the real practice of functioning of Moldovan business, unfavorable investment climate, corruption, political instability, etc.

A certain portion of migrants is involved in various charity projects, supporting and developing their locality, and providing possible assistance to the elderly and children in need, especially those with disabilities.

8. Plans and expectation for the future. There are three main concepts regarding the future prospects among Moldovan communities abroad. A significant number of migrants (especially young people) definitely do not intend to return to their homeland and do not make any plans about it. They have jobs and real estate in the country of their stay; their children were born (or brought) and study there. They seek to integrate into the new environment as fully as possible, and become law-abiding citizens and employees. Their position and plans will not be changed because of any successes Moldova may achieve.

The second group of migrants is close to the first one according to their declarations. However, in fact, they are not identified with the statements of the first group. These people are still at the crossroads. Their decision is

“suspended” so far. They have not actually taken any final decision about their future. Therefore, they postpone their return to a more distant future. They still expect some turn for the better, but they do not quite believe that it will actually occur. They do not believe in the quality of Moldovan democracy or the efficiency of the existing political and socio-economic system; they see and fear political and economic instability, corruption in the various structures, and a repeated “billion dollar theft”. They bring forward different arguments to explain their fear and failure, the essential one is, “Make life here the same as it is in the EU, and I'll be back!” Some of them will come back nevertheless because, among other things, they also have a “lifejacket” for the future – their dual citizenship (including that of the host country) or a permanent residence permit.

The third group of migrants unequivocally intends to return home. First of all, these are people of the elder generations, who could not get adapted to the lifestyle in the host country. Furthermore, these people did not manage to integrate, get a job, or implement their plans for life abroad. They return in order to make themselves at home, get married, create a family, or find new prospects, including those related to business. This group includes a significant number of Moldovan migrants who reached the retirement age. Often, they can count only on social pension, which is not enough for living abroad, but which is sufficient for staying in the Republic of Moldova. They intend to return (and actually return) to Moldova, having social pension and documents authorizing them to reside in the country of destination.

9. Policy of the Republic of Moldova in the sphere of diaspora.

Consolidation of the Moldovan diaspora largely depends on the policy of the Republic of Moldova in the sphere of migration and diaspora support. It should be mentioned in this regard that a new positive trend is taking place – consolidation of Moldovan policies regarding migration and diaspora.

Creation of the Bureau for Diaspora Relations within the framework of the State Chancellery of the Government has had a positive effect on the development and implementation of the diaspora-related policy. The basis for mutually advantageous cooperation between the Moldovan diaspora and the Moldovan state and its institutions have been created. The Bureau for Diaspora Relations is a dynamic actor of Moldovan migration policy, having a positive image among Moldovan associations abroad.

It uses various and different forms of working with, organizing and attracting diaspora. Let us mention some of its most well-known forms: days of diaspora, congresses of diaspora, business and investment forums held by the Moldovan Government and diaspora in Moldova and abroad, DOR Program implemented through organizing summer camps in Moldova, educational centers for children from the diaspora, Diaspora Engagement Hub, and other

programs and projects conducted for and in cooperation with diaspora. Diaspora is appreciated and assisted in order to attract investment into the country's economy, development of local settlements, and promoting the image of the country abroad. In our opinion, the Moldovan diaspora policy has reached the level of maturation. In many ways, this is due to assistance and support from the international organizations and the European structures.

On the basis of our research and the conclusions we have drawn, we suggest the following Recommendations:

1. Communication with the diaspora. It is necessary to modify the message, reveal it, and emphasize the target group (first of all, associations leaders), use contemporary technical resources, including social networks, for informing and cooperating with the Moldovan associations and the diaspora abroad, consolidate the institutional and financial basis, and implement a larger quantity and different directions of projects aimed at supporting diaspora.

2. Financing the diaspora. As we accept the importance and the need for funding the diaspora, a system of grants should be used for stimulating social activity and professionalism of the diaspora associations. For the purposes of consolidation and development of solidarity among Moldovan associations, we should more widely practice the priority of offering grants to the projects developed and offered by two or more diaspora associations.

3. Attracting diaspora to the processes of development and decision-making in the Republic of Moldova. It is necessary to involve representatives of the Moldovan diaspora, their qualification, experience and expertise for developing legislative, statutory, and regulatory enactments in the Republic of Moldova, and offering advisory and monitoring services.

4. Intermediary employment companies' activities for Moldovan citizens abroad. Given the problems faced by Moldovan citizens who leave in order to work in Israel using intermediary companies' services, it is important to reconsider the issue of quality and guarantees offered by these companies and the way they fulfill their service obligations under employment contracts.

5. Contacts with relatives for Moldovan labor migrants abroad. Considering the requests and wishes of Moldovan labor migrants in Israel, who left for Israel on the basis of long-term contracts, we could offer the Israel part to examine the issue of mitigating the policy regarding migrants' relatives and extending the possibilities for visiting Israel and meeting family members.

6. Embassy in Ireland. Considering the experience of Ireland, a small country with the long-term emigration past, which has been able to establish cooperation with the diaspora and attract it to the development of the economy of the country, we suggest examining the issue of opening the embassy of the Republic of Moldova in the Republic of Ireland. Its experience and well-defined mechanisms of work for attracting investments and new technologies will be useful for Moldova. The need to open an embassy in that country is also due to Brexit, the fact that the United Kingdom left the European Union, which resulted in the emergence of additional problems for Moldovan citizens in Ireland and weakened their contacts with the Moldovan diplomatic and consular agencies in the UK.

7. Consulate in St. Petersburg, Russian Federation. Opening the General Consulate of the Republic of Moldova in Saint Petersburg, where the second largest (after Moscow and Podmoskovye) group of Moldovan labor migrants consisting of almost 100 thousand persons is located, according to the experts. This will intensify the processes of the formation of Moldovan associations in the city and Leningrad Region and contribute to the establishment of connections with the Russian business, scientific and academic institutions of the northern capital of Russia.

8. Institute of Honorary Consul. It appears that the functions of the Honorary Consul concentrated in the sphere of economic activity should be expanded and supplemented by other social, cultural, and consular activities.

9. Moldovan multi-functional service center abroad. We should examine the option of subsequently opening the Moldovan cultural center for working with the diaspora abroad. This is caused by the fact that the diaspora distances itself both in the context of the corruption scandals in Moldova and the attempts to use the diaspora for political and electoral purposes in the confrontations among different branches of power in the Republic of Moldova. This can become one of the tools of de-politicization of the diaspora and Moldovan communities, its distancing from the institutes of power in Moldova, and regaining their trust in the Republic of Moldova. This is also caused by a change of the purposes of the diaspora associations in the host countries, their reorientation from the ethno-cultural topics of activities to the social ones.

10. PARE 1+1+2 Program. Attracting migration capital, Moldovan business abroad for the steady development of the country. For this purpose, *PARE 1+1+2* Program mechanism suggested by Italian experts and supported by the Ministry of Labor and Social Policies of Italy could be used. The European Union and the other countries will also support this initiative.

11. Experience in supporting business development. The experience of the United Kingdom in electronic registration of business, the Italian experience in the development of small business by tools of the profile consortia, using a general bookkeeper in a consortium, involving united advertising brands for consolidation, vitality and efficiency of small business are of interest.

12. Interest in small business. The mechanisms of attraction the interest of small business in the participation in Moldovan investment and business forums, establishing and developing economic relations and collaboration with the Republic of Moldova have to be considered. Thus far, unfortunately, this mechanism is more useful when directed toward creating conditions for development and expansions of large business oriented to expansion and export activity.

13. DOR Program. Positively evaluating the experience of the implementation of this program, we assume that its basic purpose is not only maintaining Moldovan ethno-cultural identity and love for the historical homeland among children, young people, students, and the diaspora as a whole, but also *training the future leaders* of the Moldovan diaspora and its associations.

14. Moldovan adaptation centers abroad. Assistance in creation and activity of centers for adaptation of Moldovan citizens abroad, studying the language, culture, traditions, and behavior in the host country. For this purpose, Moldovan educational centers can be used, which are created with the assistance of the Moldovan authorities, the Bureau for Diaspora Relations, and the IOM in 7 the countries.

15. Country associations / association of Moldovan migrants in Moldova. A person remain “face to face” with the problems of the apparently familiar Moldova, which is still different, frequently incomprehensible. Relatives may assist to a certain extent. But this role can and must be played by the country. To facilitate adaptation and integration of returning Moldovan labor migrants in the native land, it would be reasonable to create country associations of Moldovan migrants in the Republic of Moldova, which would act as a mechanism for both integrating and attracting re-emigrants and investments from the country of their return to Moldova. In one word, Moldovan associations of the diaspora must exist not only “there”, in the host country for Moldovan migrants, but also “here”, in their native country. Associations must cooperate, be the real bridge between the host countries and the countries of origin, the associations in these countries and Moldovan

migrants and re-emigrants who have relations and connections with both their native land and the host country in the process of migration.

16. Acquaintance with Moldova for Moldovan migrants abroad.

Practice shows that Moldovan migrants are very often ignorant of their country of origin. Their knowledge is most often limited to their own locality and a few other places. It is important to expand DOR Program for adults. It has to include not only sightseeing, but also meetings with representatives of Moldovan business, especially former labor migrants who returned to their homeland, started their own business in Moldova and have experience of successful business functioning (and not only).

17. Expanding work and cooperation with the diaspora and making it more profound. We have to continue cooperating, expanding the forms and methods of working with Moldovan migrants and diasporas abroad, involve them in investing funds, technologies and skills for the sustainable development of the Republic of Moldova, returning to their homeland.

18. New approaches to migration policy and globalization challenges.

Under the conditions of modern globalization, the intensity and diversity of human movements is growing. These new phenomena and processes require a revision of approaches, modification of the very notion of a migrant. In the case of the Republic of Moldova, which is faced with active processes of labor migration and labor emigration, which is being transforming into final emigration and the formation of the diaspora, even the notion of final emigration needs to be revised. It will have to be replaced by the notion of human mobility.

New approaches are required in the studies of migration processes / human mobility in the context of globalization on the part of the Moldovan academic community.

It is necessary to look for opportunities not only for the preservation of Moldovan migrant workers who do not return in the sphere of migration / diaspora policy of Moldova, but also for its expansion, application of new forms and approaches in the context of the intensification of migration movements, including to the Republic of Moldova.

19. Academic community. The intensification of cooperation with the academic migration community of the Republic of Moldova, its involvement in the examination and monitoring Moldovan policy in the sphere of migration and the diaspora.

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