

MOLDOVAN LABOR MIGRATION INTO THE EUROPEAN UNION

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The article gives a characteristic of Moldovan labor migration into the European Union. The authors show that Moldovan labor migration into the EU begins in the second half of the 1990's. Since the late 1990's – the early 2000's, it acquires a mass character.

The main reasons of Moldovan migration into the European Union are economic reasons. The factors that determine the choice of country for labor migration are varied. These are the desire to earn more money and to provide the growth of welfare for themselves and their family; lingual proximity; the presence of social capital, and others..

The different forms of infiltration and stay in the EU that are used by the Moldovan labor migrants are uncovered. Among these, tourist visas, illegal border crossings, illegal employment and legal individual and collective labor contracts, labor quotas, the visa-free regime and labor visas are noted.

The process of formation of Moldovan communities in the EU is becoming massive since the 2000's. The most attractive countries for Moldovan labor migration are Italy, Germany, France, the UK, Spain, Czechia, and Portugal. Italy is the absolute leader in attracting Moldovan labor migrants.

The formation of Moldovan communities in the EU corresponds to world practice: starting with the familiarization with the capital cities, the migrants gradually familiarize themselves with the accepting country's other regions. The Moldovan communities form primarily through the presence of labor migrants of young ages. Typical, especially on the early stage, is the clearly defined gender direction, conditioned by the requirements of the labor market in the destination countries. The consolidation of migrant communities leads to the expansion of the range of age structure and to the leveling of the sex/ gender structure of the Moldovan communities.

Male Moldovan labor migrants are mainly engaged in constructions, women – in the field of housekeeping and nursing services. Gradually, the field of their labor activity expands; they work in different fields, including prestigious and highly paid ones. Among the Moldovan labor migrants, there is also a growth in the number of businessmen. However, even today, most migrants are engaged in work that is of lower status than their actual education and qualification.

An analysis of the main trends of Moldovan labor migration into the European Union shows that Moldovan migrants are demonstrating their desire to integrate into the accepting society, to transform their status from illegal into legal, from unqualified into professional status, that corresponds to their level of education, qualification, and experience of labor activity. Among the Moldovan labor migrants there is an increasing number of people in possession of double and triple citizenship. There is a clear tendency to obtain the citizenship of the country of residence. From labor migrants they turn into labor emigrants, their future plans and strategies change. They are striving to become full-fledged citizens of their new homeland, and have no desire to return to Moldova.

The EU visa-free regime with the Republic of Moldova is creating new possibilities for Moldovan labor migration into EU countries. The amount of Moldovan short-term labor migrants into EU countries in the conditions of the visa-free regime has increased more than twice. Temporary stay in the accepting country and labor activity, as a rule, does not alter the decision to return home with the majority of the short-term Moldovan migrants.

Key words: *Moldovan labour migration in EU, reasons for labour migrations, Moldovan communities in EU, trends of Moldovan labour migration.*

Introduction

Starting with the second half of the 1990's the population of the Republic of Moldova actively engages in international labor migration. Initially, the Moldovan labor migrants would travel for work to Russia. However, starting with the 2000's, they begin to actively familiarize themselves with the western and south western destinations – to travel for work to the European Union.

The goal of our research the analysis of Moldovan labor migration into the European Union, of the main destinations of migrant flows, of the main forms, strategies and motivations used by Moldovan labor migrants.

The characteristics of Moldovan labor migration into the EU

Since the soviet days, the Moldovan population would migrate in search of higher income to other regions in the USSR, primarily to Russia. With the

collapse of the Soviet Union, and the fall of the Moldovan population's living standards, labor migration to Russia remained, and even increased.

The first attempts of Moldovan labor migration toward west-European countries appear in the second half of the 1990's. At its first stages, it was a rare and not mass phenomenon. The regional financial-economic crisis of the late 1990's caused the worsening of the socio-economic situation in the CIS countries, especially in Russia. It has led to the shortening of the labor market and the decrease of income. All this stimulated the reorientation of Moldovan labor migrants toward the European Union. We should also note that the last (since the beginning of the 2000's) reorientation of Moldovan labor migrants toward the European Union countries was also caused by the inclusive / integrationist policies of the European Union in regard to migrants, the need for work force.

Labor migration toward the European Union countries turned out to be a new phenomenon for the Moldovan population. The European Union, for the most part, was a terra incognita for the Moldovan labor migrants. In the EU countries, there were no Moldovan communities, social networks, that would help factual and potential labor migrants in choosing one country for labor migration, or another.

1.Reasons for migration into the European Union

With the second half of the 1990's, the Moldovan population's labor migration abroad is becoming more massive, includes the population of all of the country's regions, all sex, age, and ethnic population groups. Herewith, the Moldovan population is traveling for work not only to the traditionally familiar regions, the post-soviet space countries, mainly Russia and Ukraine, but is beginning to explore the European Union countries, Turkey, Israel, the USA, and Canada, giving preference to the European Mediterranean countries (Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, and others). Starting with the second half of the 2000's, especially in the 2010's, Moldovan migrants begin to move beyond the "Latin world" and the attachments to linguistic proximity in their choice of country for labor migration, and thus begin to successfully explore Ireland, the UK, and Germany.

When characterizing the contemporary reasons for Moldovan international migration, we should note that the economic factor continues to be relevant and significant. If previously, at the base of labor migration there was the desire to solve one's financial problems, to provide material well-being, then today the economic motivation of Moldovan labor migrants is becoming more complex. The family's difficult material situation, lack of work places, and adequate income for normal living, the need to solve different socio-economic problems tied to alimentation, habitation, medical treatment, children's school and university education, the purchase of an apartment or the building of a house, the pur-

chase of an automobile and long-term goods, all remain dominant reasons. People see labor emigration as their only option, as the possibility to change their life for the better.

At the same time, in the recent years, there are an increasing number of labor migrants who, while staying in Moldova, had decent residence and a good (by Moldovan standards) income that allowed their families to avoid poverty. These people became labor migrants not because of lack of food or of a workplace. The defining reason was their desire to receive higher pay, to receive more than they already receive at home for the same work done; to thusly solve the existing material problems, or to improve their existing material situation.

This shows that the Moldovan work force is becoming more “capricious”. In the conditions of globalization, it begins to think outside of the categories of its country, labor-market, and income, and begins to compare the socio-economic situation, parameters, and living standards of its own country to those abroad. It makes the choice in favor of more profitable work, more adequate and humane living and working conditions, and the more humane and civilized attitude toward the individual, employee, and citizen that are prevalent in the accepting country.

As practice shows, there is also a third, most numerous, category of citizens. They participate in labor migration for other reasons. For them, the main factor that pushes them into migration is their desire to test themselves in labor activity abroad, to be like everyone else, to see the world and make money along the way. Herewith, parents are just as prone to following the fashion of labor migration, and oftentimes motivate their children to leave, to join labor migration.

Further, with the end of the 2000’s, just as it was at the beginning of the 1990’s, politics, the political situation, again becomes the push factor. Today this is expressed by the increasing political instability. Moldovan politics are one of the factors that force Moldovan citizens to leave in search of a better life and existence abroad.

2. The factors that condition the choice of country for labor migration

Even though the reasons for departure abroad are economic, the Moldovan migrant, when choosing the country for labor migration is not guided by chance, blind choice, or conjunction, as it often happened during the initial period of exploration of west-European countries. More often than not, the choice is conscious, conditioned by the influence of different factors.

Firstly, there's the Romanian factor¹. Moldovans speak the same language as the Romanians. Many Moldovan citizens have relatives in Romania, communication with whom in the conditions of the soviet period was quite difficult. After the fall of Ceausescu's regime in Romania, and the collapse of the USSR, communication between Moldova and Romania became free. The amount and intensity of human contacts increased. A significant part of Moldovan citizens have permanently moved for residence to Romania. Studying in Romanian lyceums and universities is becoming popular among Moldovan youth. Upon completion of studies, many remain to live in Romania. The Romanian citizens who took part in labor migration into EU countries in the late 1980's – early 1990's are including their Moldovan relatives into their social networks. They are the people who influenced the Moldovan choice of country for labor migration in the EU. This in particular means Italy.

Secondly, there's the factor of presence of work, high income. Practice has shown that the presence of work, of available work places on the labor market of the accepting countries has a positive influence on the policy of migrant acceptance and integration. In this regard the experience of Portugal, who in 2004 had to conduct the European Football Cup and was in need of construction workers, is indicative. Seeing as how Portuguese salaries are among the lowest of the EU-15 countries, Portugal was forced to orient itself onto third country migrants, including the illegal ones. This acted as the pull-factor, determining the Moldovan (and Ukrainian) citizens' choice of Portugal as of the destination country for labor migration at the end of the 1990's – beginning of the 2000's.

At the end of the 2000's, a similar pull-factor for labor migrants was demonstrated by Germany, who was experiencing a construction boom in Berlin, and in other German cities. Additionally, Moldovan labor migrants are attracted by the high salaries, and the German state's developed labor market.

Thirdly, there's the lingual/ linguistic factor. The Moldovan population speaks a language of the Romance (Latin) group. When choosing the country for labor migration, the Moldovans often went by their linguistic preferences, their knowledge of the country's language. This was best demonstrated in the case of labor migration to the countries of the Latin world (Portugal, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Belgium, Luxembourg, and others.). Lingual integration is an important moment of a migrant's social adaption and integration. Practice has shown that Moldovan labor migrants master a spoken language of the Romance group over a period of 2-3 months without having to attend specialized courses [7].

¹ We are outlining the Romanian factor as a standalone because it is a multi-leveled factor that factually includes several factors (language, family emigration, social networks, presence of work, study migration, et al.)

Fourthly, there's the educational factor, level and quality of university studies in the European Union countries, the value of a European diploma. Herewith, it should be taken into consideration that the France was the initial country for educational migration. In the Moldovan-language schools of Moldova, French was the main foreign language to be studied since back in the soviet days. It was taught very well. Most students would possess it at spoken level. Since the late 1990's, Moldovan graduates travel to study in French universities more and more often. Upon completing their studies, they find employment in France. This leads to the formation of a certain specific of France when compared to the rest of the EU countries. According to the experts, France is the country of elite Moldovan labor migration [4].

This tendency works even today when France is chosen as the country for immigration. We should note that today, France is not the only country where people travel to study. More and more often, young people travel to the UK, to Germany, and to other countries to study. Departure for studies with the purpose of obtaining the education of an EU university is becoming a mass phenomenon with the second half of the 2000's.

When recognizing the irrefutable importance and value of these phenomena and processes, at the same time one should not overestimate this striving to obtain western university education. Research shows that for the majority of young people and their parents, educational migration is tied not to the desire to obtain a more prestigious and quality education that would broaden the prospects for better employment both abroad and at home.

Fifthly, there's the factor of family migration. Moldovan labor migrants have demonstrated a high level of integration in the European Union. In the 2010's there began the process of mass reintegration of labor migrant families. Herewith, this process concerns not just the children, but also the parents of labor migrants. Most fully and clearly, this process can be seen on the example of Italy. Family reunification indirectly affects labor migration. However, it has a positive effect on labor migrant integration, on their labor activity.

Sixthly, and last, but not least – there's the social networks factor. The presence in the destination country of formed social networks, of multiple relatives and friends that provide information, material and psychological help at the first stage of a migrant's adaptation, and help with employment. Moldovan citizens, with the help of Romanian labor migrants, discovered Italy form themselves. In Italy, there quickly began to form Moldovan communities that, in turn, began to attract new Moldovan labor migrants through social networks. Herewith, the Moldovan social networks oftentimes acted as a pull factor for the Ukrainian labor migrants as well.

3. The main channels of Moldovan labor migration into the EU

Firstly, there's legal entry into the EU countries using tourist visas or official invitations to different kinds of cultural or sporting events, educational programs, etc. Initially, in the 1990's – early 2000's, this was the primary mechanism of legal entry into the EU. However, as practice has shown, the Moldovan pseudo-tourists would not return home and would stay and work in the destination countries illegally. They were identified and deported.

The presence of multiple pseudo-tourists has resulted in the border officials of many EU countries to develop the belief that Moldovan citizens travel to the EU not to see the countries' cultural heritage and landmarks, but rather to find illegal employment. Many countries introduced sanctions in regard to Moldovan tourist agencies and tourists. Spain, upon facing Moldovan pseudo-tourism, closed its doors to tourist agencies and forbade entry to tourists from the Republic of Moldova.

Secondly, there's the illegal crossing of borders with forging of documents, or in the "green zone". Such people have been stopped and deported. But they would again try to reach the EU and find employment. According to our research, during the 1999-2011 period, there have been identified about half million cases of violations of border control, and of the stay regime in the EU committed by Moldovan citizens [1]. However, this did not mean that all the Moldovan migrants in the EU were irregulars. In 2001, the Moldovan authorities proved to the representatives of European bodies that the overwhelming majority of migrants would enter the EU legally. But in the EU countries, they would remain illegally, and would work without having an official permit.

Thirdly, there's entry into the EU via true passport (ID card) of an EU country. Starting with the second half of the 1990's, there begins the process of Moldovan's obtaining foreign citizenships. This process becomes especially massive during the third millennium, in the 2000's. This was aided by the following circumstances: on the one hand, it was the complication of the process of obtaining an EU tourist visa. This is mentioned above, and is explained by the distrust of the law enforcement bodies of the EU member-states toward the Moldovan citizens' tourist aspirations.

On the other hand, it was the policy of Romania and Bulgaria on granting their citizenships ("restoring historical justice") to the citizens of Moldova, Basarabian natives, who were citizens of Romania up to the mid 1940's, and their descendents. In Bulgaria's case, citizenship was also granted via simplified rules to ethnic Bulgarians and Gagauzians, residents of the Republic of Moldova whose ancestors moved out of historical Bulgarian lands. According to experts' estimations, more than 700 thousand Moldovan citizens are citizens of Romania and about 70 thousand are citizens of Bulgaria [9]. We should also mention the passports of the Baltic States, of Poland, Czechia, and others, and their Moldovan owners, who were significantly less in number.

Another important moment is the liberalization of the Republic of Moldova's policy in the field of citizenship, undertaken under the influence of the European Union. In 2002, the Moldovan authorities permitted double citizenship, and also allowed the possession of two Moldovan passports per citizen at the same time.

We should note that today, the vast majority of Moldovan citizens stay and work in EU countries on the basis of a Romanian passport. This is the main channel of admission and stay in EU countries.

Fourthly, there is the arrival and labor activity in EU countries based on a labor contract. It should be noted that it is also one of the channels of migration into the EU. However, it did not receive a mass spread, on account of the aforementioned option of obtaining EU countries' citizenship, namely the citizenship of Romania.

Herewith, this mechanism had several variants of realization. The first variant was tied to the legalization of the labor migrant that arrived via tourist visa and worked and stayed in the destination country illegally. The employer's consent for the legalization of their Moldovan worker included the provision of a labor contract. In this case, the labor migrant was supposed to leave the country and re-enter it legally, via labor contract [10].

The second variant consisted of obtaining of the labor contract by a person who had not previously been to the destination country. The labor contract for that person was established by their relative or co-national who asked their employer and vouched for the professionalism and worthiness of the migrant from whom the contract was made. We should underline however, that experience has shown such services often being provided in exchange for money. People strove to make money this way [12].

The third variant was tied to the provision of labor quotas for Moldovan labor migrants based on the Italian government's yearly plan. In 2002, the quota was measured at 500 labor migrants. In 2007, the quota reached 6500 people. Factually, this was the legalization of Moldovan illegal labor migrants. The condition was the migrants' departure and legal re-entry [13].

The fourth variant is the variant of organized labor migration based on intergovernmental, inter-institutional and other agreements. Again, this variant was mainly used in Italy at the beginning of the 2000's. These labor migrants would enter the country legally. They really were guest-workers who received salaries, medical and social insurance, a place to stay, and were under the protection of the Italian and Moldovan governments. This form likewise did not receive wide spread [8].

Fifthly, there's entry into the European Union based on the existing EU visa-free regime with the Republic of Moldova. The Republic of Moldova obtaining the EU visa-free regime (2014) stimulated Moldovan migration into EU

countries. The visa-free regime turned out to be another channel for labor migration of the Moldovan population [11]. It is known that the visa-free regime allows free stay in EU countries for up to 90 days over a period of 6 months. However, it does not grant the right of employment during the time period. But, the visa-free regime opened the doors for migration of the marginal and impoverished layers of Moldovan society. They saw the visa-free regime as a means of illegal / semi-legal employment for a period of up to three months. The majority of illegally employed Moldovan citizens strive to not break the 90 day rule, fearing punishment for violating the visa-free regime. However, practice has shown that there is a certain, small portion of labor migrants that wittingly commits transgressions. They are being deported and forbidden entry into the EU in accordance to the established rules and procedures.

4. Moldovan communities in EU countries (case study of Italy, Germany, Portugal, and the UK)

How many Moldovan migrants are there in the European Union and in which countries do they reside? There is no definitive answer to this question. However, experts are leaning toward the idea that the total number of Moldovan labor migrants in Russia and the European Union is between 700 thousand and 1 million people. Herewith, the second number is considered more probable.

With the beginning of the 2000's, Moldovan labor migration begins to develop under the influence of two regional migration systems: the Commonwealth of Independent States (its center - Russia) and the European Union. Russia was, and still is the main destination for the Moldovan's labor migration. Herewith, in the two recent decades, labor migration into the European Union demonstrated a steady tendency of growth.

In 2008 66% and 34% of all the Moldovan labor migrants were oriented onto the CIS (Russia) and the European Union accordingly [5; 6]. By 2013, the quota of long-term migrants into the CIS (Russia) was of 56% (EU - 44%). By 2015, their quota decreased to 44%. The EU's share, on the other hand, increased to 56%. Changes are happening in the case of short-term migrants as well. In 2015, the share of Moldovan short-term migrants in the EU increased from 10% to 22%. At the same time, in Russia it decreased from 90% to 78% [15, p.4-5].

The reason for such drastic changes is tied to the fact that starting with 2014, Russia has been experiencing an economic crisis that affected the reorientation of the significant part of Moldovan labor migrants - their return home, and re-departure to the EU. At the same time, we should note that the changes in the Russian Federation's migration policy likewise had a negative impact on Russia's attractiveness. In 2014, the European Union introduced the visa-free regime for the citizens of the Republic of Moldova, which was something that

facilitated labor migration of Moldovan citizens into the European Union countries.

Practice has shown, and sociological research confirmed the presence of an important tendency of the primary stage of Moldovan labor migration to both Russia and the EU. People would initially go to capitals and big cities where it's easier to evade the police, find a place to stay, find work, and get better salaries. Thus, in 2006, 2/3 of all Moldovan labor migrants were focused in 10 capital and major cities (Moscow (Russia), Rome (Italy), Saint-Petersburg (Russia), Istanbul (Turkey), Odessa (Ukraine), Paris (France), Milano (Italy), Lisbon (Portugal), Padua (Italy), and Tyumen (Russia) [6, p.6]. However, gradually, a new tendency begins to show - the migrants' spread throughout the entire country, their familiarization with the country's other regions.

Among other trends, we can list the Moldovan labor migrants' gender preferences in choosing the destination country. This was motivated primarily by the situation on the accepting country's labor market, the need for male and female labor.

Moldovan migration geography is the following: Italy, Czechia, Germany, Greece, France, Ireland, Spain, Portugal, Romania², and the UK. Based on the sociological research conducted by us in 2016-2017 in Italy, Germany, Portugal, and the UK, we will characterize Moldovan labor migration in these European Union countries [9]. We will evaluate the process of formation of Moldovan communities on the example of four countries in which the Moldovan labor migrants have the most mass representation. These countries are Italy, Germany, the UK, and Portugal.

The choice of these countries in particular is conditioned by the following circumstances.

Italy is the second, after Russia, mass consumer of Moldovan labor migrants. This is a country of traditional emigration of population. Italy possesses many years of experience of tolerance and openness to immigrants. Portugal was one of the first countries to which the Moldovan labor migrants have set course, where Moldovan communities abroad began to form. Its place "at world's end", the high volumes of the Portuguese population's emigration, and the interest in work force all resulted in one of the most well thought-out and tolerant policies in the field of immigrant integration of all the European Union (according to the results of MIPEX, in the regard to immigrant integration, Portugal is one of the leaders, alongside Sweden) [1]. Germany has a great economic potential, a massive labor market, and a developed social benefits sys-

² Romania, for the most part, is a country of study migration. Moldovan citizens are studying in this country's lyceums and universities, are obtaining internationally-recognized diplomas, and afterward, join labor migration into the EU-15 countries. A certain (smaller) part of the graduates remain and work in Romania.

tem. The German direction of Moldovan labor migration is one of the more quickly developing and promising. This also is the case with the UK, where there are quickly forming Moldovan migrant communities. Herewith, in this country, the Moldovan migrants focus not just in constructions and nursing services, but also in the banking and financial sector, in the field of informational technologies, and in business [9].

Italy. In Italy, in 2016, according to the official data of the Italian Ministry of Labor, there have been more than 150.000 Moldovan citizens who were in possession of the country's residence permits. In truth, their numbers are significantly higher because many of them are staying in the country based on a Romanian, Bulgarian, or another EU country's passport. In the conditions of the EU visa-free regime, many Moldovan citizens arriving into Italy with the biometric passport are getting illegal employment, covering up for their co-nationals who travel back to Moldova on vacation or to get medical treatment.

Furthermore, starting with the mid 2010's, there began the process of obtaining of Italian citizenship by the Moldovan migrants, both through naturalization, and through marriage to Italian citizens. In total, this is already a significant number, estimated at 15-17 thousand people. That being said, the number of Moldovan citizens (including those in possession of EU member-states' passports), of labor migrants, according to the estimations of Italian experts, is getting close to 240 thousand people. The Moldovan experts agree with this number, and bring up their arguments in favor of this: according to the data of the Moldovan airlines "Air Moldova", among the passengers of Italian flights, flying from Chisinau, the number of possessors of Romanian passports makes up 40% of all the passengers.

Herewith, before 2014, there was a univocal tendency of growth of the number of Moldovan migrants in Italy. However, the economic crisis that affected Italy in the late 2000's and the mid 2010's has lead to the change of this trend. This is tied to the economic and migration crises in the EU, accompanied by the harshening of migration policy, in Italy as well; and with the Moldovan migrants obtaining Italian citizenship.

In Italy, in the gender structure of Moldovan migrants, women are predominating [2]. They make up 2/3 of all Moldovan labor migrants in the Republic of Italy. In Italy, all the age groups of the Moldovan population are present. However, migrants of working ages - between 24 and 49 years - are predominating. Among the Moldovan migrants, more than 30 thousand are children, minors. At the same time, Italian statistics show that among the Moldovans there have been registered more than 10 thousand mixed families. Marriages are registered with Italian citizens, the citizens of other EU countries, and with the citizens of third countries from outside the EU.

Moldovan labor migrants are located in all of Italy's zones. However, they are located unequally: in the North-East - 51,5%, in the North-West - 23,6%, in the Center - 21%, in the South - 3,6%, on the islands - 0,4%. Among the most attractive regions, the following can be outlined: Venice (28,3%), Emilia-Romagna (18,7%), Lombardi (14,2%), Lazio (10,6%), Piedmont (8,2%).

The Moldovans in Italy are engaged in the service sector (especially, house services and care for the elderly and the sickly) - 2/3, in constructions and industry - 22.1%, and in fishing and agriculture - 5.2%. An insignificant part of them are engaged in business. The Moldovan women are, in the vast majority of cases, engaged in the field of home service, care for the sick and the elderly, and in the field of hotel business. Men are engaged in constructions, transport, fishing, and agriculture.

At the same time, there is a noticeable process of diversification of fields of activity, which is caused by the fact that the number of Moldovan citizens who've received education in Italy is increasing [9]. Many Moldovan citizens (in the context of the Italian authorities' policy of recognition of migrants' qualifications and diplomas) have managed to nostrify their diplomas, to find employment in accordance to their qualifications, in different field of the Italian society. Sadly, a large part of Moldovan labor migrants is unaware that Italy recognizes Moldovan qualifications, and that there's no need for nostrify. As noted by experts, the process of recognition concerns only the diplomas of higher learning.

Germany. The main reason for Moldovan migration to Germany is economic. Among the motives for choosing this country as the destination country, we should note: Germany's economic and political potential as of EU's motor, stability and the developed system of social benefits and integration, capacious labor market, and high salaries, the high demand for work force, especially in the fields of construction, medicine, education, and informational technologies. Moldovan citizens are travelling to Germany to earn money. This is the most numerous group of migrants. Among the Moldovan migrants there are many doctors, programmers, people with high education and qualifications who find employment in accordance to their qualification and specialization.

In the recent years, there are an increasing number of Moldovan students in German universities. The absolute majorities of them, after graduating, are finding employment in Germany, and are not returning to Moldova. Experts note that it is often difficult to tell what the young people's goal is - to receive education in Germany, or to find employment, to use the received education. In this case, one speaks of the combination of short- and long term goals in the strategies of the Moldovan citizens who arrived to Germany to study. Experts say that none of them want, nor plan to return to Moldova. Furthermore, they

don't care about Moldova at all. The only ones to return will be those who will have family problems, or those whose families will insist on their return [9].

The number of Moldovan citizens in Germany, according to German statistics, is not high. In 2015, in Germany there have been about 15 thousand Moldovan citizens. According to experts' opinion, this makes up 25-30% of the true number of Moldovans in Germany as most Moldovan citizens are possessors of Romanian passports; they live and work as citizens of the European Union.

The age-sex structure of Moldovans in Germany includes all the age categories, although more than 40% of them are people of 25-45 years of age. As of the end of 2015, in Germany there have been registered more than 600 Moldovan children born within the accepting country's territory. Children are also born to asylum seekers. More than half (55%) of all Moldovan labor migrants are women.

The reasons of arrival to Germany (2015 data): work – 9,8%; study – 15,8%; family reunification – 64,7%; humanitarian issues – 9,8%. The most Moldovan citizens arrive to Germany for family reunification. We should note that herewith, beside the Moldovans who possess Romanian passports, statistics don't include those Moldovans who possess Italian and Portuguese citizenship and began moving to Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg, and other EU countries.

The most massive presence of Moldovan citizens is in the German capital of Berlin, in such lands as Bavaria (mainly in Munich), Northern Rheine-Westphalia (Dusseldorf, Cologne, Essen), Baden-Württemberg (Stuttgart), and Hessen (Frankfurt-on-Maine). The least Moldovans have been registered in the land Schleswig-Goldstein, in other northern lands, in Turing, and in the eastern lands (the former GDR) in general. This is because these German lands are falling back in their socio-economical development. There are fewer possibilities of employment than in the western lands [9].

At the same time, in Germany, there is a significant part of Moldovan illegal migrants.

Moldovan citizens are mostly employed in constructions and transport. There are also an increasing number of specialists occupied in the field of contemporary technology. Women are mainly active in the field of nursing services. However, unlike in the Mediterranean countries (Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Greece), the Moldovan labor migrant women are engaged in nursing services not at people's homes, but rather in the system of social aids, in boarding houses, patient and retirement homes, and social service centers, which is due to a different system of social care (Germany, Sweden, Austria, Denmark, and others) [3]. Women, who received German education and speak the German language, work in the education field (schools and pre-school institutions). Many young Moldovan doctors, learn the language and begin working by spe-

cialization. Quite a few Moldovans work in the field of culture - musicians, painters, dancers.

Portugal. The reason for the Moldovan citizens' migration to Portugal was economic. People were trying to survive in the conditions of the crisis and worsening living conditions; they were hoping to provide their families material well-being. Labor migration of the Moldovan population into Portugal begins at the end of 1990's, attains mass character, and reaches its peak during the second half of the 2000's. Portugal is a country on the opposite side of Europe, and in order to reach it, one must cross the entire European continent, the other, bigger and richer EU countries. This country, where "the land ends", with its small labor market and relatively low salaries (compared to the rest of the EU-15 countries) turned out to be one of the most attractive EU countries. The reason for this is that Portugal, a country of traditional and multi-year emigration (alongside Italy, Spain, and Greece), thus characterized by the Portuguese population's high level of tolerance of migrants, and was preparing to host the European Football Cup of 2004. In regard to this, the country's infrastructure began to quickly develop; massive constructions of not only stadiums, but of roads, hotels, and housing took place. This football impulse gave the country's development a strong kick even after hosting the European Cup. Striving to compensate for the minuses of their country's low salaries, distance, and outskirts nature, the Portuguese authorities adopted and implemented a tolerant migration policy, oriented toward the integration of migrants into Portuguese society [2].

Most Moldovan migrants, territorially, settled in the country's capital Lisbon (more than a third of all the migrants). In general, the number of Moldovan labor migrants in the country's center was of about half of the total number. Furthermore, the Moldovan migrants were spread in the provinces Faro-Algarve and Santarem. However, over time, the Moldovan citizens' settlement of Portugal changed somewhat. The most numerous Moldovan community formed in the country's South, in the city/ region of Faro, where there lived and worked about a third of all the Moldovans in Portugal - 7 thousand people (men – 57.5%, women – 42.5%). On second place was Lisbon (a quarter of all Moldovan migrants, of which men made up 56%, and women – 44%). Next was the central region of Santarem-Setubal, adjoining the Lisbon region – about 5.5 thousand people. In the other regions, the Moldovan labor migrants' population did not exceed a hundred people (in each, accordingly).

By age, the Moldovan labor migrants were young people. The vast majority of them were between 20 and 40 years of age. Most of them were women. In 2005, their share was of about 63% (men - 37%, accordingly). The fields of their activity were traditional for migrants: men - constructions, transport; women - home services, nursing of the sickly and the elderly.

In 2006, the number of Moldovans has sharply increased and officially made up more than 12 thousand people. The number of men made up 64%, whereas the share of women decreased to 37%, although in absolute numbers, their number increased two-fold and made up more than 5.5 thousand people.

In 2008, the highest number of Moldovan labor migrants in the Republic of Portugal had been reached. Officially, in Portugal, there were more than 21 thousand people, of which more than 12 thousand were men (57%) and about 9 thousand were women (43%). Including the illegal Moldovan labor migrants in Portugal, the Moldovan community was estimated to include from 25 thousand to 30 thousand people.

Since 2009, the number of Moldovans in Portugal begins to decrease. According to official data of the Portuguese Border and Foreigner Service, their number in that year was of slightly more than 15.5 thousand people, of which there were more than 8.3 thousand men and 7.3 thousand women.

The decrease of the number of Moldovan citizens in Portugal continues. In 2009, as noted above, there were 15.641 people, in 2010-2011 – 13 thousand people each, in 2012 – 11 thousand people, in 2013 – 9.471, in 2014 – 8.460. In 2015, there have officially been registered 6.948 Moldovan citizens. The increase of Moldovan citizens in these years made up only a few hundred people. Thus, in 2015, only 230 Moldovan citizens immigrated to Portugal. A Moldovan expert from among the labor migrants in Portugal explains the situation with the Moldovan labor migrants in this country thusly: "In 2014, in Portugal there legally were 25.000 Moldovans. Currently (the beginning of 2016) legally there are 6.000 Moldovan citizens. This results in the opinion that we've departed. But this is an erroneous impression. In truth, most of us have Portuguese citizenship. I think that these numbers today are not real. The most Moldovans are in the South, in the country's tourist center: in Algarve, Faro, Portimao, et al. Many Moldovans are located in the center of the country. There is a big concentration in Cascais and Sintra zones. ... People are employed in different domains. Women usually provide home services because they have more flexible work hours there. Many work in shopping centers. Those who received a diploma in the field of medicine, and managed to nostrify them in Portugal, work here by profession. I have nostrified my teacher's diploma, but I do not work by profession because the salary is low. Men work in the field of constructions. Today, many specialize in the field of insulated glazing. I know many men who are engaged in the production of doors/ windows. Some have even opened mini-factories of furniture production"[9].

We should note that the overwhelming majority of Moldovan labor migrants in Portugal have a high educational and professional background, which facilitates their integration into Portuguese society. About 25% of the migrants possess higher or secondary specialized education, 25% - secondary specialized

education, and the rest (half of the migrants) - general secondary education. Cases when people lack basic or any kind of education are very rare.

The main group is migrants of 25-45 years of age. However, there is a noted increase of very young people. This phenomenon has become particularly noticeable once the Republic of Moldova received the EU visa-free regime. Young people arrive via biometric passports, marry their migrant friends who are already established in Portugal, they make families, and give birth to children.

Experts consider that this can be explained by, first of all, the chance to obtain Portuguese citizenship. "According to the legislation of the Republic of Portugal, Moldovan citizens may obtain Portuguese citizenship after six years and one day of legal stay in the country. We note that among those who've arrived to Portugal in 2000-2009, a significant part of Moldovan citizens correspond to this criterion. If their stay is legal, they meet all of the demands posed by the state: they pay taxes, they have a labor contract, are officially registered, etc. Being granted Portuguese citizenship is one of the reasons for the decrease of Moldovan citizens in Portugal. In other words, a significant part of Moldovan citizens have managed to obtain a second - Portuguese - citizenship". As result, the leveling of the demographic structure of Moldovan migrants in Portugal is taking place.

Another reason is that Portugal, in 2008-2015, faced multiple economic problems and the deterioration of the labor market situation due to the fact that many Moldovan citizens began to look for other variants for migration. Some (a minority) have returned home. The majority -migrated to other countries, but as citizens of Portugal. Research shows that the Moldovans from Portugal began to depart to the UK, to Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg, Andorra, Brazil, Angola, and Guadeloupe. This primarily concerns men. Women are staying in Portugal where, during the many years of living in this country, property had been purchased, bank loans and credits had been taken, and children had been enrolled to study in Portuguese schools and universities. We should note that the orientation of migrant-men toward constructions and of migrant-women toward the service sector (hotel, house, and nursing) remains even today [9].

The UK. The UK is a country that poses interest to the Moldovan labor migrants [2]. According to the estimations of the Consulate, and the British statistical data, the number of Moldovan citizens in the United Kingdom and in Northern Ireland approaches a number of 30 thousand people. The majority of Moldovan citizens (90-95%) are staying in the UK based on the passports of EU countries, of Romania and of Poland. At the same time, the Moldovan citizens of Russian background possess the passports of the Baltic States. Many among the Moldovan migrants have arrived from Greece, Portugal, Spain, Cyprus, Italy, and other countries, where they received local citizenships and became EU

citizens [9]. A certain (lesser) part of Moldovan labor migrants only possess Moldovan citizenship, stays and works in the UK on the basis of labor contracts or have a British visa (more than 1.800 people). These people have legal status, residence, and employment. At the same time, we should note that there are many cases of Moldovan citizens (both those who hold a Moldovan passport, and those who hold the passport of an EU member-state) obtaining British citizenship / passport. During the period of 2000-2016, British citizenship was granted to several thousand Moldovan citizens, herewith, in 2016 alone, it was granted a few hundred people.

Moldovan citizens are engaged in different fields of life of British society. Aside from the more traditional labor migrant fields such as constructions for men, and the service sector for women, Moldovan labor migrants can be found in business, in the financial sector, in medicine, education, informational technologies, and the hotel complex. Moldovan labor migrants can be found anywhere. Many Moldovans are employed in the airport system, and in other fields (the company Amazon, and others).

The reason for this is that in the UK there is "a different context than in Italy or in other countries where emigrants from the Republic of Moldova travel. The Anglo-Saxon tradition, for the most part, focuses on meritocracy. It is easier to move up the hierarchic ladder here. In countries such as Italy, Spain, or France, it is more difficult to build a professional career without having connections, friends, or relatives. Here, on the other hand, they are interested in one's abilities and professional training, the added value created for the company. The historical context of the British Empire likewise has influence. It's true that in politics and in business, the university you graduated from - Easton, Oxford, Cambridge, Westminster, etc. - helps you. The Moldovans, who put effort, are climbing up the social ladder. This especially means the field of business. Here, compared to Italy, there are more people with high professional training [9].

The UK is a country with a developed economy and a large labor market. It can absorb a significant number of emigrants. Thanks to this, the number of Moldovan migrants in the UK increased, and continues to do so.

5.The socio-demographic portrait of the moldovan labor migrant (based on the results of the sociological study conducted in 4 EU countries)

What does the contemporary Moldovan labor migrant in the European Union represent? Our survey has confirmed that the absolute majority of migrants are people of working age. The ration of people below the age of 30 is of 40%, whereas the number of people below 40 makes up 63.2%, in other words, more than 3/5 of the total number of respondents.

Table 1. Division of Moldovan migrants in destination countries, by age

Age	IT	PT	DE	UK
18-30 years	31.7%	52.6%	73.0%	36.4%
31-40 years	25.4%	18.4%	12.4%	36.4%
41-50 years	24.6%	26.4%	12.4%	21.1%
51+years	18.3%	2.6%	2.2%	6.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The young contingents of Moldovan labor migrants predominate in Germany and Portugal. By migrant age, it was possible to identify two groups of countries. The first group of countries (Germany, the UK, Portugal), where there is a predominance of younger people, and Italy, where people of older ages are more prominent.

The reasons for this are the following. Germany is just beginning to open, thus in it, there is a predominance of the younger ages, needed in constructions, more prone to social risks, and possessing Romanian citizenship. Likewise, these countries have a large number of Moldovan students. The UK opened up its labor market to the Moldovan migrants earlier, but likewise with the help of the Romanian passport. Herewith, in the UK, there is a demand of more qualified work force. The high share of Moldovan migrants in Portugal, in our opinion, is explained by the fact that a process of substitution is taking place there, many Moldovan migrants of older ages, upon receiving the Portuguese citizenship migrated temporarily, or emigrated to other EU countries, where there are higher living standards and salaries. At the same time, their children have grown up and entered the period of creation of their own families. Often times, they form families with Moldovans.

We should note that the data obtained by us corresponds to the data obtained during the course of the sociological research of 2012 [2]. Changes were noted only for Germany and Portugal, where there is an increasing share of young people, aged below 30. Our explanation is relevant upon comparing the results of the 2012 survey.

Table 2. Division of Moldovan migrants in destination countries, by sex

Sex	IT	PT	DE	UK
Men	29.4%	47.4%	65.2%	60.6%
Woman	70.6%	52.6%	34.8%	39.4%

It should be noted that among the Moldovan migrants there is an almost equal representation of men and women, with a slight predominance of female migrants. However, in the country section, the situation is not so univocal. The predominance of men among migrants is seen in Germany (almost by 2), and in

the UK (by 1.5). This demonstrates that in Germany there is a demand of working hands in constructions. In the UK, this is primarily in the computer technologies sector, where the majority of workers are men.

In Italy, the situation is characterized by the predominance of women (more than by twice). This is explained by the demand of woman labor in the field of home services, nursing of the sickly and the elderly, and the existing model of social and medical services. Here, care for the sick and elderly family members is the obligation of their relatives, whereas in Germany, as we have already mentioned, this is done by the state. Portugal is characterized by the most balanced gender proportion among the Moldovan migrants.

A comparative analysis of the base demographic indexes of our research and the 2012 research shows that the results are quite similar by the migrants' sex, age, and family status. In regard to other indexes, it is more difficult to give a straight answer, considering the use of different methodology (sample, tools, et al).

When comparing to the 2012 research data, we should point out that the division by sex entirely coincides in Italy and Portugal, whereas the situation in the UK is changing (our research has shown that there is a trend in favor of increasing gender balancing) - male-migrants conduct family reunifications. In general, the family status index is likewise comparable between the two researches. However, among the British Moldovans, there is an increasing number of people living in civil marriage [2].

Table 3. Family situation of Moldovan migrants in the destination countries

	IT	PT	DE	UK
Single	24.0%	42.1%	59.6%	30.3%
Married, officially	59.2%	50.0%	29.2%	66.7%
Married, unofficially	3.2%	.0%	2.2%	.0%
Divorced	4.8%	5.3%	5.6%	3.0%
Widowed	8.8%	2.6%	3.4%	.0%

An analysis of the familial situation of Moldovan migrants shows that the highest share of unmarried migrants was registered among the Moldovan migrants in Germany. The share of such people makes up almost 60%. Also a high share of such people is among the Moldovans in Portugal (more than 40%). In the UK, people of such social status make up about 1/3 (a little over 30%). In Italy, the share of unmarried migrants is of a quarter.

More than half of the Moldovan migrants in the surveyed countries are people who are officially married. The highest index among Moldovans is in the

UK (2/3 from the total number). Italy is slightly behind (59.2%). In Portugal, every second Moldovan migrant (50%) is officially married.

The amount of people residing in unofficial marriage is rather low: Italy (3.2%), Germany (2.2%). In Portugal and the UK, according to our research, this index is null. We assume that this is the result of the patriarchic model of familial-marriage relations that is dominant in Moldova that discourages civil marriages.

Among the migrants, the category of people whose family status is defined as divorced or widower/ widow is quite well represented. The highest share of such people is found in Italy (13.6%). In Germany and Portugal, this index shows 9% and 7.9% accordingly; in the UK, it is of 3%.

Table 4. Education of Moldovan migrants in the destination countries

	IT	PT	DE	UK
Middle school (lyceum)	27.0%	34.2%	36.0%	9.1%
Professional school	34.9%	39.5%	23.6%	21.2%
Licentiate degree	15.9%	13.2%	20.2%	15.2%
Master degree	21.4%	13.2%	16.9%	54.5%
Doctor of science degree	.0%	.0%	3.4%	.0%

Analysis of the education status of the Moldovan migrants' in the surveyed countries shows that the level of education and qualification is quite high. The highest level is in the UK - more than 90% of the migrants are people who hold a university degree or people with completed training at professional school level. Every second migrant holds a master degree. The share of professional school graduates slightly surpasses 20%. Only 9% of the migrants hold a general secondary or lyceum degree.

This index is somewhat different in the other countries, but it's likewise high. In Germany, Portugal, and Italy, the share of such workers on average, makes up 2/3. Herewith, every second migrant has professional training at professional school level. Germany, where this index is lower (every fifth migrant), is an exception. The share of people without a higher education of professional training is estimated at 1/3 of the total number of migrants.

Table 5. Residence of Moldovan migrants in their home country

	IT	PT	DE	UK
Capital / city	28.6%	34.2%	36.0%	87.9%
Town	23.0%	26.3%	29.2%	9.1%
Rural settlement	48.4%	39.5%	34.8%	3.0%

Among the Moldovan migrants, there is a mass representation of natives from different localities (rural settlements, small towns, and big cities (the capital Chisinau, and the city Balti). Herewith, residents of the rural areas make up a number ranging from a third (Germany and Portugal) to half (Italy) of all migrants. The UK is an exception case, here the share of rural residents among the Moldovan migrants makes up on 3%.

At the same time, in the UK, there is an absolute predominance of residents of big Moldovan municipalities. Their share makes up almost 88%. In other countries this index is significantly lower, about 1/3. A quarter of the migrants originate the small Moldovan towns (25%). The UK is an exception again; here the share of Moldovan residents of small town settlements is of only 1/10.

Table 6. Residence of Moldovan migrants in the destination country

	IT	PT	DE	UK
Big city	29.4%	36.8%	30.3%	51.5%
Medium city	38.9%	50.0%	44.9%	30.3%
Small city	24.6%	13.2%	16.9%	12.1%
Rural settlement	7.1%	.0%	7.9%	6.1%

Residence of Moldovan migrants in big cities is characteristic of the UK, i.e. every second respondent. In the other countries, this index is lower: in Portugal - 37%, in Germany – 30%, in Italy – 29%. In Portugal, every second Moldovan migrant resides in medium-sized cities (50%); in Germany - 45%, in Italy – 39%, in the UK – 30%. In small towns resides every fifth migrant in Italy (25%), in Germany - 17%, in Portugal – 13%, in the UK – 12%. A very small part of migrants reside in the rural areas. Most often, they are focused in Germany (8%), Italy (7%), and the UK (6%). In Portugal, this was marked by no one.

Table 7. Who did you arrive with to the destination country?

	IT	PT	DE	UK
By myself	77.8%	65.8%	68.5%	63.6%
With family	15.1%	28.9%	18.0%	18.2%
With relatives	10.3%	2.6%	5.6%	0
With friends	0	2.6%	7.9%	3.0%
With acquaintances	1.6%	0	0	0

The majority of migrants are arriving to the destination country on their own. This was stated by 78% of the Moldovan migrants in Italy, 69% in Germany, 68% in Portugal, and 64% in the UK.

Specifying the question, we've found out that most often, these are the migrant's family members. In Portugal, this index was at 29%, in the UK and Germany - 18% each, and in Italy - 15%.

With close relatives, the members of the "greater family" (uncles, aunts, cousins) – 5.9%; the highest index is characteristic of Italy (10%). In the other countries, this index is significantly lower: Germany – 6%, and Portugal – 3%. The UK does not trace this index.

Friends and acquaintances make up 8% (7% - friends and 1% acquaintances) per the entire sample. We should note that significant numbers are registered in Germany (8%).

Surveying shows that most of the migrants have residence permits in their destination country. Portugal, Italy, and Germany show an index in the range of 84-87%. Only 13-16% of the respondents in these countries declared that they lack such a permit. In other words, they are irregulars.

In the UK the situation is somewhat different. The share of Moldovan citizens in possession of a residence permit in this country is lower, and makes up 63-64%. In other words, almost every third Moldovan migrant in this country does not have a residence permit.

Table 8. Presence of a residence permit in the destination country

	IT	PT	DE	UK
Yes	85.6%	86.8%	85.4%	63.6%
No	13.6%	13.2%	14.6%	36.4%
No answer	.8%	.0%	.0%	.0%

The absolute majority (89%) of Moldovan citizens in the surveyed countries work there. The highest index in this regard is among the Moldovan citizens in Portugal (95%). Somewhat lower are the indexes of the UK (88%), Italy (87%), and Germany (78%). This is explained by the fact that in these countries there is a significant number of Moldovan students who are the least involved in the process of work. Furthermore, if the first generation of migrants is almost completely engaged in work (the reason why they came to these countries), then among the second generation migrants, one can encounter people who are in no hurry to find employment, and are striving to find a job in accordance to their status and qualifications. Additionally, there's also the factor of increasing joblessness in the conditions of the crisis.

Table 9. Presence of work in the destination country

	IT	PT	DE	UK
Yes	87.3%	94.7%	77.5%	87.9%
No	12.7%	5.3%	22.5%	12.1%

Table 10. Length of the Moldovan migrants' work week in the destination country

	IT	PT	DE	UK
Up to 20 hours	.9%	2.8%	2.8%	0
20-36 hours	25.9%	22.2%	27.8%	10.3%
37-48 hours	41.1%	33.3%	44.4%	58.6%
49-60 hours	17.0%	27.8%	18.1%	27.6%
61-72 hours	3.6%	8.3%	5.6%	3.4%
73+ hours (up to 180 hours)	11.6%	5.6%	1.4%	0

Our survey has shown that the Moldovan migrants who are staying in foreign countries have work weeks of different lengths. The most common work week lasts 37-48 hours. About 38% of all Moldovan migrants work like that. In the UK, this is an average for 59% of all Moldovan migrants, in Germany – 44%, in Italy – 41%, and in Portugal - 33%.

The second most common work week lasts 49-60 hours. This is a norm for 28% of migrants in both Portugal and in the UK; in Germany – 18%, in Italy – 17% of all migrants.

The third most common work week lasts 20-36 hours. This is the work week for 28% of Moldovan migrants in Germany, 26% in Italy, 22% in Portugal, and 10% in the UK.

A work week that lasts 61-72 hours is also quite common. For the most part, this is characteristic of Portugal – 8%; in Germany this share equals 6%, in Italy - 4%, and in the UK - 3%.

Migrants say that they have to work even more hours than that per week. A work week of 73-180 hours is the norm for 12% of the migrants in Italy. In Portugal, there are 6% of such migrants, in Germany - 1%. Most often, a work week of this length is characteristic of those who provide house services of nursing the sickly or the elderly by the "24/ 24 hours" principle.

Table 11. Presence of a labor permit in the destination country

	IT	PT	DE	UK
Yes	80.0%	81.6%	77.8%	60.0%
No	18.3%	13.2%	19.4%	3.3%
No answer	1.7%	5.3%	2.8%	36.7%

The conducted survey has shown that the majority of migrants have labor permits. In general per sample, such a permit is had by the absolute majority of Moldovan migrants (81%). Although in particular countries, the situation is not as univocal. The highest percentage of people possessing a labor permit is found

in Portugal (82%). In Italy, there are fewer such people – 80%; in Germany – 78%, in the UK – 60%.

A definite answer of non-possession of a labor permit was given by 14% of the total respondents. Leading in this regard are Germany (19%) and Italy (18%). Portugal shows an index between 12% and 14%. In the UK, this index is of 3%. However, 37% of Moldovan migrants in this country had difficulty answering, or did not answer this question, which is something that makes one wonder of the reasons for this.

Table 12. Presence of work in the destination country in accordance to the available qualifications

	IT	PT	DE	UK
More	11.5%	22.2%	18.6%	.0%
Less	54.0%	47.2%	48.6%	48.3%
The same	32.7%	27.8%	31.4%	51.7%
No answer	1.8%	2.8%	1.4%	.0%

It is known that economic reasons force the migrant to emigrate in search of a higher income and of means for existence. Due to this, the migrant is often willing to engage in work that does not correspond to their level of education and qualification. At a pinch, the foreign citizen - the labor migrant - is less "capricious" in this regard.

Our survey confirmed this [14]. Basically every second of the surveyed Moldovan migrants is engaged in a job that does not correspond, or is lower their possessed qualifications. This picture can be seen in all the surveyed countries. In Italy, the share of such workers among the Moldovan migrants is estimated at 54%, in Germany – 49%, in the UK – 48%, and in Portugal – 47%.

At the same time, a significant part (38%) of the respondents claims that the job they are doing corresponds to their qualifications. The highest index in this regard is in the UK (52%). In the other countries, this index is lower: in Italy – 33%, in Germany – 31%, in Portugal – 28%.

Only 13% of the migrants state that the job they are doing is above their possessed qualifications. Indexes above average are in Portugal (22%) and Germany (19%); in Italy – 12%. In the UK, our survey did not record such cases.

Table 13. Average income of Moldovan migrants in the country of destination

	IT	PT	DE	UK
Less than 500 Euros	11.4%	11.1%	13.6%	6.3%
500-750 Euros	13.8%	19.4%	17.0%	3.1%
751-1000 Euros	30.9%	22.2%	17.0%	12.5%

1001-1500 Euros	29.3%	22.2%	36.4%	37.5%
1501-2000 Euros	12.2%	22.2%	13.6%	21.9%
More than 2000 Euros	.8%	2.8%	2.3%	18.8%
No answer	1.6%	.0%	.0%	.0%

Income in the destination country is both an important criteria of the efficiency of migration, and a condition of integration into the accepting society. The majority of migrants are located in the range with an average income between 500 and 1501 Euros per month. A significant part of the migrants have a monthly income of more than 1501 Euros. Herewith, it should be noted that such income is provided not just by the high salaries, but also by the pay for overtime work (prolongation of length of work day, work in two or more places, work with one or no days off, etc.).

By country, the situation is the following. In Italy, the majority of migrants (74%) are focused in the following three categories of income – from 500 to 1500 Euros. Herewith, 14% of the respondents have an income between 500 and 750 Euros; 31% - between 751 and 1000 Euros; 29% - between 1001 and 1500 Euros. Income above 1500 Euros is received by only 13% of the respondents. At the same time, 11% of the respondents have an income of less than 500 Euros.

In Portugal, the majority of the respondents (67%) are concentrated in the following three categories of income - between 751 and 2000 Euros. Herewith, in each category there are 22% of Moldovan migrants each. Income of more than 2000 Euros is only had by 3%. At the same time, in the category of up to 750 Euros, there are 30% of the respondents. Herewith, in the category of up to 500 Euros there are 11% of the respondents, and in the category of 500-750 Euros – 19%.

In Germany, the majority of migrants (70%) are concentrated in the following three categories of income - between 500 and 1501 Euros. Herewith, in the category 500-750 Euros there are – 17%, in 751-1000 Euros – 17%, and in 1001-1500 Euros – 36%. In the category of income of below 500 Euros there are 14% respondents. At the same time, in the 1501-2000 Euros category, there are 14%, whereas in the above 2000 Euros category – 2%.

The highest monthly income among the surveyed countries is had by the Moldovan migrants in the UK. The majority of the respondents (78%) are included in one of the three categories of income – from 1001 Euros and more. Herewith, 38% have an income between 1001 and 1500 Euros; 22% - an income of 1501-2000 Euros, and 19% - an income of more than 2000 Euros. At the same time, an income of up to 500 Euros is had by 6% of the respondents; 3% have an income of 500-750 Euros, and 13% have an income of 751-1000 Euros.

Table 14. Main sources of income for Moldovan migrants in the destination country

	IT	PT	DE	UK
Work / salary	85.7%	94.7%	77.5%	81.8%
Stipend	4.0%	.0%	10.1%	.0%
State benefits	.8%	.0%	4.5%	9.1%
Support from family back home	5.6%	.0%	5.6%	3.0%
No answer	4.0%	5.3%	2.2%	6.1%

In Italy, 86% of Moldovan migrants make up their monthly income from salaries; 4% - from stipends; 1% - from state benefits; and 6% - from aid provided by Moldova.

In Portugal, 95% of the Moldovan migrants make up their income from salaries. Other sources of monthly income forming have not been listed.

In Germany, 78% of the respondents form their income from salaries; 10% - from stipends; 5% - from state benefits; 6% - from aid provided by their families in Moldova.

In the UK, 82% of Moldovan respondents form their monthly budget from salaries; 9% point toward state benefits and 3% - to aid from their family back home.

Table 15. Presence of a valid Moldovan passport

	IT	PT	DE	UK
Yes	96.8%	89.5%	93.3%	93.9%
No	3.2%	10.5%	6.7%	6.1%
No answer	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%

At the same time, many Moldovan citizens have the citizenship (passports) of other countries. Double citizenship, as it's been mentioned before, is allowed by the Moldovan legislation. Our survey has shown that in all the surveyed countries, there is a significant mass of people who possess the citizenship of other countries. The highest index of presence of a second citizenship / passport is in the UK – 97%. In the other countries, this index is lower: in Germany – 72%; in Italy – 66%; in Portugal – 50%. This is due to the fact that one can enter the European Union countries based on a Moldovan biometric passport, and continuously stay there without any problems for a period of up to 90 days. At the same time, the Moldovan passport does not grant the right of employment in the EU.

Moldovan citizens are solving this by "restoring" their Romanian or Bulgarian citizenship. The Romanian and Bulgarian states grant Moldovan citizens

their citizenships based on historical or ethnic conditions. Their citizens, as EU citizens, have the right of employment in the EU. This is exploited by Moldovan citizens when they obtain their second citizenship from these countries.

The data from the table shows quite clearly that Moldovan migrants often possess the passport of another country in order to profit from certain advantages in the destination country, to solve the issues of their stay and employment.

Table 16. Presence of another country's citizenship (passport)

	IT	PT	DE	UK
Yes	65.9%	50.0%	71.9%	97.0%
No	34.1%	50.0%	28.1%	3.0%

The conducted survey has shown that 20% of the polled Moldovan respondents have the passports of the country of their stay. Herewith, the most massive this process is among the Moldovan respondents in Portugal (37%), in the UK – 21%, in Italy - 15%, and in Germany – 10%. These numbers allow one to assume that among the Moldovan migrants there are people who possess three citizenships.

Table 17. Presence of the citizenship (passport) of the country of residence

	IT	PT	DE	UK
Yes	15.4%	36.8%	10.1%	21.2%
No	84.6%	63.2%	89.9%	78.8%
No answer	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%

The conducted survey has shown that many Moldovan migrants would like to hold the citizenship of their country of stay. Of those who do not hold (in general per sample of Moldovan migrants - 81%) the citizenship of the stay/destination country, they would like to hold the citizenship of Italy – 63%; of Portugal – 85%; of Germany – 58%; and of the UK – 63%.

Table 18. Desire to obtain the citizenship/ to become a citizen of the country of residence

	IT	PT	DE	UK
Yes	63.1%	84.6%	58.0%	63.0%
No	34.2%	15.4%	40.7%	29.6%
No answer	2.7%	0	1.3%	.4%

Obtaining the citizenship of the country of stay expands the one's possibilities in different fields of activity. Furthermore, the presence of the residence

country's citizenship creates more favorable conditions for the migrants' integration into the countries' societies.

Integration into the country of stay is greatly facilitated by the presence of relatives. More so, relatives who reside with the migrant complicate the migrant's departure / return home, to the country of origin, to the Republic of Moldova. Presence of relatives in the country of residence has been marked by 58% of all the surveyed people. The highest index is in the UK (70%); in Italy – 64%, in Portugal – 61%; in Germany – 43%.

Table 19. Presence of relatives in the country of destination

	IT	PT	DE	UK
Yes	64.3%	60.5%	42.7%	69.7%

Table 20. What relative are there in the country of destination?

	IT	PT	DE	UK
Husband	19.7%	21.7%	12.5%	22.7%
Wife	11.3%	13.0%	5.0%	31.8%
Children	31.0%	30.4%	17.5%	50.0%
Parents	26.8%	21.7%	25.0%	9.1%
Siblings	63.4%	43.5%	55.0%	40.9%
Grandparents	.0%	.0%	2.5%	.0%
Grandchildren	5.6%	4.3%	2.5%	4.5%
Cousins	33.8%	34.8%	42.5%	27.3%
Uncles/ aunts	31.0%	8.7%	30.0%	.0%
Nephews/ Nieces	1.4%	.0%	10.0%	9.1%

Our survey has shown that many migrants have relatives who are part of both the simple ("nuclear") family, and of the expanded family, in the destination country.

The husbands of 23% of Moldovan migrants reside in the UK. The indexes of Portugal and Italy are also exactly the same - 22% and 20% accordingly. A significantly lower index is in Germany (13%).

In the UK there is likewise the highest index (32%) of migrants whose wives are in the destination country. Even though Portugal is, like in the first case, on second place, the number of migrants whose wives are in Portugal is significantly lower (13%). Similar is the index of Moldovan migrants in Italy (11%). In Germany, the index is twice lower (5%).

Children: In the UK, there is the highest index – 50%; in Italy – 31%; in Portugal – 30%. A lower index is in Germany (18%).

Data on the "nuclear" family shows that, according to the survey, in the UK there is the highest share of migrants who are residing in the destination

country with their family (spouse and children). The second and third indexes in this regard belong to Italy and Portugal accordingly.

Parents: The highest index of parents residing with their children is in Italy. 27% of the migrants point to this. In Germany, this index is equal to 25%, in Portugal - 22%, and in the UK - 9%.

Migrants' siblings have the most massive representation in the destination countries; in Italy – 63%; in Germany – 55%; in Portugal – 44%; and in the UK – 41%.

The second, by number, category of relatives staying in the destination / residence country are the cousins of Moldovan migrants. In Germany, 43% of the respondents point to this; in Portugal - 35%; in Italy - 34%; and in the UK - 27%.

The migrants in the destination counties have a massive representation of the big family representatives of the old generation – uncles and aunts. Their highest share is in Italy – 31%; and in Germany – 30%. Significantly lower this is represented in Portugal – 9%, and not represented at all in the UK – 0%.

Generalizing the results of the survey on this parameter, it should be noted that migration carries a familial character, is accompanied by the existence and formation of Moldovan communities where blood-relative ties run strong [9].

6. The main trends of moldovan labor migration into the EU

Upon researching the Moldovan labor migrations into the European Union, the following main trends have been identified:

Firstly, there is entry via tourist visa and illegal stay, and illegal employment in the European Union countries;

Secondly, there's the transformation of illegal status and labor activity into legal status via the legalization of one's stay and legal employment (residence permit, labor contract).

Thirdly, there's the obtaining of citizenship of the country of stay in the EU. Thus they become EU citizens with full rights and freedoms. Herewith, we should note that Moldovan citizens who hold Romanian passports and the community right to stay and work as EU citizens likewise strive to obtain the passport of their country of stay in the EU, to become a citizen of the said country.

Fourthly, the legalization of stay and labor activity in the EU spreads onto the process of legalization (nostrification) of diplomas of higher learning. Solving this problem provides employment in accordance to one's specialization and qualifications.

Fifthly, Moldovan labor migration in EU countries has the tendency to transform into labor emigration. People begin to not only study the language,

adapt to the life and work conditions, and the way of life and behavior, but begin to integrate in to the residence country's society as well.

Sixthly, Moldovan citizens, while staying in one of the EU countries are showing their willingness to migrate within the European Union. The reasons for such migrations are most often economical, motivated by the pull (higher salaries) or push (economic crisis) factors. Obtaining the citizenship of EU countries facilitates the labor mobility of Moldovan labor migrants inside the European Union.

Seventhly, the EU visa-free regime with Moldova affected the growth of Moldovan labor migration into European Union countries. Herewith, labor migration carries both illegal and legal character ("national labor visas). The legalization of short term employment of citizens, natives of third countries that have the EU visa-free regime will lead to the decrease of the processes of transformation of labor migration into labor emigration, and to the return home - to the country of origin - of citizens of third countries, including of citizens of the Republic of Moldova. In the EU countries, the labor migrants' return home will contribute to the increase of tolerance and to the decrease of migrantophobic attitudes within the local populations.

Conclusions

1. Moldovan labor migration in the European Union begins to develop with the second half of the 1990's. With the end of the 1990's - the early 2000's, it gains a mass character.

2. The main reasons for Moldovan migration into the European Union are economical. Herewith, these reasons underwent a certain evolution motivated by the maturing of the Moldovan work force in international labor migration, its recognition of its own capabilities and value.

3. The factors that determine the choice of country for labor migration are different, and for the most part, are typical for international migration, including labor migration. It's the migrants' desire to earn more money and to provide the increase of material well-being for themselves and their families; the lingual proximity; the presence of social capital, of relative connections in the destination country. The choice of country for labor migration, and the effectiveness of integration in it are subordinated to study and family migration.

At the same time, among the specific factors that determine the choice of country for labor migration, we should note the "Romanian factor" whose influence is multileveled, affects the policies of the Romanian state on granting ("restoring") Romanian citizenship, stimulating study migration into Romania, as well as the influence of the Romanian society, and the roles of social capital, social networks on the process of migration self-determination of Moldovan labor migrants.

4. In the process of labor migration, Moldovan citizens used different forms of entry and stay in the EU, such as tourist visas, illegal border crossing, illegal employment and legal individual and collective labor contracts, labor quotas, the visa-free regime and labor visas.

5. The process of formation of Moldovan communities in the European Union begins with the second half of the 1990's, and is becoming massive starting with the 2000's. Compared to Russia, the specifics of formation of Moldovan communities in the EU are tied to the fact that they are forming: a) almost entirely from scratch (before 1991, in EU countries there have not been any Moldovan communities: the only exception was Germany, where the ethnic Germans and Jews from Soviet Moldova were repatriated during the 1970-80's; b) based entirely on labor migration; c) in the overwhelming majority of cases via the long-term labor migrants.

The most attractive countries for Moldovan labor migration are Italy, Germany, France, the UK, Spain, Czechia, and Portugal. Italy is the absolute leader of attraction of Moldovan labor migrants. More than 240 thousand Moldovan citizens are located here. In the other countries, the number of Moldovan migrants is, at the very least, far smaller, and is estimated at several tens of thousands of people.

The formation of Moldovan communities in the EU corresponds to global practices: initially, the migrants are familiarizing themselves with the big and capital cities, gradually, migrant communities form in other regions as well, including in the accepting countries' rural areas.

Moldovan communities in the EU countries are forming primarily via labor migrants of young ages. Typical is, especially at the initial stage, the clearly defined gender focus, conditioned by the demands of the accepting countries' labor markets. However, the consolidation of migrant communities demonstrates the tendency to expansion of the range of the age structure and the alignment of the age/ sex structure of the Moldovan communities.

6. Moldovan labor male-migrants are mainly employed in the field of constructions. Women - in the field of house services and nursing of the elderly and the sickly. Gradually, the field of their labor activity begins to broaden. Among them, more and more often, workers from the field of informational technologies, the banking sector, education and medicine can be encountered. This is tied to the legalization of their status, them obtaining the citizenship of EU countries, and the nostrification of the diplomas they received in Moldova. Among the Moldovan labor migrants there are an increasing number of businessmen. However, even today, most migrants are engaged in jobs the status of which is below their level of education of qualifications.

Among the Moldovan labor migrants there is an increasing number of persons who hold double or triple citizenship. The tendency to obtain the citizenship of the country of residence is clearly noticeable.

The process of integration into the accepting society is characteristic of the Moldovans. This has been demonstrated by the processes of family reunification and of moving of migrants' parents and children into the EU countries that began in the 2010.

7. The analysis of the main trends of Moldovan labor migration into the European Union shows that Moldovan migrants are demonstrating the desire to integrate into the accepting society, to transform their status from illegal to legal, from unqualified to professional, that corresponds to the level of their education, qualifications, and working experience. From labor migrants they are becoming labor emigrants, changing their plans and strategies for the future. They are striving to become full-fledged citizens of their new homelands and have no desire to return to Moldova.

The EU visa-free regime with the Republic of Moldova creates new possibilities for Moldovan labor migration into EU countries. The number of Moldovan short-term labor migrants in the EU countries in the conditions of the visa-free regime has increased by more than twice. Temporary stay in the accepting country and labor activity, as a rule, do not affect the short-term migrants' plans to return home.

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17.08.2018