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European Union Migration Policies and Their Influence on Migration Flows from the Republic of Moldova During Contemporary Times

Abstract: The aim of this article is a conceptual analysis of labour migration policies in the European Union and their implementation in the EU member-states and the Republic of Moldova during contemporary times. The paper outlines the current trends of labour migration in both the European Union and in the Republic of Moldova; analyzes the genesis and essence of migration policies within the EU in the modern period; identifies the underlying problems of integration faced by Moldovan labour migrants in the hosting societies; and investigates issues related to the repatriation and reintegration of Moldovan labourers from the EU to their home country.

Keywords: Migration, migration policyes, models of migration policy, illegal migration, Mobility Partnerships, labour market, integration

Introduction

Currently, the obvious impact of globalization on international migration flows is reflected in the emergence of a new migration 'wave' arising from global geopolitical changes; globalization and intensification of migration processes in all world regions; stratification and feminization of migration; major global demographic changes; the impact of internation-

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al migration on the global policy agenda, etc. These factors demonstrate the need for a thorough analysis of the essence and main manifestations of this phenomenon.

At the European Union level, migration processes are the subject of increased official attention, conditioned by the impact of migration in economic terms, its demographic, political, and social aspects, as well as its effects on national and regional security. Thus in order to maximize the development potential of migration policies and labour mobility in the maintenance of economic growth and the level of welfare and social cohesion within the EU, there is a need to formulate and adjust policies that would allow for the effective regulation of migration processes at the European level under the actual conditions of globalization.

At the same time, considering the political sensitivity of the 'migration issue,' it seems that authorities and European institutions will continue to face difficulties regarding the implementation of a migration policy aimed at, in particular, attracting and integrating migrants.

In light of the above, it can be concluded that the EU Member States currently need and will continue to need a common approach to the development and implementation of appropriate policies in the economic field and with respect to labour migration, as well as the harmonization of existing and future policies with respect to migration and related fields, such as integration, education, science, high skills, growth, the labour market, legislation etc. Such a situation leads to the need for scientific substantiation of labour migration policies, both in the EU and in the context of globalization processes.

In order to carry out this task it is necessary to analyse migration policies in a multidimensional framework, ranging from some theoretical approaches (theories of international labour migration, the role of theory in explaining the current migration trends, etc.) to application approaches (in order to maximize the opportunities created by forced migration employment in the EU Member States and minimize the negative consequences of these processes).

It also becomes increasingly apparent that the successful implementation of migration policies in the EU depends on good cooperation with those third countries which are the source of migration flows, one of which is the Republic of Moldova.

The complexity of these phenomena, as well as the social, economic, demographic, and political importance of Moldovan labour migration into the EU, has led Moldovan authorities, academics, and experts in the field to search for a deeper understanding of the respective processes. This will allow them to formulate migration policies correlated with both

national and European realities, and integrate the multitude of labour migration aspects into the various programs and development strategies of the country.

1. Labour migration processes and migration policies in the period of globalization

The elaboration and implementation of migration policies within the EU is one of the most controversial topics in the current political debate. The EU has started to officially recognize that active labour migration of non-EU citizens plays an important role in Community efforts to develop an adaptable and highly skilled workforce, facilitating it in overcoming the challenges linked to demographic, social, and economic changes. This orientation is placed in the context of the highly competitive and globalized economy, and such labour migration must be dealt with, despite the current negative trends in the EU vis-à-vis immigration.

By summarizing the views of experts it is possible to deduce the following main areas of change in international migration:

A. The ongoing globalization processes and changes in both source countries and countries of destination of migrants

Globalization has sparked a debate about the impact of migration on the countries of origin. While the United States and Western Europe have remained among the most important destinations, there have also been significant movements of migration to other 'New World' countries (Australia, New Zealand and Canada), and to countries rich in petroleum within Persian Gulf (primarily from South and East Asia), reflecting a huge increase in demand for labour following the oil shocks of the 1970s.¹

The European mainland – a traditional *source* of migration – has now become a region *hosting* a mass of immigrants. Currently, every third international migrant lives in Europe, representing 8.7% of Europe's total population.²

B. The intensification of migration and/or acceleration of economic growth and migration processes in all regions of the world

This is due in large part to the increasing availability of new means of transport (particularly air transport), which facilitate the movement of

¹R. Münz, Migration, Labour Markets, and Integration of Migrants: An Overview for Europe, "SPD Discussion Paper", nr. 0807/2008, pp. 18–19.

² World Migration 2008. Managing labour mobility in the evolving global economy. IOM: World Migration Report Series, 2009, p. 184.

people and significantly 'shrinks' the distances between countries. The spread of the global Internet also accelerates the pace of technological diffusion, and makes it easier for potential immigrants to perceive the opportunities and challenges of potential destination countries. The Web also enables migrants to increasingly take advantage of existing opportunities for collaboration while they reside in their home countries (outsourcing, etc.), while at the same time seeking migration opportunities worldwide. In these circumstances, temporary work abroad is often an attractive option for migrants because it causes less material and other costs offers opportunities to earn good money. In addition, attracting highly-qualified temporary foreign workers is consistent with the migration policy promoted by most countries of destination. At the same time, this trend hampers national states' ability to control the migration flows across their own borders.³³

C. Stratification of migration

Nowadays, international migration processes are characterized by various forms of international migration (migration, repatriation, emigration to a permanent residence, refugees, internally displaced of persons, etc.). For example, if during the 1950s the number of refugees was estimated at two million, while in 2015 the total number of refugees reached the figure of 15.2 million. The year 2015 was characterized by an unprecedented wave of refugees flowing into the EU, mainly from the unstable Middle East region – the most massive influx of immigrants after the Second World War. Situations wherein the migrant circuit starts with one type of migration and ends up with an entirely different form have become typical. This stratification is one of the main obstacles to national states managing their share of international migration effectively.⁴

D. The feminization of migration

Women now account for almost half of all international migrants, and in some regions of the world they are even more numerous than men. The movement of men and women in the world economy is different however, with women being employed particularly in the field of services provision and in the cultural sphere. This makes women more vulnerable in terms of human rights abuses, because they are ac-

³ I. Aleshkovsky, V. Iontsev. *International migration tendencies in a globalizing world*, "Age of Globalization", nr 2/2007, pp. 77–87.

⁴ Globalization 101. Migration and Globalization, New York 2010, http://www.globalization101.org/uploads/File/Migration/migration2010.pdf, p. 9 (last visited 18.06.2015)

tive much more frequently in areas of unstable and illegal economies, including offering services at home and in the sphere of entertainment and the sex industry, where the rights of migrants are not protected by local labour legislation.⁵

E. The low birth rate and aging population in developed countries

The UN report on global population aging (updated to the period 2002–2007) showed that the number of people aged over 60 constituted 8% of the world population in 1950, rose to 11% in 2007, and is expected to reach 22% by 2050. The report points out that by 2050 the number of persons aged over 60 will constitute one third of the EU and US total populations. In the event such a scenario materializes, the share of working age people will be too small to support existing tax systems and ensure the normal operation of social programs related to public health and support for the elderly, which consequently will register a significant increase in costs due to the increasing number of elderly persons.

F. Globalization and the demand for workforce

The impact of globalization on labour force demand is ambiguous. On one hand, opportunities for social mobility have been created for those with scientific experience and the technical skills required for the new economy. On the other hand, we are witnesses to a process of redistribution of the remaining workforce in peripheral countries associated with a traditional economy.

These tendencies lead to different kinds of demand for labour in different regions. Thus, in the developed world, owing to its new economy there is a demand for highly qualified staff, while in the peripheral regions affected by the market economy there is a need for an industrial workforce, which in turn is badly paid but necessary for the economic growth associated with increasing industrial activities and production. The demand for a highly skilled workforce in countries hosting immigrants has increased and the demand for unskilled labour has moved to outlying regions, where there is much more than enough. When referring to highly qualified labour migration it is important to note its increased mobility compared to other types of international migration. The economists

⁵ Individual Submission for the Compilation prepared by the High Commissioner Office for Human Rights in accordance with paragraph 15(B) of resolution 5/1 of the Human Rights Council, March 2011, http://lib.ohchr.org/HRBodies/UPR/Documents/session12/MD/IOM-eng.pdf. (last visited 9.12.2013)

⁶ P. Li, *World Migration in the Age of Globalization*: Policy Implications and Challenges, "New Zealand Population Review", nr 33/34/2008, pp. 1–22.

F. Docquier and H. Rapoport have determined that while the average level of migration in the world is 0.9% for unskilled labourers and 1.6% for average skilled specialists, the level reaches 5.5% for highly skilled persons. For example, more than 500,000 scientists and programmers from Russia left the country after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. In Moldova the number of researchers in the Academy of Sciences decreased from 29,850 persons in 1990 to 4,794 in 2004. The main countries of their destination were Israel, Germany, the USA, Russia etc.

G. The inclusion of migration issues in the global political agenda

An ever broader and intensifying dialogue is taking place with respect to the need for changes in the global institutional framework in order to better serve the developing world in migration issues. In 2003, the UN General Secretary and a number of governments launched the World Commission on International Migration, which presented its final report in 2005.

In September 2006, the UN forced the first high-level dialogue concerning Migration and International Development, which led to the creation of the Global Forum for Migration. Nevertheless, at the same time more and more foreign affairs experts are sceptical about the possibility of building a global migration regime in the near future. The protection of migrants' rights has become an increasing priority, as well as the issue of protecting the rights of irregular migrants. But today there is still no common agreement at an international level that would promote universal policies on international migration, such as, for example, the principle of free trade enshrined in the World Trade Organization regulations. Russian researcher E. Tiurucanova has systematized the visions of many international experts and analyzed the broad meaning of the phrase 'migration policy', as follows:

- migration policy represents one of the distinct directions of state policy and is determined by the character of the polity and the objectives pursued by it;
- it represents the state doctrine or concept of regulating migration processes;
- it is indispensably linked to the implementation of economic, social, demographic, national, and cultural policies;

⁷ R. Talwar, Scenarios for the Global Economy and Implications for Migration, in: The Future of International Migration to OECD Countries. OECD Publishing, 2009, p. 283.

⁸ World Migration 2008, *Managing labour mobility in the evolving global economy*, IOM: World Migration Report Series, 2009, p. 562.

- it can be divided into 'real' and 'declared' policies. Declared policies aim to protect the interests of migrants and refugees, while real policies express the interests of the host state and the government elites.⁹

'Migration policy' in the narrow sense is geared towards changing the number, structure, and direction of migrants' movements, with a view toward influencing their integration, which is directly related to the demographic problem.¹⁰

The following basic conceptual models of migration policy have been identified:

- 1) The systemic model. Here migration policy is examined as part of the international political system. In this case, control over migration is interpreted as a structural necessity arising from the disparity between open market extra-state forces, typical of globalization, and closed forces confined to the state and its territory.

 In accordance with this vision, the efficiency of control measures implemented by states depends on the existence of an international
 - implemented by states depends on the existence of an international regime based on a so-called 'fixed liberalism', one which is focused on international agreements, especially in the field of human rights.
- 2) The pluralist model. In this model, migration policy is examined as a process characterized by a set of actuation forces from entrepreneurs to churches, from syndicates to ethnic associations seeking to gain concrete benefits, often ignoring the systemic quality of the whole.
- 3) The realistic model. The followers of this theoretical model believe that the priorities of the state are key to understanding the way in which it seeks to manage the migration flows.
- 4) The neo-corporativist model. Neocorporativist models in migration policy aim to adjust the transnational limitations to the national interests of countries of destination for migration flows.

 Neocorporativist models of migration policy aim adjusting the transnational constraints to national interests of countries of migration flows destination.
- 5) The communicative model. According to this model, migration policy is manifested by a system of communicative activities, which

⁹ E. Tyurukanova, Modern migration regime and particularities in the Russia in: Methodology and migration process studying methods. Interdisciplinary study guide, J. Zayonchkovskaya, I. Molodikova, V. Mukomel (eds.), Moscow 2007, pp. 96–113.

¹⁰ Ibidem, p. 220.

act as a mediation chain. In this approach, researchers focus rather on the social aspects of migration policy. A number of features of migration policy depend more on the policy background than on migration aspects.¹¹

The specifics of migration policy is also determined by its structure, which in the corresponding literature is divided into the following three segments:

- 1) 'Immigration policy' refers to issues linked with offering the right of permanent residence to persons of certain categories, with the right of control over illegal immigration and with various degrees of social security offered to legal migrants (and sometimes illegal as well);
- 2) 'Integration policy' refers to the inclusion of immigrants (primarily from other ethnic, racial, religious backgrounds) in the life of their country of residence;
- 3) 'Naturalization policy' refers to the conditions and procedures for granting citizenship to legal immigrants.¹²

In analyzing the characteristics of migration policies at the European level since the 1950s, when the EU foundations were laid, we can conclude that agreements entered into within the European community during the period 1950-1980 were aimed at regulation of migration processes in the EU Member States, demonstrating and realizing the importance of harmonizing this policy.¹³

The examination of these agreements makes it visible that the EU Member States are not yet fully prepared to renounce national approaches to the regulation of migration processes and implement a common European Immigration policy. This is especially true today, at the beginning of the 21st century, when EU Member States are facing a number of critical challenges in the field of migration, the solutions to which are of primary importance. These include:

- regulating the migration flows, which have gone from being an episodic phenomena to become a permanent factor in the EU;
- formulating and adjusting the EU policy with respect to illegal migrants and refugees;
- developing and implementing measures aimed at helping the migrants integrate into their countries of residence;
- identification of long-term solutions, with the goal of reducing the pressure of the demographic factor on economic development

¹¹ Ibidem, p. 221.

¹² Ibidem, p. 222.

¹³ Ibidem, p. 224.

(through international instruments in the field of investment, trade, and human rights).

Governments and EU institutions are increasingly accepting the impossibility of stopping migration, and instead are concentrating their attention on 'migration management'. In this context, debates concerning the migration policy took place as early as the late 1990s, focused on the search for a way in which migration and development policies can be combined so that the effects of migration would be positive for both the developed and developing countries.¹⁴

Thus, with the aim of efficiently managing the migration processes the EU's migration policies are conventionally divided into four groups: a) policies for the regulation and control of migration flows; b) policies to combat illegal migration and the illegal employment of foreign workers; c) policies designed to integrate immigrants; and d) policies for international cooperation in the migration domain.¹⁵

These policies are reflected in the Europenian Union directives, strategies and programmes, including the following:

- The Tampere programme (1999), which introduces a common asylum policy;
- The Hague programme (2005) for strengthening freedom, security and justice in the EU, followed by the Solidarity and Management of Migration Flows for the period 2007–2013 (2006). This program provides a balanced approach to legal and illegal migration, comprising measures to combat illegal immigration and trafficking, as well as concrete action plans, including the Plan concerning legal migration and migrants' integration, targeting, in particular, immigration from third countries, and includes the European Action Plan on job mobility in 2007-2010, which refers to professions and geographical mobility within the European Union;¹⁶
- The Global Approach to Migration (GAM), adopted by the European Council in 2005 and 2006, which covers all stages of migration and aims to harness the benefits of legal migration while establishing insurance policies to fight against illegal immigration and

¹⁴ E. Benedetti, EU migration policy and its relations with third countries: Russia, Ukraine, Belorussia and Moldova in: EU Migration Policy and its Reflection in Third Countries: Belarus, Moldova, Russia, Ukraine. ISCOMET Institute for Ethnic and Regional Studies. 2012, pp. 5–75.

¹⁵ D.L. Constantin, European perspective of approaching the asylum and migration in: Project SPOS 2008 – Strategy and Policy Studies. Study no. European 4. Institutul in Romania. Bucharest, November 2008. p. 7.

¹⁶ Ibidem, p. 11.

against human trafficking. As a political approach, the GAM was a well-balanced attempt to minimize the tensions surrounding the EU's migration policy, giving equal weight to all its components and aimed at merging the skills and resources of the EU and Member States. However, the different political interests of Member States seem to deform the policy. As expected, the former colonial powers and the southern EU Member States are more interested in protecting their position with respect to African partners, while the Member States from Central Europe focus on their cooperation with Eastern Europe, Russia, and the Caucasus;¹⁷

- The Stockholm Programme sets out priorities for the EU in the area of justice, freedom and security for the period 2010–2014. In accordance with the Programme, the EU will continue to develop its integrated border management, improve its policies concerning the issuance of visas in order to better access third country nationals in Europe, and guarantee the security of its own citizens.¹⁸

Based on the European Pact on Immigration and Asylum (2008), the EU must develop a flexible and comprehensive migration policy. This policy takes into account the needs of the EU labour market while reducing to a minimum the 'brain drain' from third countries. The need to apply vigorous integration policies that guarantee the rights of migrants is also emphasised. A common policy on migration should include effective and sustainable returns, while at the same time, engaging in further activities to prevent, control, and combat illegal immigration;¹⁹

- The revised new Global Approach to Migration and Mobility (GAMM).

Although as shown above migration has been a priority of the political agenda of the EU since the late 1990s, the Arab spring and the events in

¹⁷ A. Weinar, Improving EU and US Immigration Systems' Capacity for Responding to Global Challenges: Learning from experiences in: Research Report, EU Cooperation Challenges in External Migration Policy, European University Institute, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, 2011.

¹⁸ The Stockholm Programme – an Open and Secure Europe serving and protecting the citizen. In: Official Journal of the European Union. 2010 / C 115/01, 4.5.2010. http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2010:115:0001:0038:RO:PDF. (last visited 09.10.2013)

¹⁹ European Pact on Immigration and Asylum. Council of the European Union. 13189/08 ASIM 68. Brussels, 24 September 2008, http://register.consilium.europa.eu/pdf/ro/08/st13/st13440.ro08.pdf.(last visited 13.08.2012)

the Southern Mediterranean in 2011 highlighted once again the need for a coherent and comprehensive migration policy at the EU level. Thus in November 2011 the European Commission proposed the GAMM in order to strengthen dialogue and operational cooperation with third countries on migration and mobility. By means of its third-country mobility, nationals have a central place and partnerships become more sustainable and strongly future-oriented.

Additionally, the GAMM was aimed at complementing the traditional three pillars of the Global Approach – legal migration, illegal migration and migration, and development – with a fourth pillar concerning international protection and the external dimension of asylum policy. Thus, the revised policy will be more integrated into EU foreign policy, developmental cooperation will be focused more on mobility, and the EU policy on visas will be better aligned with the goals of EU internal policy, in particular with its Strategy 2020 and with its policies on employment and education.

In order to analyze the migration policies of the EU at present, the categorization of the GAMM pillars, representing the most coherent and comprehensive migration policy for the EU, will continue to be used, as follows:²⁰

a) Legal labour migration;

Improving existing legislation and administrative practices is a priority area with respect to increasing labour mobility within the EU. In its intermediary assessment of the Lisbon Strategy, the Council acknowledged the importance of attracting more people into the labour market, simultaneously providing high levels of social protection and promoting gender equality and social inclusion. Gender and the cultural environment appear as important determinants. The European Commission (EC) and the Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM) emphasized the need for an immigration policy and integration programs that take into account gender and pay attention to the situation of migrant women and their social inclusion.²¹

In this regard in July 2011 the European Commission proposed a program for the integration of non-EU citizens, with an emphasis on increas-

²⁰ Communication from the Commission. EUROPE 2020. A European Strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth. COM(2010) 2020 final, Brussels, 3.3.2010, http://eurlex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2010:2020:FIN:RO:PDF. (last visited09.12.2015)

²¹ R. Münz, op.cit., p. 56.

ing the shares of migrants' participation in the economic, social, cultural and political spheres, and with taking more active actions at the local level. In 2012 the EU Member States acted on the process of implementing The Single Permit Directive (2011), offering to third-country nationals who fall under this Directive the right to equal treatment in relation to EU citizens, for example, in terms of working conditions, remuneration, education, vocational training, and social security.²²

However, according to the researcher Benedetti the EU's integration policy faces several challenges with respect to the inclusion of third country nationals.

In general, integration strategies target legal nationals of third countries and therefore directly exclude illegal workers.

They are the most vulnerable groups within European societies, and should benefit most from policies aimed at raising awareness about their rights. At the same time, legal economic migration is considered exclusively a 'national matter', and national competences are retained with respect to it.

b) Combating illegal migration

The importance of reducing illegal migration is highlighted in an EU Communication, published in 2000, which emphasizes the 'fight against illegal immigration' as part of a coherent immigration policy. The 2005 Hague Programme formulated a balanced perspective in its approach, according to which the fight against illegal migration is associated with combating trafficking in persons, especially women and children. In 2010, the European Commission appointed a coordinator of the European Union for the anti-trafficking policies of human beings, and has launched a website on anti-trafficking measures taken by the EU to improve cooperation and coherence between the various actions of institutions, agencies, nonmembers of EU, and international actors involved in combating illegal trafficking in persons. Also in 2012 the European Commission adopted the EU Strategy for the 2012–2016 period to eradicate human trafficking. Under this Strategy, the Commission will submit every two years a report on the state of EU measures to combat trafficking in persons. The first report was presented in 2014.²³

²² Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council. 4th Annual Report on Immigration and Asylum. COM(2013) 422 final, Brussels, 17.6.2013, p. 8, http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/e-library/documents/policies/immigration/general/docs/4th_annual_report_on_immigration_and_asylum_en.pdf (last visited 12.02.2014).

²³ Ibidem, p. 28.

c) Migration and Development

Some policy documents suggest that increasing the development levels of countries of origin for migration flows will help eliminate the economic reasons for migration and therefore will reduce immigration into the EU. This approach is supported by the European Commission, which in its Communication of 2013 points out that the EU's external migration policy had already achieved significant progress in linking the impact of EU migration with the development of countries of origin.

The EU is committed to continue working in the 'traditional' domains (remittances, diaspora, brain drain, circular migration). This effort is promoted by some countries of migrants' origin. For example, in November 2012 the Republic of Moldova, as a country of origin of migrants, approved the National

Development Strategy 'Moldova 2020', which addresses migration from the perspective of human capital and development of the economic growth model. The 'Moldova 2020' Strategy aims to stimulate capital formation by removing constraints on businesses and investing remittances and creating more opportunities in the country in order to retain its workforce, so that by 2020 the target aimed to be achieved is to reduce the number of young migrants to 10%.²⁴

From 2007 to 2013, about 200 projects related to migration, including EC financial assistance, were implemented or were in the process of implementation in the Republic of Moldova. These ranged from the size of the effective governance of labour migration to the protection and empowerment of victims of domestic violence and human trafficking. In general, a considerable number of projects related to migration have been or are being implemented under the aegis of the Mobility Partnership, under which 85 initiatives pertaining to migration were implemented or are being implemented in various areas of the migration profile, including projects to promote circular migration.²⁵

d) International protection and the external dimension of asylum policy

Cooperation with third countries is considered to be an important element of migration policy, and already in 1991 the Commission requested the inclusion of migration policy in EU external policy. This area of co-

²⁴ E. Burdelnîi, D. Terzi-Barbăroşie, *Migration and Development. Chisinau*, *UNDP – Moldova*, Common Pilot Program Integration of migration in the National Development Strategy (MOMID), 2013, p. 21

²⁵ E. Burdelnîi et al., *Extended Migration Profile of the Republic of Moldova*, International Organization for Migration (IOM), Chisinau 2013.

operation with third countries has become known as the 'external dimension' of EU cooperation in Justice and domestic affairs (JDA).²⁶

Another element of outsourcing included a series of provisions to facilitate the return of asylum seekers and illegal migrants to third countries. The main instrument used was that of readmission agreements signed with third countries, by which they have been encouraged or, in case of candidate countries, obliged to apply the EU standards of migration management and to accept the readmission of irregular migrants. To increase their attractiveness, these agreements are often combined with visa facilitation agreements.

For example, in domain of readmission Moldova signed, between 2009 and 2011, additional protocols to implement the Readmission Agreement EU-RM with eleven EU Member States and readmission agreements with five non-EU countries.

The measures in the 'preventive' category include attempts to resolve the causes of migration and refugee flows and/or to provide refugees with access to protection closer to their home countries. Preventive approaches involve the implementation of a diverse range of tools to enhance the options of the potential refugees or migrants: developmental assistance, trade and foreign direct investment, or foreign policy instruments. In this context it is important to mention Mobility Partnerships as one such tool of interaction with countries of both origin and transit. The concept of Mobility Partnerships originated in the General Directorate (GD) for Freedom, Security and Justice of the European Commission, which negotiates with partner countries on behalf of the EU.²⁷

Mobility Partnerships continued the EU tendency to link migration policies implemented at the EU level with other policy areas. There are two main reasons behind such links: First, the Commission recognized the need to provide an incentive for third countries to cooperate with the EU on illegal migration; and second, political arguments for a larger scale of cooperation (without any specific connection to migration) can be used to also effectuate migration policies. This refers to those partner countries

²⁶ European Parliament resolution of 26 September 2007 on the policy plan on legal migration, Brussels, 2007, p. 6, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+TA+P6-TA-2007-0414+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN (last visited 21.10.2013).

²⁷ Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. The Global Approach to Migration and Mobility, SEC(2011) 1353 final, COM(2011) 743 final, Brussels, 18.11.2011. http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/news/intro/docs/1_en_act_part1_v9.pdf (last visited 9.12.2012).

selected to participate in the Mobility Partnerships and to the motivations proposed by the EU for accession to such agreements.²⁸

In December 2007, the EU Council for JDA adopted a decision to initiate a dialogue on Mobility Partnerships with two pilot countries, Moldova and Cape Verde. Mobility Partnerships have since been signed with Moldova (2008), the Republic of Cape Verde (2008), Georgia (2009) and Armenia (2011).

According to Mobility Partnership instruments, such a partnership is to be concluded with countries that commit themselves to cooperate with the EU in the management of migration flows and at the same time seek improved access to EU territory for their citizens. These countries will assume obligations in the field of countering illegal migration. In return, the EU Member States will assume engagements in some or all of the following areas: improving opportunities for legal migration for citizens of the partner country; assisting the partner country to develop capacity to manage legal migration flows; implementation of measures to combat the risk of brain drain and to promote circular migration and the return of migrants, and improving the procedures for issuing short-term visas for partner country citizens.

An important aspect of the common EU migration policies is the paradigm shift of this process. This is dictated, on the one hand, by internal EU phenomena (such as population aging and the decline in active labour participants), and on the other hand by the challenges and opportunities of globalization, in particular of the need to attract highly skilled workers. The impetus behind the responses to the given phenomena is that European policymakers recognize that the EU must become an economic actor, and a most innovative and competitive one at that. Thus, in order to realize the migration potential, the European Commission has developed a set of measures that were and still are to be achieved, among which may be mentioned the following:

- the implementation of the EU Skills Panorama, since 2012 aimed at improving transparency for those seeking a job, workers, companies and/or public institutions;
- the completion of the Classification of European Skills, Competences and Occupations (ESCO) in all European languages in the year 2012 as a common interface between the world of work and education and training;
- The launch in 2011 of the New Agenda for Integration of third countries, offering improved structures and tools to facilitate

²⁸ E. Benedetti, op.cit., pp. 39-40

knowledge-sharing and including the integration priorities of the Member States in all relevant policy areas, etc.²⁹

In this context, it is worth mentioning that the year 2007 witnessed the adoption of one of the most important initiatives in attracting highly qualified migrants, i.e. the EU Blue Card. It aims to contribute to EU competitiveness and therefore economic growth by providing rights for all third-country nationals residing legally in the EU.

At the same time, migration policy at both the EU and national levels is one of the hottest topics in the current political debate. Political considerations go beyond the perceptions based on scientific research, and immigration policy can change suddenly due to electoral developments. European governments and electorates are facing major challenges, which in a way explains the ambivalent attitude towards the phenomenon of immigration: a tendency to encourage and at the same time signs of rejection; economic opportunism and disappointment with the results of integration processes, etc.

At the same time, as mentioned by the Romanian researcher N. Iancu, in many European countries conflicts are moving to the internal stage, and the economic and political power of ethnic groups increases. This generates new pressures and incentives to include ethnic minority interests in economic and social policies, yet once again these trends often contradict with populist movements.³⁰

On one hand, the promoted policies rely on arguments of an economic nature: the contribution of skills, coverage of some activities which EU natives do not feel attracted to, and counteracting the aging population in the European countries, which leads to their increased dependency.

On the other hand we have anti-migration reactions, often populist in nature, which are being used in the political struggle and sometimes obscure the scientific approach in their reasoning and their analysis of the effects of immigration. Local populations perceive the immigrants as a demographic threat (young families of migrants have more children, and integration is obviously slow), an economic threat (despite the actual economic benefits of migration for the receiving economies, emphasis is

²⁹ Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. An agenda for new skills and jobs: a European contribution towards full employment work. COM(2010) 682 final, Strasbourg, 23.11.2010, p. 14–16, http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2010:0682:FIN:RO:PDF (last visited 19.01.2013).

³⁰ N. Iancu, International labour migration: theoretical considerations and highlights of migration in Romania in the European context, Oradea 2012, p. 7.

put on the extent to which taxpayers pay for the consumed public services, and the effect of immigrants on low-skilled jobs held by domestic workers), or a socio-cultural threat (ethnic enclaves in suburbs of large cities, accompanied by rising tensions and ethnic violence, crime, terrorism, social fragmentation, dissolution of the collective identity, etc.).

At the political level, and against the background of states' reduced capacities to guarantee social security their own citizens, the dissatisfaction and concerns of natives place the political powers in a dilemma.³¹ For example, in Britain in 2010, the Labour government, alarmed by the negative reaction of many voters about the spread of immigration, announced a series of measures designed to limit some immigration flows, while continuing to encourage the migration of skilled labour. Also, after the EU enlargements in 2004 and 2007 the EU's full freedom of labour movement was perceived as a threat. Proof of this was presented by some opinion-moulders from Germany and Austria, who claimed that the abolition of restrictions on free movement would lead to significant inflows of workers from Eastern Europe, who would accept lower wages and thus threaten the stability of wages in these countries. As a result, since 2000, a 7-year formula (2 + 3 + 2) has been applied to the transitional period for new countries' access to the EU labour market.³² The work restrictions on citizens from Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia and Hungary have been lifted since 1 May 2011. Today they have the right to work without a permit and/or be self-employed or employed anywhere in the EU, Iceland and Norway. At the same time, the European Commission concluded transitional arrangements which provided for the possibility of imposing restrictions on Romanian and Bulgarian workers until 31 December 2013. Despite the official position of the European Commission, some EU member states continue to be against this decision as a result of political and economic national pressures.33

According to N. Iancu, the migration policy dilemma reflects much more than a tension between economic reasoning and political considerations. It unveils a basic ambiguity in democratic-liberal states: The logic of social welfare supports, on the one hand, an impressive project to

³¹ Ibidem, p. 10.

³² R. Cucuruzan, Migration and labour mobility within the European integration of Romania, Cluj Napoca 2009, p. 48.

³³ AGERPRES. Free to work in all EU countries, the restrictions for Romanian labour market, raised in 2014. July 17, 2013, http://www.realitatea.net/liberi-la-munca-in-toate-tarile-ue-restrictiile-pentru Romans-the-market-work-in-high-2014_1227316.html (last visited 14.12.2015).

promote equal rights for all, but on the other hand the democratic process allows for the establishment of well-defined protections in favour of some specific groups and against others (in particular immigrants) living within the state's borders.

These divergent pressures were crystallized in a series of European political dilemmas that can be classified into four policy categories: policies relating to labour migration; migration control policies; asylum and protection systems; and policies regarding integration. All of these can be implemented only within the broader context of European cooperation, with management and migration control as its objective.³⁴ Yet European labour markets vary greatly within the EU in terms of income opportunities and social benefits, which complicates the construction of a common migration policy.

When drafting and implementing migration policies, policymakers should understand that the phenomenon of migration is a social process with an inherent dynamic, characterized by three key principles: the factors leading to migration; the degree of becoming self-supporting immediately after the onset of migration; and the occurrence of a structural dependency between emigration (source) and immigration (host) countries. Migration policy is doomed to failure if it does not address the causes of economic migration, both with respect to countries' respective economic development and the current model of global inequality. This includes looking at the interests of all segments of society and their ways of articulating them.

2. Labour migration from Republic of Moldova in the European Union

After the collapse of the USSR and the subsequent independence attained by the Republic of Moldova, labour migration in the country has gone through four distinct phases, resulting in a gradual annual increase in the number of Moldovans working abroad or engaged in job searches abroad.

The first phase – 1990–1994. The specifics of this phase was to regulate the migration processes, which had their roots in the Soviet and post-Soviet geopolitical space, including the protection of the Moldovans' rights to work in the former Soviet republics (which concerned about 560,000 Moldovans). The deterioration of the socio-economic situation

³⁴ N. Iancu, International labour migration: theoretical considerations and highlights of migration in Romania in the European context, Oradea 2012, pp. 10–11.

and deepening poverty caused the first half of the 1990s to be characterised by economic migration of a specific commercial type known as 'shuttle' ('celnok'), characterised by migration abroad for the procurement of goods and return to sell them in the home country at a higher price

Trade routes of this type of migration were towards Turkey, Russia, Romania, Germany and Poland (particularly in the northern districts). This period was also characterized by the internal migration of persons from the Transnistrian region, especially to the capital, caused primarily by the armed conflict of 1992.³⁵ In the following years this type of migration gradually decreased and was replaced by labour migration.

The second phase – 1995–2000. This phase was characterized by the integration of migration processes oriented especially to Europe. The years 1998–1999 were marked by an acute economic crisis in Moldova, which led to the loss of jobs, a significant deterioration of the market, and increased poverty, affecting 73% of the total population. As a result a spontaneous labour migration, mostly illegal, intensified significantly. At the same time, the positive effects of migration began to take shape, and up until 2000 the main destinations were Russia, and Italy (the latter in particular). Foreign currency inflows grew in Moldova, as did interest in migration on the part of both the general public as well as among policy makers. State authorities began to take measures to regulate the labour migration processes.³⁶

The third phase – 2001–2006. This phase was characterized by Government measures taken to promote the legalization and regulation of illegal migration flows and the protection of migrants' rights in destination countries. During this period illegal migration stemmed in large part from the difficulty in obtaining visas and the lack of possibilities for working legally abroad, on account of the small number of employment agreements between Moldova and other countries, as well as the high fees that had to be paid to obtain the legal right to stay in the destination countries. This period was marked by the initiation of a series of dialogues with 19 countries, the signing of bilateral agreements on labour migration, and the opening of consulates in the main states where Moldavan migrants illegally worked (Portugal, Greece and Italy).³⁷

The fourth phase – from 2006 onwards. In May of 2006, during the reorganization of the central public administration, the State Migration Service was dissolved and its competences were divided between two

³⁵ E. Burdelnîi et al., op.cit., p. 46.

³⁶ Ibidem, p. 47.

³⁷ Ibidem, pp. 47–48

ministries. The Ministry of Internal Affairs was created within the Department of Migration, which has taken over the powers of foreigners' immigration and asylum, and the Ministry of Economy and Trade was assigned competences in the field of labour migration, including migrants' integration.

Migrants' integration is based on the methodology MIPEX, which is a guidance tool containing a fully interactive reference to assess, compare and improve integration policy in all the EU Member States, Norway, Switzerland, Canada, and the USA. The methodology assumes that the integration indexes of EU Member States' national policies are determined in accordance with 150 parameters, consolidated into seven main groups: labour market mobility; family reunification; education; political participation: permanent residence; citizenship; and discrimination.³⁸

Taking into account the abovementioned methodology it is possible to divide the different integration indicators into several key areas that are relevant to migrant workers from Moldova, as follows:

Integration through participation.

Integration suggests a commitment on the part of the host society to receive migrants, respect their rights and cultures, and inform them of their obligations. At the same time, migrants must show their willingness to integrate and respect the norms and values of the society in which they live. The most popular countries for Moldovan migrants in the EU (Portugal, Spain, Italy, Greece, Ireland, Romania, the Czech Republic, Germany, and France) promote integration policies that are characterized by sufficient openness, positive understanding, and the implementation of integration processes. Meanwhile, there are exceptions, accompanied by insufficient achievement of integration for all or for certain groups of citizens from third countries. These are relevant to immigrants from Moldova.

Acquiring language knowledge

Acquisition of language skills is critical for integration. A good knowledge of the host state's language leads to employability, a greater independence, and greater involvement of migrant women in the labour market. Thus, while in 1999 only Germany introduced a compulsory language proficiency examination to obtain permanent resident status, today such a practice is legal and is used in other countries like Portugal, Czech Republic, Italy etc.

³⁸ Statistics on migration and migrant population. Eurostat, December 2011.

Participation and labour market mobility

The successful integration of migrants into a new social system depends on the availability of jobs. According to sociological research data, the majority of Moldovan migrants are employed in their host countries. For example, in Italy in 2007, as many as 51,149 persons out of 64,526 legal Moldovan migrants worked full time, i.e. for 252 days. Women constituted 2/3 of the total number of persons legally employed.³⁹

A common characteristic of all EU Member States is the over-qualification of third-country nationals, particularly women, in relation to the jobs they occupy. The ability to find employment abroad in the same area of economic activity in which the migrants were engaged in Moldova was characteristic for just for 12% of the number of migrants in the destination countries researched, usually for those in the construction sector, healthcare and social services, transport, telecommunications, and community, social and personal services. Thus, highly qualified Moldovan workers undertake and perform unskilled labour, leading to a reduction or even loss of their attained qualifications (the so-called 'brain waste'). In addition, the salary of Moldovan migrant workers, both male and female, is considerably lower than the average wage.⁴⁰

Efforts in the education system

In referring to the situation of Moldovan migrants, a World Bank 2006 report found that a total of 9,000 persons were studying abroad. The Ministry of Education in Moldova keeps official data on the number of Moldovan citizens who went abroad to study under international treaties, which in 2010 was 4,000 persons, but there is no record of the number of those who request and obtain places to study abroad on their own. Hence, the number of Moldovans studying abroad is probably much higher.

According to statistics provided by representatives of the Moldovan Embassy in Italy, the number of Moldovan citizens enrolled in educational institutions in the academic year 2012–2013 was 1,756 people. We have already noted that Moldovan labour migrants' status is characterized by over-qualification in their work activities, which means they have a high level of education and training, and distinguish themselves by their desire to integrate into the host society. As a result, their desire to educate

³⁹ Mosneaga v. Moldovan labour migrants in the European Union: Problems of integration in: CARIM-East RR 2012/40, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute. San Domenico di Fiesole (FI) 2012.

⁴⁰ A.D. Cheianu, Mapping the Moldovan diaspora in Italy, Portugal, France and the United Kingdom, Chisinau 2013, p. 41.

their children is often the critical factor conditioning the parents' desire to either integrate into the host society or to return home.

Ensuring better living conditions

The process of immigrants' adaptation and integration depends to a considerable extent on their legal and social protections in the country of residence. In the most directly affected way, such issues are perceived through the prism of the migrant wage level compared to the wage level of the host country's native citizens, the presence (or absence) of health insurance, and the real possibility to protect their rights in their country of residence. In the destination countries referred to, Moldovan immigrants have a certain social protection, but it seems to be still quite modest. We also found that about one fourth of Moldovan migrants work informally. But in this case one must take into consideration differences in terms of employment modality in the different Member States of the EU. For example, in Italy and Portugal over 80% of Moldovan migrants work legally, under long or short-term contracts, while in France and Britain they work informally, based on verbal agreements (63% and 48%, respectively).

Moldovan authorities take certain measures intended to facilitate the integration of Moldovan immigrants in the EU. In this regard, the signing of a bilateral labour migration agreement with Italy (2003) is worth mentioning. Currently, an agreement regarding future Moldovan-Italian business activities is also in the process of negotiation and signing. Moldova plans to sign bilateral agreements on social insurance with those EU Member States on whose territory migrants from Moldova are significantly represented. With some countries such agreements have already been signed: Portugal (2009), Bulgaria (2009), Romania (2010), Luxembourg (2011), Austria (2011), Estonia (2011), the Czech Republic (2011), Belgium (2012), Poland (2013). Moreover, a number of other countries have expressed a willingness to regulate relations with respect to social insurance, including Latvia, Spain, Israel, and France.

Family reunification

EU Member States generally offer favourable conditions for the reunification of families, trying to accord national approaches and policies with EU standards. Already between 2003 and 2004 Moldovan authori-

⁴¹ Information submitted by Mr. S. Sainciuc, Deputy Minister of Labour, Social Protection and Family in Moldova at the International Seminar "New trends in migration – demographic aspects", organized in the working meeting of the UN Commission on Population and Development Bureau (Chisinau, 17 January 2013).

ties recorded an increase of 2.5 times in the number of passports issued to children. This trend is continuing today, with its share becoming even more significant.

Permanent residence (long-term) and Citizenship

An important parameter of migrant integration into the host society is represented by its permanent residence status (long-term). The average stay of Moldovan migrants abroad is 1.9 years: 2.8 years in the EU Member States, 1.5 years in the CIS; and 2.1 years in other countries.⁴²

EU member state citizenship allows the migrant worker from Moldova to integrate more effectively into the host society, and have the same rights and freedoms as native citizens. For example, Romanian citizenship held by migrants from Moldova allows them not only free movement within the EU countries, but also legal residence in their territory. Sociological research data shows that in 2012, for example, 87% of Moldovan migrants in the UK, 49% in France and 24% in Italy possessed Romanian citizenship. During the period 2000–2010, 43,882 Moldovan citizens became citizens of the EU states (especially of Romania, Portugal, Italy, Bulgaria, Germany, Great Britain, and Ireland). The process of Moldovan migrants' social adaptation and integration in host countries within the EU is fairly efficient. Most of the migrants own businesses more frequently abroad than their compatriots in Moldova. The purchase of real estate and starting a business reflects the fact that these Moldovans desire to integrate into their destination countries.

Conclusions

In order to contribute to the successful integration of Moldovan migrants in the EU, Moldovan governmental authorities must direct their actions towards the following: (i) signing social security agreements with the main destination countries of Moldovan migrants; (ii) supporting circular migration programs for Moldovans; (iii) elaborating programs for the Moldovan Diaspora to maintain relations with Moldovan migrants, as well as to maintain the national traditions and customs, including the promotion of Moldovan culture abroad; (iv) creating conditions for business development, and implementing programs to attract remittances into the economy to stimulate the return of Moldovan migrants in their country of origin, etc. Also, the Moldovan Diaspora organizations must develop partnerships and provide services and collaborate with local authorities in both the destination country and country of origin.

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